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HELLENIC STUDIES

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its members : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all

publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of three years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council, in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates :—

- (a) Undergraduates.
- (b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.
- (c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the expiration of one year from the date at which the Student takes his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by his tutor or teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs, and must undertake responsibility for his Candidate, in respect of Books or Slides borrowed from the Library.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6*d.* payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to receive all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, at or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

39. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

December, 1931.

IN MEMORIAM

CAROLINE AMY HUTTON

Honorary Secretary

1919-1931

Vice-President

1931

British learning, in the sphere both of research and organization, is the poorer by the loss of Miss Caroline Amy Hutton, who died on October 6. She was perhaps best known as the honorary secretary of the Hellenic Society, an office which she had held for eleven years, and only recently vacated. But the achievement for which she will always be most gratefully remembered by the society is her management of its library and secretariat, single-handed, during the years of the War.

She was of a type, most fortunately not uncommon in England, with a will to take infinite trouble over office detail and a capacity, at the same time, to carry on original work of an exacting kind. The compilers of the new edition of Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, and the editors of the great Corpus of Greek inscriptions in Germany were indebted to her careful help. With characteristic self-effacement she preferred to spend time and labour in assisting others rather than in publishing in her own name, but her book on Greek terra-cottas is still in use, and she had a large share in the publication of the catalogues of the Leconfield and Wyndham Cook Collections. Her article (one of many which appeared in the *Hellenic Journal*) on the manuscripts of Thomas Wood, the eighteenth-century traveller, has been useful to archaeologists of three nations. She was for twenty-two years a member of the committee of the British School at Athens, of which she had formerly been a student, and had for many years edited its *Annual*. Her last service to the school was the proof-reading of the whole of the epigraphical matter which appeared in the publication of the *Temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*.

A painless end has come to a life of rare utility and charm.

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 Edwards, R., *New College, Oxford* 17, *Priory Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.*
 Fitzhardinge, L. F., *New College, Oxford* 100 *Commercial Bank of Sydney, 18, Birchin Lane, E.C.* 3).

- Franklin, E. L., *Alleyns School, Dulwich, S.E.*
 Gardner, J. W., *Oriel College, Oxford* (198, *St. Paul's Road, Canonbury, N.* 1).
 Gore, Hon. A. K. S. D. A., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Green, L. D., *Clare College, Cambridge.*
 Greene, W. D., *Trinity College, Dublin* (89, *Belmont Avenue, Donnybrook, Co. Dublin*).
 Hackett, J. W., *New College, Oxford.*
 Haden, W. D., *Wadham College, Oxford* (85, *Loughborough Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham*).
 Hannabuss, Miss E. M., *Westfield College* (15, *Valletta Road, Acton Vale, W.* 3).
 Harris, L. R., *King's College, London* (18, *Amherst Road, Reading*).
 Holt, A. F., *St. John's College, Oxford* (Mornington Villa, *Bingley, Yorks*).
 Johnson, H. W., *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (Eversley, *Uphill Road, Mill Hill, N.W.* 7).
 Kemball-Cook, B. H., 59, *Chartfield Avenue, S.W.* 15.
 Kilpatrick, G. D., *University College, London* (Oakdene, 9, *Lingards Road, Lewisham, S.E.* 13).
 Lawrence, T. N., *New College, Oxford* (46, *Huron Road, S.W.* 17).
 Lonsdale, E. H. G., *St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.*
 Matthews, K. A., *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (5, *St. Bede's Park, Sunderland*).
 Megaw, Hubert, *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (61, *Oakley Street, S.W.* 3).
 Mills, Miss Sybil B., *University College, W.C.* 1 (Petersham Vicarage, *Surrey*).
 Neatby, G. O. M., *Peterhouse, Cambridge* (102, *Riggindale Road, Streatham, S.W.* 16).
 Newell, Miss Helen, *St. Hugh's College, Oxford* (Oldfield, *Knutsford, Cheshire*).
 Nicholson, Stephen H., *University College, W.C.* 1.
 Parsons, E. W., *Brasenose College, Oxford.*
 Patsmore, Miss Ethel, *St. Hugh's College, Oxford* (106, *Hambalt Road, Clapham Park, S.W.* 4).
 Powell, J. E., *Trinity College, Cambridge* (52, *Woodlands Park Road, King's Norton, Birmingham*).
 Raven, E. J. P., *King's College, Cambridge* (The Deeperhaugh, *Hoxne, Diss, Norfolk*).
 Reilly, D'A. P., *New College, Oxford* (c/o Messrs. Grindley & Co., 54, *Parliament Street, S.W.* 1).
 Rendall, P. G., *Felsted School, Essex* (Old Vicarage, *Bushey Heath, Herts*).
 Rousc, A. F., *St. John's College, Oxford* (21, *Castle Crescent, Reading*).
 Sée, P. H., *New College, Oxford* (4, *Orme Street, W.* 2).
 Sherwin-White, A. N., *St. John's College, Oxford* (29, *Grove Park Gardens, Chiswick*).
 Smith, F. J. G., *Oriel College, Oxford* (54, *Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.* 8).
 Talbot, J. G., *Brasenose College, Oxford* (St. Lawrence's Vicarage, *Brentford, Middlesex*).
 Thomas, Miss M. Wynn, *St. Hilda's College, Oxford* (Chequers Home Farm, *Butler's Cross, m. Risboro', Bucks*).
 Winnifrith, A. J. D., 27, *Ivema Court, London, W.* 8.
 Wood, Miss C. E., *Ashdown Hall, Reading.*
 Wycherley, R. E., *Queens' College, Cambridge.*
 Wynne, M. W., *Clare College, Cambridge* (Deepdene, *Shanklin, I. of W.*).

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

Enrolled during the year 1931 only.

- Alliance, Mount Union College Library, *Alliance, Ohio, U.S.A.*
 Bristol, The Library, *Redland High School, Bristol.*
 Goteborg, Stadsbiblioteket, *Goteborg, Sweden.*
 London, The Lecture Library, *Royal Naval College, Greenwich, S.E.* 10.
 Manchester, The Library, *Lancashire Independent College, Whalley Range, Manchester.*
 Oxford, The Library, *Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.*
 Toulouse, Bibliothèque de l'Université, *Toulouse, France.*
 Virginia, University of Virginia, *Virginia, U.S.A.*

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1930-31

THE following meetings were held during the past session:—

- (1) November 11th, 1930. Sir Arthur Evans: *Fresh Discoveries and Further Re-constitution at Knossos*. See below, p. xx.
- (2) February 3rd, 1931. Sir Rennell Rodd: *Ithaca and the Recent Excavations*. See below, p. xxi.
- (3) May 5th, 1931. Dr. W. R. Halliday: *The Myths of Procne and Philomela*. See below, p. xxi.

- (4) THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 30th, 1931, the President, Professor Ernest Gardner, occupying the chair. The following elections and re-elections were made:—

Elections:—

VICE-PRESIDENT.—Miss C. A. Hutton.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.—Miss M. Alford, Mr. A. M. Woodward.

Re-elections:—

The Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The following Members of Council, retiring by rotation:—Dr. M. Cary, Prof. F. R. Earp, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Dr. W. R. Halliday, Mr. B. L. Hallward, Mr. H. M. Last, Prof. F. H. Marshall, and the Rev. Dr. J. A. Nairn.

The Secretary then presented the following Report of the Council on the Session.

The Council beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded:—

The Main Situation.

The Council, taking the Society into their entire confidence, offer the following remarks on the general situation:

It is the fact that during the past few years the Society has been exceptionally fortunate in all

directions. Firstly, the sister Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, whose progress from the first has been the object of our constant good-will, is now so well established as to be able to undertake its full proportion of our joint expenditure. Secondly, the entire cost of the purchase of the Bedford Square lease and of the building of the new Library was defrayed by the members, the requisite amount, nearly £5,000, being raised in four years. Thirdly, the part of the building not required by the Society has been let to unexceptionable tenants on a long lease. Further, the questions first of rates and then of taxes were settled in the Society's favour. Then, owing to the ready co-operation of members in the matter of the Festival dinner, the Society's celebrations of its fiftieth birthday entailed no serious inroad on the Society's funds. Lastly, just when those who care most for the needs of our Library were making special efforts for its improvement, the Trustees of the Carnegie Fund have presented £500 for the purpose.

Yet it is true to say that if any one of these efforts had failed the financial situation, owing to our lack of endowment and reserve, would at once have become embarrassing. Even as it is, the interest on the loan to defray the cost of publishing the excavations on the site of Artemis Orthia, though the book was produced with every economy consistent with its scientific importance, is harassing.

The Council are of opinion that this is no time to ask for large sums to create a reserve fund. But there remains the healthiest remedy of all, the extension of membership. As the subscription remains at a guinea, and the facilities and amenities very greatly exceed those enjoyed before the war, this should be possible. Indeed the Council's policy for many years has been not to solicit membership as a favour, but to increase facilities so that it should be sought for its own sake. There are all told about 1,900 names on the Society's books. It should be possible to raise this to 2,000 in the near future.

Obituary.

The society has lost by death two distinguished Honorary Members, Professor F. Halbherr and Professor Eduard Meyer. On their own body the Council has to deplore the loss of Dr. Norman Gardiner and Dr. H. R. Hall. In the list of members whose loss the Society has sustained during the Session the following names occur:—Mr. Arthur Caspersz, Dr. J. R. Magrath, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, Lord Melchett, Mr. Marshall Montgomery, Mr. G. F. Reckitt, Bishop Robertson, Mr. Edward Robinson, Dr. E. Tudeer and Prof. H. H. Turner.

The Society offers its sincere condolence to the Roman Society on the untimely loss of their distinguished colleague, Dr. Thomas Ashby.

Administrative Changes.

The Council have lately had the pleasure of electing the following as Honorary Members of the Society:—Professor W. S. Ferguson of Harvard, Professor W. Jaeger of Berlin and Professor F. Noack of Berlin.

Members of the Society will learn with regret that their Hon. Secretary for the past eleven years, Miss C. A. Hutton, has recently resigned her office. While all have admired the courtesy and grace with which she has discharged the duties of Hon. Secretary, those of longer memory will recall that, in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, it was Miss Hutton who, single-handed, kept the Library and Offices of the Society going throughout the years of the war. The Council are confident that the Society will endorse the vote of thanks recently made to her by the Council, and their recommendation that she shall be elected a Vice-President this afternoon.

In recognition of Mr. Penoyre's services to the Society the Council do not deem it necessary to appoint a successor to Miss Hutton.

The loss by death of Dr. H. R. Hall and Dr. Norman Gardiner has created two vacancies on the Council. Miss M. Alford and Mr. A. M. Woodward have been nominated to fill these vacancies.

The following members retire by rotation and, being eligible for re-election, are nominated by the Council:—Dr. M. Cary, Professor F. R. Earp, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Dr. W. R. Halliday, Mr. B. L. Hallward, Mr. H. M. Last, Professor F. H. Marshall and the Rev. Dr. J. A. Nairn.

Meetings.

The first General Meeting was held on November 11th, 1930, when Sir Arthur Evans delivered an address on 'Fresh Discoveries and

Further Re-constitution at Knossos.' An account was given of the considerable work of re-constitution undertaken in the Northern area of the Knossos Palace by which the Throne-room with its ante-chamber was finally covered over and the fine portico above the Northern entrance passage partially restored with the painted stucco relief of a charging bull. But the great novelty of the season was the surprising discovery, in the course of some small exploratory work, of an outer enceinte line, extending along the whole western border of the site, with remains of massive walling and an entrance on that side to the West Court, approached by the walled ramp of a Minoan road-way leading from the West. The work of excavation here, on which fifty additional workmen were employed for over three months, brought out further remarkable remains within this enceinte, including a group of Acropolis houses, several of these going back to the close of the third millennium B.C. These contained a vast assortment of pottery and other relics, while overlying two of the earlier houses there also came to light new examples of the circular walled pits carefully designed by the Palace builders for the disposal of rubbish and refuse. These, in turn, as well as a store-room near, contained a mass of painted pottery illustrating the whole development of the fine polychrome style.

One painted vessel of about 1900 B.C. is of special importance as presenting a graffito inscription that carries back our knowledge of the advanced class of the Cretan linear script some two centuries. On the borders of the same area further discoveries occurred of great interest. A new section came to light of a stone frieze with triglyphs and rosettes and a part of a limestone slab with a sunken band of spiral reliefs—exactly resembling that of the gravestone from the Fifth Shaft-Grave at Mycenae. Of special importance too was the first example of a Minoan sculptured altar, also of limestone, with reliefs—originally covered with painted stucco—consisting of double axes rising from horns of consecration.

In a small chamber belonging to a private house on the Palace border was found a large jar containing the complete furniture of a domestic snake shrine. The snakes themselves were in several cases moulded winding up the sides of the sacred vessels. We have here the underlying elements of the cult of the Snake Goddess herself as Lady of the Underworld, so splendidly illustrated by her images found in the Palace. More than this, a chance comparison with the markings on a class of adders that still haunt the ancient site led the excavator

to recognise the origin of the identical wave and dot pattern that forms a special mark of the Minoan Goddess—appearing on her robes, on the wings of her sacred griffins and, in painted stucco, on the borders of sanctuary hearths.

Prof. Dawkins conveyed the thanks of the members present to Sir Arthur Evans for his address.

The second General Meeting was held on February 3rd, 1931, when Sir Rennell Rodd delivered an address on 'Ithaca and the Recent Excavations.' Sir Rennell began by saying that the official report of the Ithaca Excavations would be made by Mr. Heurtley, Assistant Director of the British School at Athens, who had conducted them. He only proposed to deal with the problem of Ithaca itself and the general bearing of last year's work on the identity of the island. He resumed the arguments which made him reject the Dorpfeld theory that Leucas was Ithaca. The stock epithets used for Ithaca in the *Odyssey* were quite unsuitable to Leucas, which was not that island and was never so regarded by the ancients. To anyone sailing towards the island now called Ithaki from the south, as the lecturer had done many times, its position appeared to be just what the author of the *Odyssey* laid down. It lies near the mainland and to the west of it, the furthest up in the sea (*i.e.* towards the north) in relation to the other islands. If Homer went to Ithaca he could hardly have described it otherwise. Sir Rennell showed how internal features of the island corresponded with descriptions in the poem with a detail which could only have been derived from personal observation. The claim that a fountain discovered last year in the south of the island was the *Tukte Krene* of the *Odyssey* he could not accept. In the days when Ithaca was wooded there were no doubt many fountains, and an acceptable position for the spring existed in the northern section. Tradition has placed the ancient city in the northern section, above the Bay of Polis, on an ideal natural site. Excavations here revealed traces of an ancient city with tombs and pottery covering more than a thousand years, but terminating suddenly about 1,000 B.C., when one of the earthquakes common to the island must have destroyed the city. Exploration of a cave (which proved to be an ancient sanctuary) beside the Bay of Polis had produced broken pottery dating far back into prehistoric ages and continuing to Roman times. Among many interesting objects found there was a fragment of an *ex voto* bearing the words 'a Prayer to Odysseus'—who had evidently come to be regarded in the island as a local demi-god.

Pottery continued to be found below sea level, and a wall would be necessary to prevent infiltration in order to establish how deep it went. Evidently there has here been a coastal subsidence as in the Bay of Naples, and it is probable that the little island of Dhascaglio which Dorpfeld will not accept as Asteris was once considerably larger and higher above the sea.

Funds were still needed to complete researches in the cave and to re-examine the ancient site on Mt. Aetos, where Schliemann hoped to find the Palace of Odysseus. The lecturer had no such hopes, for in Homer's day Odysseus and his city were already a tradition of a time when, as the city above Polis had shown, men lived in wattle-and-daub houses. But there was much still to be done in Ithaca if the fund could be replenished. Though the exploration would be continued the balance in hand would not suffice to complete it.

A discussion followed, to which H.E. the Greek Minister, Professor Gilbert Murray and Professor Myres contributed.

At the third General Meeting, held on May 5th, 1931, a paper was read by Dr. W. R. Halliday on the myth of Procne and Philomela. Dr. Halliday found the origin of the tale in the 'just-so stories' invented by popular imagination to account for the habits, appearance and song of a group of spring migrants. After a discussion of Greek and other European beliefs about nightingales, swallows, hawks and hoopoes, he turned to the earliest record of the tale in the *Odyssey* (xix. 518 sqq.); it was unfortunately only a brief allusion, and for the details we were dependent upon later commentators. From them two versions emerged, the one bearing all the marks of Alexandrine invention, the other of genuine antiquity and probably going back to Pherekydes. Though in its main outline the canonical version was doubtless known to Hesiod and Sappho and could be recognised in a chorus of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, it was only given definite and final shape by Sophocles in his *Tereus*. To Sophocles were due the names Procne and Philomela of the nightingale and the swallow respectively (later a curious inversion took place), as well as the substitution of the hoopoe for the hawk, the serving up of Itys to his father for food, and other innovations in the story. Tereus himself was probably in origin a Megarian hero who came into the story through Pandion II's connexion with Megarian saga, though by the fifth century he was generally supposed to be a Thracian. Sophocles had laid down for all time the main lines of the story, though Ovid's account presented some modifica-

tions in detail—notably the Dionysiac setting. The refinements of Hellenistic mythographers preserved by Hyginus and Antoninus Liberalis were quite unimportant. The lecturer concluded with some general remarks upon the influence of the art of story-telling and the permanence of literary form upon the survival of tales.

Mr. Warmington, Mrs. Esdaile and the President took part in the subsequent discussion.

The Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Members will be interested to see when they receive the next number of the *Journal* that the format has been slightly modified. The volume will be the same height as its predecessors so that continuity on bookshelves can be maintained. The page, however, will be slightly wider, with the result that the text illustrations can be on a larger scale, and a larger and more beautiful type will be employed. The subsidiary matter, with the exception of the catalogues of books and slides, will be printed in double columns. It is satisfactory to be able to report that these improvements have been effected at comparatively small cost.

The Joint Library and Slide Collection.

To illustrate the work of the past Session, figures are given showing the activities of the Library during (a) a pre-war Session, (b) the last Session, and (c) the Session just concluded.

	(a) 1912-13	(b) 1929-30	(c) 1930-31
Books added to the			
Library	489	502	891
Books borrowed ...	938	3,424	3,506
Slides added to the			
Collections	363	236	547
Slides borrowed...	3,578	11,388	9,648
Slides sold	506	1,969	1,934
Photographs sold...	345	399	193

In the sphere of the Library the past Session has been the most favourable for many years.

The grant from the Trustees of the Carnegie Fund, very welcome in itself, has stimulated effort all round. It has made the work of the Advisory Committee more grateful and effective, it has put the Society in a better position to meet requests from the National Central Library, to which the Joint Library is now affiliated, and it has certainly helped to secure the remarkable response to a recently circulated request for the gift of books.

It was thought fitting that the Carnegie grant

should be used for the purchase of substantial works which have long been wanted. Before this expenditure was undertaken, attempt was made from the Societies' ordinary resources to complete sundry works which for one cause or another were defective. This has been done in the case of the *Antike Vasen von der Akropolis*, the *Archaeologische-epigraphische Mitteilungen*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Iwan Mueller's indispensable *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, the *Papiri Greci e Latini* and many smaller works.

The purchases from the Carnegie grant include Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*; Fraenkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*; Brugmann und Delbruck, *Grammatik der Indo-Germanischen Sprache*; Bechtel, *Griechische Dialekte*; Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*; Ast, *Lexikon Platonicum*; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Seleucides*; Teuffel, *Römische Litteratur*; the *Anthologia Latina*; the edition of Cicero's letters by Tyrrell and Purser, and of Servius by Thilo and Hagen; the publications of both the German and the Austrian *Limes*, and the remaining third of Brunn-Bruckmann's *Denkmäler*. The Library already possessed the first hundred fascicules of this indispensable series, the generous gift of Mr. Macmillan.

The following Journals have been added to the list of those which are sent in exchange with the Societies' own publications: *Die Antike*, the *Bollettino d'Arte*, the *Californian Publications in Classical Archaeology*, 'Ελληνικά, *Gnomon*, *Historia*, *Magna Grecia*, Πολέμων, the Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, the *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, the *Rivista d'archeologia e storia dell' arte*, *Studi Etruschi*, and the *Studi di storia delle religioni*.

This list brings the number of periodicals taken by the Library to well over a hundred. On the whole the periodicals are probably the Library's greatest asset.

In this connexion may be mentioned another asset of the Library, hardly sufficiently known. This is the unique collection of pamphlets, now bound up in 300 volumes, containing over 3,000 separate works. Among them are 16 volumes of pamphlets on Homer presented by Walter Leaf, and many volumes devoted to articles by F. W. Hasluck, F. Haverfield, F. Studniczka, and A. Wilhelm. Each item appears in the catalogues both under author and under subject. The volumes are lent like ordinary books, but under special rules devised for their safety. There must be few large collections of *opuscula* so easy of access.

The new Library edition of the Authors' Catalogue in two volumes is found convenient, but it still calls for more cross references. In the same way, the Subject Catalogue awaits the incorporation of the mass of information con-

tained in the large bibliography—the joint work of 70 members of the Society—prepared for the Advisory Committee. These tasks, which have been delayed by the increase of routine work in a growing library, will make quicker progress as soon as the new slide catalogues are finished.

Both the lighting and the heating of the Library have been improved, and the floor of the lower library relaid. Early editions, for the most part the gift of Dr. Walter Leaf and Mr. W. R. Collinson, have been cleaned and repaired and placed in a special bookcase in the Council Room. The Councils have under consideration plans for keeping the library open for one or two evenings in each week.

Mrs. Culley continues her help generously given for many years to the Authors' Catalogue, the periodicals are under Miss Alford's care, and Mrs. Barge's daily help in all our affairs is invaluable. These ladies and others have deserved well of the Society.

The two Councils wish to express their sincere thanks for gifts of books to the following:—

Authors : Mr. A. Caspersz, Prof. E. Cicotti, Mrs. M. E. Cunningham, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Dr. E. Delage, Dr. E. Derenne, Mr. E. Desforges, Dr. C. C. van Essen, Prof. E. Fabricius, Prof. H. R. Fairclough, Prof. T. Frank, Dr. C. M. Fürst, Dr. J. Gennadius, Prof. A. Grenier, Dr. J. Arnott Hamilton, Mr. W. S. Hett, F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, Dr. Elisabeth Jastrow, Dr. L. Kjellberg, Dr. I. Lindquist, Prof. G. Lugli, Sir George Macdonald, Dr. A. Maiuri, Mr. K. A. Matthews, Dr. J. G. Milne, Prof. von der Mühl, Prof. A. D. Nock, Dr. A. Pallis, Mr. Léon Rey, Miss G. M. A. Richter, Prof. D. M. Robinson, Miss G. Robinson, Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, Prof. B. Schröder, Mr. M. Valsa, Prof. A. Wilhelm, Sir Themistocles Zammit.

Donors of Miscellaneous Works : Miss M. Alford, Prof. J. G. C. Anderson, Mrs. Barge, Dr. E. R. Bevan, Mr. C. Brodribb, Mr. A. R. Burn, Prof. H. E. Butler, Mrs. Caskey, Prof. G. A. Davies, Miss Mary C. Dawes, Mr. C. Doll, Mr. C. C. Edgar, Miss H. Farquhar, Lady Frazer, Mr. B. Granville, Miss W. A. Greatbatch, Mr. C. H. Heath, Mr. F. C. W. Hiley, Dr. G. F. Hill, Mr. R. P. Jones, Miss W. Lamb, Mr. H. Last, Mr. W. R. LeFanu, Mr. J. C. F. Lister, Miss M. E. H. Lloyd, Mr. H. C. P. McGregor, Mr. G. A. Macmillan, Mr. P. E. Matheson, Mr. H. Mattingly, Mr. W. Miller, Dr. and Mrs. J. G. Milne, Dr. J. A. Nairn, Dr. A. Nairne, Miss E. R. Pearson, Mr. J. Penoyre, Mr. S. Price, Sir William Ramsay, Dr. B. L. Richmond, Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, Miss M. D. Rogers, Rev. C. E. Seaman, Mr. T. A. Sinclair, Dr. H. Smilda, Dr. W. W. Tarn, Sir Herbert Thompson,

Mr. M. S. Thompson, Mr. M. N. Tod, Mr. H. B. Walters, Prof. W. J. Woodhouse, Mr. G. M. Young.

The Presses of the following Universities : Bonn, Cambridge, Catholic University of America, Chicago, Harvard, Illinois, Johns Hopkins, Manchester, Michigan, Minnesota, Oxford, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, St. Andrews, Toronto, Virginia.

Institutions and Associations : Académie Norvégienne des Sciences, Académie Royale des Sciences de Belgique, American Academy in Rome, American School at Athens, Association Guillaume Budé, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, British Museum, Philologi Leodienses (Liège), British School of Archaeology in Egypt, British School at Jerusalem, Chicago Oriental Institute, Colchester Museum, Egyptian Exploration Society, Gottinger Universitätsbibliothek, Istituto geografico de Agostini (Rome), Istituto storico-archeologico F.E.R.T. (Rhodes), Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets Akademien (Stockholm), Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Universität Marburg, London Museum, Medieval Academy of America, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), Ministero della Educazione Nazionale (Rome), Newbury Museum, Royal Numismatic Society, Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Societas philologorum Bohemorum Pragensis (Prague), Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie, Valletta Museum.

The following Publishing Houses : Messrs. F. Alcan, Aschendorff, C. H. Beck, G. Bell, Basil Blackwell, E. de Boccard, Boivin et Cie., G. Braun, F. Bruckmann, Buchner, T. Butterworth, Century Co., H. Champion, Chatto and Windus, Chiantore, A. Colin, Constable & Co., N. V. Dekker and Van de Vegt, Deutscher Kunstverlag, J. Engelhorn, B. Filser, P. Geuthner, C. W. K. Gleerup, Walter de Gruyter, Hachette, P. Hanstein, G. G. Harrap, Heineemann, S. Hirzel, Hodder and Stoughton, Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, U. Hoepli, A. F. Host, H. Keller, L. Klotz, W. Kohlhammer, Editorial Labor (Barcelona), M. Lamertin, H. Laurens, J. F. Lehmann, E. Leroux, P. Lethielloux, C. W. Lindstrom, Macmillan & Co., M. and H. Marcus, Medici Society, F. Meiner, Methuen & Co., H. Milford, Milne and Hutchinson, J. C. B. Mohr, John Murray, M. Niemeyer, M. Nijhoff, E. Nourry, R. Oldenbourg, G. B. Paravia, Kegan Paul & Co., Payot, H. Piazza, A. Picard, 'Popolo d'Italia' (Milan), E. Reinhardt, 'La Renaissance du Livre,' L. Röhrscheid, F. Schoningh, H. Schoetz, D. W. Scholl, L. W. Seidel, Sideris, Sirey, Spink, J. Springer, Libreria dello Stato (Rome), Gebrüder Stiepel, The Studio Ltd., B. G. Teubner, W. J. Thieme,

A. Topelmann, Fratelli Treves, A. Vallecchi, Velhagen and Klasing, Weidmann, C. Winter.

The Collection of Negatives, Slides and Photographs.

In preparation for the new Catalogue of Slides the corresponding photographic collections have been reconditioned. The slides now number over 11,000, and the new Catalogue will comprise the original work and 16 supplements. Owing to the scale of the work it is doubtful whether it will ever be published, but it has become an office necessity, and its index, in particular, will be specially valuable to the staff. In the numismatic section the work has been very greatly facilitated by Mr. G. C. Brooke's recent publication of the complete catalogue of the Royal Numismatic Society's collections of slides. The classical section of this is in effect the catalogue of the Hellenic and Roman Societies' coin slides, the large majority of which were presented by the Royal Numismatic Society for housing and administrative purposes in return for borrowing rights. In the interest of our numismatic visitors Mr. Brooke's arrangement will be closely followed in the new Hellenic catalogue.

A small development of the set lecture system should be noticed. By the kindness of Mrs. Bury an unpublished lecture on Byzantine civilisation by the late Professor Bury has been placed at the Societies' disposal. A set of slides on Byzantine art is in preparation, and where desired can be drawn on for illustrative material, but Dr. Bury's lecture is complete in itself and will be lent without pictures.

Other sets recently added are *The Roman Soldier* and *Life in the Roman World* by H. H. Symonds, and *Prehistoric Malta* by N. S. Clogstoun. Professor Fairclough has a set on Virgil in preparation.

Members will like to see the complete list of the sets which are here appended.

- The Prehellenic Age** (no text).
- Early Malta** (N. S. Clogstoun).
- The Geography of Greece** (A. J. Toynbee).
- Ancient Athens** : historical sketch (S. Casson).
- Ancient Athens** : topographical (annotated list of slides only, D. Brooke).
- Ancient Architecture** (D. S. Robertson).
- Greek Sculpture** (J. Penoyre).
- The Parthenon** (A. H. Smith).
- Greek Vases** (M. A. B. Braunholtz).
- A Survey of early Greek Coins** : 7 slides showing 49 coins (P. Gardner).
- Some Coins of Sicily** (G. F. Hill).
- Greek Papyri** (H. I. Bell).
- Olympia and Greek Athletics** (E. N. Gardiner).

Xenophon : the expedition of Cyrus and Xenophon's *Anabasis* (annotated list of slides only, by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence).

Alexander the Great (D. G. Hogarth).

The Travels of St. Paul (no text).

The Ancient Theatre (J. T. Sheppard).

Ancient Life, Greek (annotated list of slides only).

Life in the Roman World (H. H. Symonds).

Ancient Life, Roman (annotated list of slides only).

Rome (H. M. Last).

The Roman Forum (G. H. Hallam).

The Roman Forum, for advanced students (T. Ashby).

The Palatine and Capitol (T. Ashby).

The Via Appia (R. Gardner).

The Roman Campagna (T. Ashby).

Roman Portraiture (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).

Horace (G. H. Hallam).

Pompeii (A. van Buren).

Ostia (T. Ashby).

Ostia (R. Meiggs).

Sicily (H. E. Butler).

The Roman Rhone (S. E. Winbolt).

Timgad (H. E. Butler).

Roman Britain (Mortimer Wheeler).

The Roman Wall (R. G. Collingwood).

†**The Roman Soldier** (H. H. Symonds).

The Byzantine Civilisation : unillustrated (J. B. Bury).

The sets consist of about 50 carefully selected slides and the cost of hire, including the text and postage to members, is 7s. 6d.

The Catalogue of the Virtue Tebbs collection of electrotypes was published in *J.H.S.*, XLIX., p. lxxxix. The charges for the loan of these are the same as for the slides, 2d. each. Copies of the Catalogue can be had on application.

The Societies gratefully acknowledge gifts of photographic material from the executors of the late Dr. H. R. Hall and the executors of the late Dr. E. N. Gardiner.

They are indebted for a valuable set of negatives of sites in Asia Minor to Mr. W. H. Buckler. Other appreciated donations of negatives have reached us from the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens, Professor Bernard Ashmole, Mr. W. S. Hett, Miss W. Lamb, Dr. Felix Oswald, Mr. G. E. Peachey and Professor P. N. Ure.

The Councils wish again to record their appreciation of Mr. Wise's work in the slide department. To lend 10,000 slides in the course of one Session without a hitch is a very commendable piece of administration.

Finance:

In the accounts for the year will be found a statement of the cost of production and of the receipts from sales of the volume *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*. As will be seen from this account, expenditure exceeded the receipts from sales by £952. This charge appearing in the Income and Expenditure Account, together with the cost of an unusually expensive issue of the *Journal*, makes the deficit on the year's working an unusually heavy one.

There are, however, other considerations which have this year been taken into account, and which make an offset, reducing the amount of the adverse balance. For insurance purposes it was found necessary to call in expert advice for the valuation of the books in the library, and as this figure, so far as the Hellenic Society's property is concerned, came to nearly £3,000, it was felt that we could quite fairly increase the amount appearing in the accounts to £1,500. Further additions have been made to the valuation of the Society's property in respect of the Photographic Department and the stock in hand of the Society's publications. These additions to the valuation more than meet the increase which would otherwise be shown in the deficiency balance. It will be understood, however, that the increased valuations, though justified on their own merits, are book entries which do not assist the new and onerous liability shown on the debit side of the balance sheet.

Another point which calls for mention is the fact that under the heading "Investments" the Society had a holding of £200 in the Southern Punjab Railway Stock which fell due for redemption during the year. This stock had been written down some years back to allow for depreciation, with the result that £78 was received in excess of the amount at which the holding was valued. The whole of the £200 was re-invested, and the Society now holds £239 4 per cent. Consolidated Stock purchased with this money.

In conclusion, though the support from Student Associates and affiliated libraries is well

maintained, there is a slight falling off in the number of members. This is a grave issue, but the cure is ready to hand. The Council have every hope that the co-operation of members in making the work of the Society known among their friends will greatly extend the list of members, and in result the Society's well-being and efficiency.

The President then moved the adoption of the above Report, which was seconded by H. E. the Greek Minister, M. Caclamanos.

The Report was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Society's auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, was proposed by Mr. A. W. Gomme, seconded by Professor P. Ure, and carried unanimously.

The President in the course of his Address dwelled on the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Dr. H. R. Hall. Dr. Norman Gardiner and Mr. Arthur Caspersz.

Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice then delivered an address on 'The Battle of Marathon.' After briefly recounting the accepted facts of the campaign as a basis for critical inquiry, he turned to a detailed examination of Herodotus' version of the story and found in it serious military improbabilities. In particular he set out the military reasons for agreeing with the suggestion of Mr. J. A. R. Munro, that Datis landed at Marathon while Artaphernes was besieging Eretria. Passing to the tactics of the battle itself, he gave reasons for believing that the Persian position was along the Charadra brook facing West, not as is generally supposed facing North with their backs to the sea.

The lecture, which was illustrated by lantern slides, was followed by a discussion in which Dr. M. Cary, Mr. W. W. How and the President took part.

A vote of thanks to Sir Frederick Maurice, moved by the Hon. Treasurer, was carried by acclamation.

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1930.

[illegible]

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C F CLAY.
W. J. F. MACMILLAN.

Dr 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1930, TO DECEMBER 31, 1930 Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper, Vol. I	740	9	10			
" Plates	40	15	0			
" Drawing and Engraving	54	16	5			
" Editing and Reviews	98	2	0			
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	103	13	3			
	<u>£1127 16 0</u>					
By Sales, including back Vols. Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.				158	17	8
" Hellenic Society				13	19	6
	<u>172 17 2</u>					
" Receipts from Advertisements				38	15	7
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ...				916	3	9
	<u>£1127 16 6</u>					

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1930, TO DECEMBER 31, 1930

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	51	6	10			
" Slides for Hire	35	2	4			
" Photographs for Reference Collection	19	6				
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	58	7	3			
	<u>£145 15 11</u>					
By Receipts from Sales and Hire				144	15	11
" " " Sale of Catalogues, &c.				1	0	0
	<u>£145 15 11</u>					

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LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1930, TO DECEMBER 31, 1930.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases	103	15	1			
" Binding	88	18	11			
	<u>£192 14 0</u>					
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.				192	6	0
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						
	<u>£192 14 0</u>					

'THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA AT SPARTA.' FROM PUBLICATION TO DECEMBER 31, 1930

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To printing 1050 copies	562	9	9			
" Illustrations	879	18	6			
" Binding 400, &c.	44	16	4			
" Advertising and Prospectus	63	8	4			
" Postage, Packing and Sundry Expenses	34	8	5½			
	<u>£1585 1 4½</u>					
By Sales by the Hellenic Society, 199 copies				428	7	6
" Sales by Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 65 copies				204	11	11
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account				952	1	11½
	<u>£1585 1 4½</u>					

SUPPLEMENT NO. VIII.

TO THE

SUBJECT CATALOGUE* OF THE JOINT LIBRARY

PERIODICALS

- Alte Orient, Der.** Beihefte 1-11. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ in. Leipsic. 1924-27.
(See also *Morgenland*.)
- Antike und Christentum.** Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien. By F. J. Dölger. From vol. i (1929).
 $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. Münster. *In Progress*.
- Bollettino** dell' Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei. From vol. i (1930).
 $12 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. Rome. *In Progress*.
- Byzantion.** From vol. i (1924).
 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Paris and Liège. *In Progress*.
- Gnomon.** vols. i-v (1925-29). $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Berlin.
- Jahrbuch** des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Supplementband xii: Nekropolen von Vulci. By F. Messerschmidt.
 $11 \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 164 + 39 plates. Berlin. 1930.
- Magna Grecia, Società.** Campagne della 1926 e 1927.
 $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in. Rome. 1928.
succeeded by
Atti e Memorie. From 1928.
 $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in. Rome. *In Progress*.
- Morgenland.** Hefte 12—(continuation of Beihefte zum Alten Orient).
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ in. Leipsic. *In Progress*.
(See also *Alte Orient, Der*.)
- Revue des études latines.** From vol. i (1923).
 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Paris. *In Progress*.
- Studi Etruschi.** From vol. i (1927).
 $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. Florence. *In Progress*.

OPUSCULA

- Gildersleeve (B. L.)** Selections from the Brief Mention. Edited with a biographical sketch by C. W. E. Miller.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. liii + 493. Baltimore. 1930.
- Mommsen (T.)** Römische Forschungen. 2 vols.
 $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. iv + 410; iv + 556. Berlin. 1864-79.
- Pike (J. B.)** Classical studies and sketches.
 $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 176. Minneapolis. 1931.
- Reinach (S.)** Amalthée. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire. ii.
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 502. Paris. 1930.

* The Catalogue (published 1924) is sold to members at the reduced price of 7s. 6d. (by post 8s. 6d.).
This and other supplements are sold at 6d. each.
Address: The Assistant Librarian, Hellenic and Roman Societies, 50 Bedford Square, W.C.1.

- Usener (H.)** Kleine Schriften. 4 vols.
9 × 6 in. pp. 461 (av. per vol.). Leipzig. 1912-14.
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- Diehl (C.)** Mélanges. 2 vols.
13 × 10 in. pp. xxxi + 250 (av. per vol.). Paris. 1930.
- Hirschfeld (O.)** Festschrift zu O. H.'s sechsigstem Geburtstage.
10 × 7 in. pp. x + 513. Berlin. 1903.
- Liège.** Serta Leodiensia. Mélanges de philologie classique publiés à l'occasion du centenaire de l'indépendance de la Belgique. 10 × 6½ in. pp. 326. Liège. 1930.
- Loeb (J.)** Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen archäologischen Freunden in Deutschland und Amerika. 11½ × 8¾ in. pp. 141. Munich. 1930.
- Martin (C. B.)** and others. Martin Classical Lectures. vol. i (1930).
8½ × 5½ in. pp. x + 181. Cambridge, Mass. 1931.
- Rudberg (G.)** Serta Rudbergiana. *Edd.* H. Holst, H. Morland.
9½ × 6½ in. pp. 87. Oslo. 1931.
- Rzach (A.)** Charisteria zum achtzigsten Geburtstag.
10½ × 7½ in. pp. 186. Reichenberg. 1930.

STUDIES

- Encyclopaedia Britannica.** 13th edition. 3 supplementary volumes. 11¾ × 8¾ in. pp. c. 1150 per vol.
- Rome.** Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom von August Mau. 1. Supplement zu Band I. 1911-25. By F. Matz.
10 × 6½ in. pp. xxix + 516. Berlin and Leipsic. 1930.
- Whibley (L.)** A companion to Greek studies. 4th edition, revised.
9¼ × 6¼ in. pp. xxxviii + 790. Cambridge. 1931.
- Nairn (J. A.)** Hand-List of Books relating to the classics and classical antiquity. 8¼ × 6½ in. pp. 161. Oxford. 1931.
Id. Another copy.
- Archaeologisches Institut** des deutschen Reiches. Bericht über die Hundertjahrfeier, 21-25 April, 1929.
9¼ × 6 in. pp. vii + 440. Berlin. 1930.
- Knowles (W. H.)** Presidential address [Trans. of Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., lii].
8½ × 5½ in. pp. 14. 1930.
- Oldfather (W. A.)** The character of the training and of the thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Classics. [Class. Journ., xxvi. 8.] 9 × 6½ in. pp. 9.
- Leipzig.** Sachsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philol.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 82, Hft. 2. Nachrufe auf F. Studniczka, J. Ilberg, K. v. Amira.
9½ × 6 in. pp. 36. Leipzig. 1930.
- Loewy (E.)** Franz Studniczka. Ein Nachruf. [Almanach der Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien.]
7¼ × 4¾ in. pp. 8. Vienna. 1930.

GREEK AUTHORS

- Anthology.** Anthologie grecque i. Anthologie palatine iii. (livre vi). Edited and translated into French by P. Waltz. [Assn. G. Budé.]
8 × 5¼ in. pp. 337. Paris. 1931.

- Corpus medicorum graecorum** VI, 2, 1. Oribasius. iii, libri xxv—xxv, xliii—xlvi. *Ed.* J. Raeder.
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. viii + 291. Leipsic. 1931.
- Historici.** JACOBY (F.) Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Tl. ii, Lief. 4: Kommentar zu Nr. 154—261.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 543—884. Berlin. 1930.
- Rhetores Graeci.** vol. xiv. Prolegomenon sylloge. *Ed.* H. Rabe.
 $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. cxxviii + 494. Leipsic. 1931.
- Doxographi Graeci.** *Ed.* H. Diels.
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. x + 854. Berlin. 1929.
- Aldington (R.)** Medallions from Anyte of Tegea, Meleager of Gadara, the Anacreontea, Latin poets of the Renaissance.
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 117. 1930.
- Novum Testamentum graece.** *Ed.* A. Souter.
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. pp. xxiv + 480. Oxford. 1910.
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- Aeschylus.** Persae. *Ed.* A. O. Prickard.
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. pp. xxxviii + 132. 1928 (1879).
 ——— Prometheus Vincetus. *Edd.* E. E. Sikes, St. J. B. W. Willson.
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. pp. lxx + 197. 1912 (1898).
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 $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 39. London. 1930.
- Antiphon.** SOLMSEN (F.) Antiphonstudien [Neue Philol. Unters., heft 8].
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 78. Berlin. 1931.
- Apollonius Rhodius.** DELAGE (E.) Biographie d'Apollonios de Rhodes.
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 82. Bordeaux. 1930.
 ——— ——— La Géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes.
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- Aristides.** AMANN (J.) Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristeides.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 112. Stuttgart. 1931.
- Aristophanes.** Comedies. *Ed.* T. Bergk.
 $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. lxxiii + 612. Leipsic. 1888.
 ——— Comedies. Edited and translated by B. B. Rogers.
 Vol. 3. Peace and Birds.
 4. Lysistrata and Thesmophoriazusae.
 5. Frogs and Ecclesiazusae.
 6. Plutus, with the Menaechmi of Plautus.
 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. 1911—19.
- i. Les Acharniens—Les Cavaliers—Les Nuées. Edited by V. Coulon; translated into French by H. van Daele. [Assn. G. Budé.]
 $8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xxxii + 230. Paris. 1923.
- Cantica. *Ed.* O. Schroeder.
 $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 103. Leipsic. 1930.
- Aristotle.** The works of Aristotle translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross. De Anima. By J. A. Smith.
 $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Oxford. 1931.
- WINGATE (S. D.) The mediaeval Latin versions of the Aristotelian scientific corpus, with special reference to the Biological works.
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 136. 1931.
- Athenaeus.** The Deipnosophists iv. Edited and translated by C. B. Gulick. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
 $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. x + 606. 1930.
- Augustus.** MEUWESE (A. P. M.) De rerum gestarum Divi Augusti versione graeca.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ in. pp. xiii + 128. Buscoducum. 1920.
- Aurelius, Marcus.** DOVE (C. C.) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: his life and times.
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. pp. ix + 286. 1930.

- Aurelius, Marcus.** SEDGWICK (H. W.) *Life of Marcus Aurelius.*
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. pp. 309. New Haven. 1922.
- Basil.** Letters. Edited and translated by R. J. Deferrari. Vol. iii.
 [Loeb Class. Libr.] $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xv + 489. 1930.
- Callimachus.** CAHEN (É.) *Les Hymnes de Callimaque: commentaire explicatif et critique.*
 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xi + 282. Paris. 1930.
- *Callimaque et son œuvre poétique.*
 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 654. Paris. 1929.
- Chrysostom.** BURNS (M. A.) *Saint John Chrysostom's homilies on the statues: a study of their rhetorical qualities and form.*
 9×6 in. pp. viii + 123. Washington, D.C. 1930.
- Demetrius Cydones.** Correspondance. Edited and translated into French by G. Cammelli. [Assn. G. Budé.]
 8×5 in. pp. xlix + 216. Paris. 1930.
- Demosthenes.** Orationes. Vol. iii. *Ed.* W. Rennie.
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. pp. xvi + 432. Oxford. 1931.
- *Olynthiacs, Philippics, In Leptinem, etc.* Edited and translated by J. H. Vince. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xx + 608. 1930.
- *First Philippic and Olynthiacs.* *Ed.* J. E. Sandys.
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. pp. lxxx + 246. 1924 (1897).
- *On the Peace, Second Philippic, On the Chersonesus and Third Philippic.* *Ed.* J. E. Sandys.
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. pp. lxxii + 260. 1913 (1900).
- Epicharmus.** Fragments. Translated into French by R. J. Walker and illustrated by A. A. Benois.
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 78. Nice. [N.D.]
- Euripides.** *Bacchae.* *Ed.* J. E. Sandys.
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. pp. clv + 275. Cambridge. 1900.
- *Bacchae.* *Ed.* R. Y. Tyrrell.
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. pp. cvi + 159. 1928 (1897).
- *Iphigenia in Aulis.* Translated into English verse by F. M. Stawell.
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- *Iphigeneia in Tauris.* *Ed.* E. B. England.
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- Hippocrates.** Vol. iv. **Heracleitus.** Edited and translated by W. H. S. Jones. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
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- EDELSTEIN (L.) *Περὶ Ἀέρων und die Sammlung der Hippokratischen Schriften.* [Problemata, iv.]
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. viii + 188. Berlin. 1931.
- Homer.** *Iliad.* *Ed.* T. W. Allen. 3 vols.
 $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. xi + 340 (av. per vol.). Oxford. 1931.
- BASSETT (S. E.) *The pursuit of Hector.* [Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass., lxi.]
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 20. 1930.
- BOWRA (C. M.) *Tradition and design in the Iliad.*
 $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. viii + 278. Oxford. 1930.
- BULAS (K.) *Les illustrations antiques de l'Iliade.* [Eus supplementa. vol. 3.]
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- WOOD (S.) *Homer's surgeons: Machaon and Podalirius.* [The Lancet.]
 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 16. 1931.
- Isaeus.** *Speeches.* *Ed.* W. Wyse.
 $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. lxiv + 735. Cambridge. 1904.

- John (St.)** HANSMANN (K.) Ein neuentdeckter Kommentar zum Johannesevangelium.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 322. Paderborn. 1930.
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- Josephus.** Jewish Antiquities, i-iv. Edited and translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
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- THACKERAY (H. St. J.) A Lexicon to Josephus. Part i.
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- Lysias.** Edited and translated by W. R. M. Lamb. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xxvi + 707. 1930.
- Orationes xvi. Ed. E. S. Shuckburgh.
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. pp. xliii + 383. 1929 (1892).
- Menander.** Fabularum reliquiae. Ed. J. van Leeuwen.
 $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xxvii + 256. Leyden. 1919.
- Philo.** Edited and translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker.
 vol. iii. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
 $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. viii + 512. 1930.
- ADLER (M.) Studien zu Philo von Alexandria.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 102. Breslau. 1929.
- DRUMMOND (J.) Philo Judaeus; or the Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy in its development and completion. 2 vols.
 $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. viii + 357 (av. per vol.). 1888.
- Pindar.** Carmina. Ed. O. Schroeder.
 $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. xii + 376. Leipsic. 1930.
- Translated with literary and critical commentaries by L. R. Farnell. vol. i. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xiv + 384. 1930.
- Isthmian Odes. Ed. J. B. Bury.
 $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. xxxviii + 194. 1892.
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 8×5 in. pp. 284. Paris. 1931.
- v. 2. Cratyle. Edited and translated into French by L. Meridier. [Assn. G. Budé.]
 8×5 in. pp. 228. Paris. 1931.
- xiii. 2. Dialogues suspects. Edited and translated into French by J. Souilhé. [Assn. G. Budé.]
 8×5 in. pp. xiii + 190. Paris. 1930.
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- The Republic i-v. Edited and translated by P. Shorey. [Loeb Class. Libr.]
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SYNOPSIS OF THE CATALOGUE OF LANTERN SLIDES

PREFACE

THE new Catalogue is composed of the original catalogue (1913) and 17 supplements, laid down in one sequence on some 400 folio pages.

The cost of reprinting this is prohibitive, but members will be glad to have the following outline as a guide to the collection.

Photographs of the slides in an order corresponding to that of the catalogue are on view at 50 Bedford Square, mounted on cards and labelled. This series in 48 boxes forms an illustrated card catalogue of the whole collection.

The mass of material here listed consists of gifts from members of the Society and is a striking illustration of what can be done by corporate action. It is impossible to give a complete list of our donors, but members will like to see to whom the main the collection owes its riches in its various sections.

One of the founders of the collection and its first Hon. Keeper was Professor J. L. Myres. Thirty-five years ago he laid down the lines, virtually unaltered, which it should follow, and to-day retains his interest in its efficiency. Every subdivision of the following list has benefited by his varied learning.

In the following list the donors are grouped under the sections which they have most benefited.

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VASES:—Prof. Beazley, Mrs. Braunholtz, Miss Jane Harrison †, Miss K. Ralceigh, Mr. H. B. Walters and, in the sphere of Roman pottery, Dr. Felix Oswald.

COINS:—The Royal Numismatic Society, the authorities of the Dept. of Coins and Medals in the British Museum and in particular Dr. G. F. Hill.

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES:—Particularly those dealing with ancient athletics, Dr. Norman Gardiner †.

The present Keeper has added to all the sections.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, υ, αι, οι, ου by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final -ος and -ον by *-us* and *-um*, and -ρος by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong ει, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in -ειον must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in -ρος, as Λέαγρος, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-on* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for κ, *ch* for χ, but *y* and *u* being substituted for υ and ου, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for ου in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *JdI*. xviii, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*JdI*. xviii, 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *SIG*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>AA</i> = Archäologischer Anzeiger. | <i>IG</i> = Inscriptiones Graecae. |
| <i>Abh Berl.</i> (<i>Heid. Leipz. Munch.</i>) = Abhandlungen der Berliner (Heidelberger, Leipziger, Münchner) Akademie. | <i>IG Rom</i> = Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes. |
| <i>AD</i> = Antike Denkmäler. | <i>JdI</i> = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. |
| <i>AdI</i> = Annali dell' Istituto. | <i>JEA</i> = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. |
| <i>AEM</i> = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilung. | <i>JHS</i> = Journal of Hellenic Studies. |
| <i>AJA</i> = American Journal of Archaeology. | <i>JInt</i> = Journal Internationale d'Archéologie Numismatique. |
| <i>AJPh</i> = American Journal of Philology. | <i>JRS</i> = Journal of Roman Studies. |
| <i>AM</i> = Athenische Mitteilungen. | <i>LS</i> = Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon. |
| <i>APF</i> = Archiv für Papyrus-Forschung. | <i>Mon Ant</i> = Monumenti Antichi. |
| <i>ARW</i> = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. | <i>Mon Inst</i> = Monumenti dell' Istituto. |
| <i>AZ</i> = Archäologische Zeitung. | <i>ML</i> = Roscher, Mythologisches Lexikon. |
| <i>BCH</i> = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. | <i>NNM</i> = Numismatic Notes and Monographs. |
| <i>BdI</i> = Bulletino dell' Istituto. | <i>NSe</i> = Notizie degli Scavi. |
| <i>BM Bronzes, etc.</i> = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes, etc. | <i>Num Chron</i> = Numismatic Chronicle. |
| <i>BMC</i> = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins. | <i>NZ</i> = Numismatische Zeitschrift. |
| <i>BNGJ</i> = Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher. | <i>OJh</i> = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts. |
| <i>BrBr</i> = Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler. | <i>PhW</i> = Philologische Wochenschrift. |
| <i>BSA</i> = Annual of the British School at Athens. | Πρακτ = Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας. |
| <i>BSR</i> = Papers of the British School at Rome. | <i>RA</i> = Revue Archéologique. |
| <i>Burs</i> = Bursian's Jahresberichte. | <i>RE</i> = Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft. |
| <i>Byz</i> = Byzantion. | <i>REA</i> = Revue des Études Anciennes. |
| <i>BZ</i> = Byzantinische Zeitschrift. | <i>REG</i> = Revue des Études Grecques. |
| <i>CAH</i> = Cambridge Ancient History. | <i>Rend Linc</i> = Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. |
| <i>CIG</i> = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. | <i>Rev Num</i> = Revue Numismatique. |
| <i>Cl Ph</i> = Classical Philology. | <i>Rev Phil</i> = Revue de Philologie. |
| <i>Cl Qu</i> = Classical Quarterly. | <i>RGV</i> = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. |
| <i>Cl Rev</i> = Classical Review. | <i>Riv Fil</i> = Rivista di Filologia. |
| <i>CR Ac Inscr</i> = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions. | <i>RM</i> = Romische Mitteilungen. |
| <i>CVA</i> = Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. | <i>SB Berl.</i> (<i>Heid. Leipz. Munch.</i>) = Sitzungsberichte der Berliner (Heidelberger, etc.) Akademie. |
| <i>Δελτ</i> = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. | <i>SEG</i> = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. |
| <i>DA</i> = Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités. | <i>TAM</i> = Tituli Asiae Minoris. |
| Dittenb. <i>OIG</i> = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae. | <i>WT</i> = Wiener Vorlegeblätter. |
| Dittenb. <i>SIG</i> = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum. | <i>Z Num</i> = Zeitschrift für Numismatik. |
| <i>EA</i> = Arndt-Amelung, Einzelaufnahmen. | <i>Z Sav</i> = Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung. |
| <i>Ἐφημ</i> = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς. | |
| <i>FR</i> = Furtwangler and Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei. | |

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.
 () Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
 < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
 . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
 - - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known. Uncertain letters should have dots under them.
 Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.
 The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ḥ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

- () Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
 [[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
 < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER : No. 3

1931

CHURCHES AT JERASH

*A Preliminary Report of the Joint
 Yale-British School Expeditions
 to Jerash, 1928-1930*

BY

J. W. CROWFOOT, C.B.E., M.A.

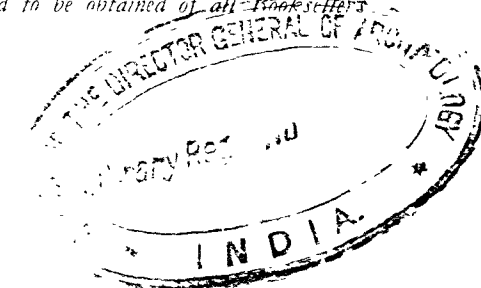
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CHURCHES AT JERASH

FOREWORD

PROFESSOR BACON of Yale is the real father of the expeditions which have been working for the last three years on the churches at Jerash under the joint auspices of Yale University and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. To his constant encouragement, not less than to the financial support for the work which he has been able to secure in America, our first acknowledgments are due. Secondly, we have to thank the Schweich Fund of the British Academy, the Byzantine Research Fund, the Craven Fund, All Souls College, and Mr. Henry J. Patten, for generous supplementary grants. The Government of H.H. the Amir of Trans-Jordan has laid us under a great obligation by the generous facilities which it accorded the expedition. Lastly, the writer must express his grateful thanks for the able and devoted assistance which he has received from the members of the expeditions: Mrs. Crowfoot has been with him on all the campaigns; in 1928 the other members were Mr. J. B. Robertson of Yale, Mr. A. G. Buchanan, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. M. Jones and Miss Dorothy Crowfoot; in 1929, Dr. Clarence S. Fisher, Mr. Jones, Mr. R. W. Hamilton, Mr. C. C. Roach, and Miss Joan Crowfoot; in 1930, Dr. Fisher and Mr. Hamilton. In 1929, Mr. Reich and Mr. Schweig of Jerusalem also took part as architect and photographer, respectively.

The work on the churches has now been concluded, but as Yale University is continuing work at Jerash on the classical buildings which lie round about the churches, and further light on various points is therefore likely to be soon forthcoming, it has been thought best to delay the final publication of the Christian remains and issue the following preliminary report at once. In compiling this report I have made free use of a chapter on the Christian inscriptions which has been written by Mr. Jones. We have also to thank the Editor of the *Illustrated London News* for permission to use the blocks of three coloured plates which appeared in his issue of the 23rd November 1929, and the Council of the Palestine Exploration Fund for a similar courtesy in respect of illustrations which have already appeared in their *Quarterly Statement*.

December 1930.

J. W. CROWFOOT.

The Society for the

Roman Studies.

50, BEDFORD SQUARE, W. 1.

President: PROFESSOR F. ADCOCK.

THE subjects to promote the study of which the Society was formed are the history, archæology and art of Rome, Italy and the Roman Empire in general down to about 700 A.D. In particular, so far as its resources permit, and so far as is possible without prejudice to the wider objects with which it is concerned, the Society endeavours to encourage the study of Britain under Roman occupation, both by devoting space in its *Journal* to articles on Romano-British history and archæology and by grants to funds formed for the conduct of excavations.

In connexion with the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies the Society maintains a joint library of works on classical antiquity, and a collection of lantern-slides and photographs. Members are entitled to borrow books and slides, and these can be sent to them by post. Communications about books and slides should be addressed to the Librarian at 50 Bedford Square.

Afternoon meetings for the reading and discussion of papers are held at Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1. Notices of these are sent to all members.

The Journal of Roman Studies, which is open to the contributions of both British and foreign scholars, is published by the Society in half-yearly parts, and is sent post free to all members.

The Annual Subscription for membership of the Society is one guinea. The composition fee for life membership is ten guineas for persons over fifty years of age, and fifteen guineas for others. Student Associates are admitted at the reduced subscription of 10s. 6d.

Persons desirous of joining the Society are asked to communicate with the Secretary at the Haverfield Library, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

THE objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £3 15s.), and there is an entrance fee of 5s. (not charged to Libraries or members of Branches). Members receive a copy of the annual *Proceedings* of the Association (post free). They may also obtain *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* and the *Classical Review* and *Classical Quarterly* at reduced prices, provided that the subscriptions be paid before January 31st in each year. Subscriptions sent in later than that date must be at the rates offered to the general public.

Inquiries and applications for membership should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. H. F. Hose, Dulwich College, S.E. 21; or to either of the Hon. Secretaries, Miss Gedge, c/o The Triangle Offices, 61 South Molton Street, W. 1, and R. M. Rattenbury, Trinity College, Cambridge; or to the Hon. Secretary of any of the district Branches—viz., E. D. T. Jenkins, M.A., University College, Aberystwyth; Miss M. E. Lees, M.A., University College, Bangor; Dr. G. H. Goldsmith, 6, Bromham Road, Bedford; G. A. Auden, M.D., M.A., F.R.C.P., F.S.A., 42, Lordswood Road, Harborne, Birmingham; H. Pitman, The University, Bristol; W. H. S. Jones, Litt.D., St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; L. J. D. Richardson, M.A., Fernshaw, Lake Road West, Cardiff; M. M. Gillies, Ph.D., University College, Hull; Miss M. M. Towne, County School for Girls, Beckenham, Kent; D. E. F. Binyon, The University, Leeds; D. L. Hewitt, B.A., Wyggeston School for Boys, Leicester; G. B. A. Fletcher, B.A., The University, Liverpool; Miss W. A. Greatbatch, 150, Park Road, London, W. 4; E. J. Wood, B.A., The University, Manchester; Miss I. Jenkin, 8, Sandhurst Avenue, Withington, Manchester; B. Anderton, M.A., Public Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne; Professor F. S. Granger, University College, Nottingham; T. B. L. Webster, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford; Miss C. Keith, St. Hilda's College, Oxford; Miss N. C. Jolliffe, The University, Reading; G. H. P. P. Tredennick, M.A., 28, Beech Hill Road, Sheffield; Mrs. F. G. Maunsell, B.A., 66, Ethelbert Avenue, Southampton; Professor F. Fletcher, M.A., University College, Exeter (South-Western Branch); F. P. B. Shipham, 48, Rutland Gardens, Hove, Sussex; H. Hill, M.A., University College of Swansea; A. M. Moore, H.M.I., Byam's, Fitzhead, Taunton; R. Dobbin, M.A., 326, Montreal Street, Christchurch, New Zealand.

KEFTIU: CRETE OR CILICIA?

IN the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* I have just published ¹ a quantity of new evidence with regard to Keftiu, which should be read as an introduction to the present article. The geographical conclusions in that article were drawn from a variety of sources, and were emphatic that this name was applied by the Egyptians to the country comprised within the boundaries of the later Pisidia, Isauria, Lycaonia and Cilicia. Of this tract Cilicia Tracheia seemed to be the centre. We also found ourselves brought into contact on several occasions with the Philistines. This new evidence, therefore, provides a remarkable confirmation of the results drawn from my original archaeological study of the Keftiuans and their civilisation as exhibited to us on the Egyptian frescoes of the XVIIIth Dynasty.² The results of that original article were to shew that Keftiu was Cilicia, though then it was eastern Cilicia that seemed the probable situation; that the Keftiuans were forerunners of the Philistines; and that the fresco of Rekhmirê shewed a mixed group of Islanders (Cretans) and Keftiuans (Cilicians) who corresponded essentially with the mixed group whom we know from the Old Testament some four hundred and fifty years later as the Cherethites (Cretans) and Pelethites (Philistines).

However, as is well known, an idea has been fostered that Keftiu was Crete and the Aegean Islands. If this is to compete with all the evidence that there is for Cilicia and its neighbourhood, it will have to be supported by more, and more solid, arguments than have hitherto been made public. Unless this can be done, it is evident that such few resemblances as the Keftiu civilisation can shew to the Cretan must be explained by some other method than merely by calling Keftiu Crete, or Crete and the Aegean Islands, and by using the names indiscriminately. The reason for the anxiety to claim this name for Crete and the Aegean is not easy to understand, especially when there is the other name available, 'the Isles in the midst of the Sea,' which seems so eminently suitable. This latter, however, is ignored, except indeed when it is identified with Keftiu, and then is used only in virtue of this identification as an alternative and explanatory term. Yet 'Isles in the midst of the Sea' seems, even superficially, to be the natural name for the island world of the Aegean, and I put forward this view in my original article.³ But at that time the clearness of the situation was obscured to the extent of the absence of any name in the inscriptions accompanying the definite Cretans of Senmut's fresco. Thus, at that time it was only possible to discover who these people of Senmut's were by a process of study and discussion. This I did in the above-named article,

¹ Wainwright in *J.E.A.*, xvii (1931), pp. 26-43.

² Wainwright, 'The Keftiu-people of the Egyptian Monuments,' published in the *Annals of Archaeology*
J.H.S.—VOL. II.

and *Anthropology* (Liverpool), VI (1913), pp. 24-83.
Reference to this article is made as *L.I.*

³ *L.I.*, pp. 34-37, 45, 75.

where I called them 'The People of the Isles in the midst of the Sea,' but the argument does not seem to have won general acceptance as yet.

It is the more satisfactory, therefore, that the knowledge necessary for the discussion of the question of Keftiu and the Isles has been greatly advanced in recent years. In this advance an important place must be given to two of Mr. Davies' discoveries and publications of parts of scenes from new tombs at Thebes. The first was a procession of 'Islanders' from the tomb of Useramon, and the second was a captive labelled 'Keftiu.'⁴ It is perhaps hardly possible to find two figures more unlike. The detailed discussion of the new Keftiuan figure is deferred till later, and for the present we will confine ourselves to the well-known pictures and types about which so much has already been said.

Let us, therefore, begin with Useramon's fresco. Here are figured people wearing a dress and locks of hair that are identical with those of the Senmut fresco.⁵ This dress is the cutaway kilt with its pendant, sometimes called a 'codpiece,' in front, which is shewn nowhere else in Egypt but in these two paintings,⁶ and Mr. Davies very obligingly gives a copy of the Senmut pictures for comparison. Useramon's people are undoubtedly the same as those of Senmut, and they are just as undoubtedly Cretans. But are they Keftiuans? That is a very different matter. In Senmut they are unnamed, as has already been seen, but the pro-Cretans start off by assuming that they are Keftiuans⁷ and then proceed as if it were proved that Keftiu was Crete and Keftiuans were Minoans. Useramon fortunately gives us the name of these very distinct people, which has been lost from Senmut. He calls them the people of 'the Isles in the midst of the Sea,'⁸ but says not a word about Keftiu.⁹ Short of the direct statement that these people are *not* Keftiuans, which of course is out of the question, it is hardly possible to desire a more complete vindication of my thesis that Keftiu was not the Isles and should be separated from them. Further, it is a complete and final proof of the deduction I ventured to make that the Senmut people were indeed the 'People of the Isles in the midst of the Sea.'¹⁰ Thus, the basis is shewn never to have existed on which has been built most of the theory that to the Egyptian Keftiu was Crete; unless, of course, its adherents prefer to claim that when the Egyptian wrote 'Isles in the midst of the Sea' he really meant 'Keftiu' and vice versa.

⁴ The new Keftiuan figure is shown as Fig. 23 of the present article = Davies, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Nov. 1929: *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1928-29, p. 41, Fig. 5, and cf. Figs. 1, 2.

⁵ Davies, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, March 1926; *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1924-25, pp. 44-46, and Figs. 1, 6.

⁶ See p. 8 for the wrongful insertion and final correction of the pendant in Rekhmirê's mixed group of Keftiuans and Islanders.

⁷ See next paragraph.

⁸ Davies, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, March 1926; *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1924-25, p. 44, col. b. Yet Sir Arthur Evans entitles his reproduction of Mr. Davies' figure

'Minoan Tributaries from Keftiu: Tomb of Useramon,' Fig. 471, *The Palace of Minos*, II, p. 738, where he changes into 'Keftiu' the name which the inscription gives as 'Isles.' To his figure 470 he similarly gives the title 'Minoan Tribute-bearers from Keftiu: Tomb of Senmut,' where the name 'Keftiu' is supplied by himself, there being no name at all in the inscription. Though to him the two names of course mean the same thing, it would still complicate matters to use them in this way, even if there were no alternative view in the field which separates them.

⁹ Mr. Davies kindly confirms by letter that Keftiu is not mentioned.

¹⁰ Wainwright, *L.A.*, p. 45.

In view of the facts it may seem extraordinary that the Keftiuans should ever have been confused with the People of the Isles in the midst of the Sea, yet such has been the case, and it is this confusion that lies at the bottom of most of the difficulties besetting the student at the present time. Thus, at the beginning of the modern discussion of these peoples we find that Dr. Hall published the Senmut scene of what we now know to be Island and Cretan ambassadors under the title of 'The Keftiu-fresco in the Tomb of Senmut.'¹¹ In another article he speaks of 'the well-known wall-painting of Keftian (Minoan Cretan) ambassadors in the tomb of Senmut at Egyptian Thebes.'¹² Indeed right back in his original article he goes so far as to state that in '... Senmut and Rekhmara, the people from Keftiu are always depicted as Mycenaean of the type of the Knossian cupbearer and the bull-catchers of the Vaphio cups.'¹³ Similar remarks will be found elsewhere in this article.¹⁴ However, a more cautious spirit made itself apparent in his later writings, where Senmut's people are called 'Minoan Cretan ambassadors,' the word 'Keftiu' being dropped.¹⁵ Though the position thus appears to have been shifted, the pro-Cretan still maintains the original outlook by now giving the name Minoan equally to Senmut's Islanders, to Menkheperresenb's Keftiuans and Rekhmir's mixed group of Islanders and Keftiuans.¹⁶ In this way is kept up the supposed identity of the Keftiuans with Senmut's people, the latter of whom we now know to be people of the Isles. Thus, the admitted fact that Senmut's and Useramon's people are Minoan Cretans is mobilised to reinforce the claim that the Keftiuans also are Cretans, though it is done nowadays by implication rather than by direct statement.

As what was at one time one of its main props—the assumption that the Senmut people were Keftiuans—has been knocked away, all the difficulties entailed by the view that Crete was Keftiu fall to the ground also, and hence a great deal of wearisome disputation is fortunately saved. We are now freer still than we have been hitherto of the attempt to mix up the Senmut people, the Keftiuans, and the People of the Isles and to treat them as one undivided whole. We are, of course, now not only free, but obliged, to treat of the civilisation of the People of the Isles as one and that of the Keftiuans as another. As this had already been done even under the old conditions in my original article, a consideration of some of its points will be helpful here.

The starting-point of that article was a double one; first, that the people in Senmut were different from the Keftiuans and must be treated

¹¹ Hall in *B.S.A.*, x, pp. 154 ff.

¹² *Op. cit.* xvi, p. 254.

¹³ *Op. cit.* viii, p. 175. Surely it is scarcely possible to compare the full heavy kilt of the Keftiuans with either the cutaway kilt of the bull-catchers (Bossert, *Alt Kreta*, 2nd ed., Figs. 242, 243) or the skin-tight short kilt of the Cupbearer with its long pendant of bead network.

¹⁴ Hall in *B.S.A.*, viii, pp. 172, 173.

¹⁵ Hall in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, presented to Sir Arthur Evans, 1927, Pl. III, facing p. 40, and caption to Fig. 4, p. 39. The same is quite rightly done in the

case of Useramon's People of the Isles, Fig. 2, p. 38.

¹⁶ For example, Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, the caption to Fig. 473 facing p. 741 reads 'Minoan Tribute-bearers from Keftiu: Tomb of Rekhmara.' Similarly on p. 656 in speaking of the mission of the Chief of Keftiu in Menkheperresenb's fresco he says, 'the gifts are mainly borne by Minoan youths.' In the same way, in the *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, Hall entitles his Pl. III, facing p. 40, 'Minoan Cretan Ambassadors . . . tomb of Sennemut . . .' and his Plates IV, a, b, 'Minoans in the Tomb of Menkheperresenb.'

separately; secondly, that the names Keftiu and Isles in the midst of the Sea, which occur in the heading of Rekhmirê's tribute scene are not necessarily in apposition as they had been read up to that time. I shewed that the grammatical construction used is quite an ordinary one by which two nouns are co-ordinated, in this case, 'Keftiu and the Isles.'¹⁷ It is, of course, the same construction as is used in the Hymn of Victory to connect Keftiu with Asy.¹⁸ If, therefore, Rekhmirê states Keftiu to have been the Isles, the Hymn of Victory equally states that Keftiu was Asy (Cyprus or the opposite coast of the mainland). While, of course, the text is not entirely unambiguous, the balance of probability is in favour of co-ordinating the two names and not of reading them in apposition. Unless, therefore, there is abundant and irrefragable proof to the contrary, it is gratuitous to doubt that Rekhmirê describes his scene as 'The coming in peace of the Great Ones of Keftiu *and* of the Isles in the midst of the Sea.' Such being the case, the scene in Rekhmirê shows a mixed company of Keftiuans and Islanders, and I then proceeded to analyse the combined group of offerings which these two peoples bring. The result was that after eliminating what worked out as certainly brought by the Islanders there was very little left of a Cretising nature that could be brought by the Keftiuans. Of course it is improbable that any system that could be devised would produce results that required no adjustments whatever. All statistics have to undergo that treatment. Their merit is that they reduce the problem from vague generalities to concrete terms which admit of detailed discussion. In this way they reduce the liability of error to a minimum. Let us, therefore, examine these results, and to the best of our ability measure the connection that the frescoes shew between Keftiu and Crete.

In Rekhmirê we have a collection of fifty-nine objects brought by a mixed group of Keftiuans and People of the Isles. Out of these fifty-nine, fourteen are of a Cretising type¹⁹ and forty-five are non-Cretising. The system, such as it was, shewed that of these fourteen Cretising objects nine were brought by the Keftiuans²⁰ and five were brought by the Islanders.²¹ However, it may be that some or all of these nine alleged Keftiuan Cretising objects in Rekhmirê really belong to the Islanders. If any or all of them should do so, this would reduce the Keftiuan connection with Crete by that amount. That is to say, that even in Rekhmirê, where the Keftiuan connection with Crete is most close, it would have become even more slender than it already is. How slender it is is suggested by the proportion that nine bears to fifty-four²² = $16\cdot7\%$ for Crete and $83\cdot3\%$ for influences other than Cretan. The proportion is not large, and even this figure has only been arrived at on my reckoning, which is generous to the Cretan

¹⁷ *L.I.*, pp. 35, 80. No. 10.

¹⁸ Sethe, *Urkunden der XVIII Dynastie*, p. 616, l. 2. See also p. 34 of the present article.

¹⁹ The four fillers Nos. 41, 42 on Pl. X; the five protomai Nos. 45-49 on Pl. X; the five objects Nos. 92-96 on Pl. XIII.

²⁰ The four fillers and five protomai of the previous note.

²¹ The five objects Nos. 92-96 of note 19.

²² The figure fifty-four represents the number of objects, whether of a Cretising, Svrising, or independent nature, that were allotted on this method to the Keftiuans. The total number of objects brought by the mixed company of Keftiuans and Islanders is fifty-nine. From this must be deducted the five allotted to the Islanders, leaving fifty-four as the total contributed by the Keftiuans.

influence in the Keftiuan civilisation. In the Menkheperrêsenb fresco where the Keftiuans appear without the People of the Isles²³ the proportions are found to be curiously similar; out of a total of thirty-eight objects²⁴ the Cretising ones are no more than two protomai,²⁵ the statuette of a bull, and the 'Vaphio' cup;²⁶ four altogether. We may make it up to seven by reckoning the two figures 66, 67 of Pl. XI, as Cretan fillers, and the bull's head on vase 58 as Cretan as well, although these three latter things might equally well be Syrian.²⁷ Let us do it, in order to deny Crete nothing. Crete, therefore, influenced the culture of Menkheperrêsenb's Keftiuans only to the extent of seven at the very utmost in thirty-eight; in other words, the proportions are 18.4% as a maximum for Crete as against 81.6% for other influences. In Amenemheb, where the Keftiuans again appear without the People of the Isles²⁸ but with Syrians, there are no Cretising objects at all among the three that they bring.²⁹ The above figures of 16.7% and 18.4% for Crete's maximum influence in Rekhmirê and Menkheperrêsenb respectively have been obtained by a method which shews itself to have been quite a fair one. Not only did it not deprive Keftiu of all Rekhmirê's Cretising objects by claiming them all for the Islanders as might have been done by some other system, but the new method adopted in this paragraph gives Crete the benefit of the doubt with regard to Figs. 58, 66, and 67 in Menkheperrêsenb. Finally, the general fairness of the method employed is guaranteed by the fact that when applied to two different groups of tribute it produces results that are comparable the one to the other.

We have been working out our problem hitherto on the supposition that the civilisations of Keftiu and the Isles are distinct and separate. It is only fair, therefore, to the claimants that they are one and the same and came from Crete to work it in this way also. That is to say, we will consider all the fourteen Cretising objects in Rekhmirê as belonging to a single civilisation only, and then see what results we get. In this way we must add the fourteen Cretising objects of Rekhmirê to the seven of Menkheperrêsenb, making twenty-one altogether out of the total of exactly one hundred objects brought by the representatives of the supposed one and indivisible civilisation called indifferently Keftiuan or Island, *i.e.* Cretan. Thus, by taking the problem from their own angle the pro-Cretans are faced with this situation; that these frescoes which they believe to prove

²³ Here they appear with Asiatic leaders, the chiefs of the Hittites and of Tunip, as well as their own. The train of tribute-bearers is, however, represented as only composed of Keftiuans and is always so considered in the discussions of the subject. They are so treated here.

²⁴ The objects may be easily reckoned up by reference to Max Muller's plates in his publication of the scenes, *Egyptological Researches*, II, Pls. 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. By reference to Pl. 1, it will be seen that Plates 4, 5, 6 give the objects that belong to Qadesh. The line may be seen quite distinctly in Pl. 1, which divides this group (the lower two rows) from the upper (the upper two rows). The figure prostrating

itself on this dividing line is that of the Chief of Keftiu himself, who is shewn on a large scale on Pl. 7.

²⁵ Figs. 71, 72 of Pl. XI of my article in *L.A.*, VI.

²⁶ Figs. 85 and 91 respectively of Pl. XIII of my article in *L.A.*, VI.

²⁷ Compare the fillers 66, 67 with that brought by Syrians, Fig. 14; and the bull's head, 58, with Figs. 20, 21, 22, which also are brought by Syrians.

²⁸ They are here shewn in a group by themselves. Unfortunately it is only a very small one. The other rows shew Syrians, who are named as those of Upper and Lower Retenu respectively.

²⁹ Figs. 75, 76, 77 of Pl. XI of my article in *L.A.*, VI.

that Keftiu was Crete actually shew a civilisation consisting of no more than 21% of Cretan objects as against 79% of objects which are either Syrising or independent. Just one-fifth for Crete. Surely a poor shewing for the country which is supposed to lie concealed under the name Keftiu. Such being the case, it is impossible to admit that in these frescoes of Keftiuans and Keftiuans-cum-Islanders the Egyptians have left us a record of tribute-bearers coming from Crete and nowhere else. A further proof, if one were needed, that these people came from somewhere other than Crete is to be found in the objects brought by the people in Senmut and Useramon. These people, as Useramon's inscription tells us, come from 'the Isles in the midst of the Sea' only, and the drawings of their tribute shew it quite correctly to be as Cretan as could possibly be desired, with the exception of the great bowl, No. 78 on Pl. XI of my Keftiu article. It is evident, then, that the Keftiuan civilisation with which we are dealing in Rekhmirê, Menkheperresenb and Amenemheb is not a simple Cretan one like that of Senmut and Useramon. It is, in fact, quite a different civilisation, but one which included in itself a few objects which at present we believe to be of Cretan origin. These were very few, actually only round about 17.5% at most and possibly even less.

Naturally it would be ridiculous to insist too strongly on these percentages, or to pretend that they are in any way mathematically exact, and I myself should be the last to wish to do so. But, on the other hand, it would be equally unreasonable to put them aside as meaningless, and I do very strongly maintain that they give us a guide as to what the civilisation was with which we are dealing. It, therefore, seems a fair deduction to draw that the Egyptian frescoes do not speak in favour of the supposition that Keftiu was Crete. Indeed, a claim for Crete founded on these frescoes is precarious to say the least of it. If the discrepancy is to be explained by those blessed words 'confusion,' 'carelessness,' 'inaccuracy,' 'strange blunder of the Egyptian artist,'³⁰ then surely it would be a waste of time to attempt to study records so confused as these would be—records which would have overlaid a supposedly Cretan culture with some 79% of non-Cretan things. But happily things are not so bad as that. The men whose pictures we are now studying were not scientists giving us essays in ethnology, but artists engaged in representing things as they saw them with reasonable accuracy. If proofs of this are necessary, several are forthcoming. We have already had two instances of the accuracy with which Minoan things from Crete are depicted in Senmut and Useramon. Another very striking one will be pointed out in the next section. Yet another is to be found in the fact that an analysis of the artists' pictorial records leads us to think of a land in contact with Syria on the one hand and Crete on the other. In fact they direct us to just such a land as our study of the contemporary incantation and the scribe's list of names has already indicated.³¹ That land was Cilicia, Isauria, Lycaonia and Pisidia.

More evidence of the desire of the Egyptian painter to attain such

³⁰ Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 278. Id., in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, pp. 35, 37. Cf. Evans,

The Palace of Minos, II, p. 535, note 3, p. 745.
³¹ Wainwright, *J.E.A.*, xvii (1931), p. 43.

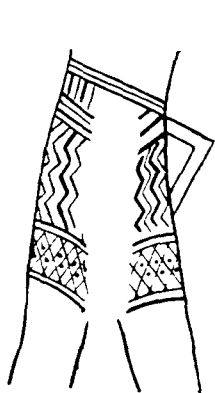


FIG. 1.—R.

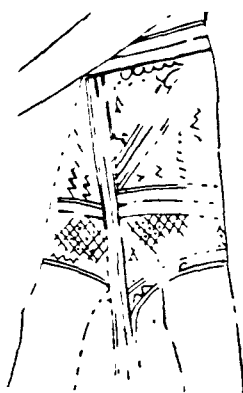


FIG. 2.—M.

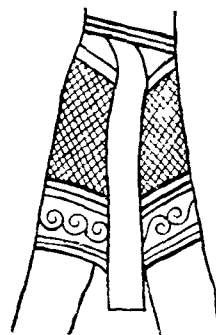


FIG. 3.—R.



FIG. 4.—M.

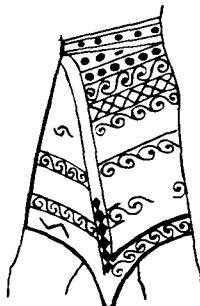


FIG. 5.—M.

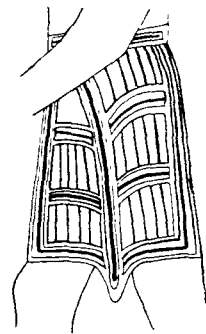


FIG. 6.—M.

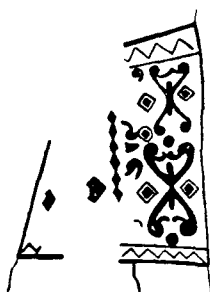


FIG. 7.—M.



FIG. 8.—R.

SOME KEFTICAN KILTS.

R = REKHMIRÊ; M = MENKHEPERRÊSEN.

accuracy as was possible within his limitations³² is provided by the kilts, in which Rekhmirê's artist has dressed his mixed company of Keftiuans and Islanders (Figs. 1, 3, 8). In the present state of general opinion it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the kilts there shewn are not the cutaway kilts of Senmut and Useramon (Fig. 14).³³ The difficulty is that in Rekhmirê's fresco the pendant, or 'codpiece' as the Aegean archaeologists describe it, which is proper to the cutaway kilt, had in the first stages of the painting been added to the full Keftiuian kilt, as in Fig. 1,³⁴ where its top can be seen projecting in front. However, it cannot belong to the Keftiuian kilt, for that is full and not caught up in any way. Not only does the shape of the kilt tell us this, but also the fact that there is no sign of it on the kilts of the Keftiuans of Menkheperresenb. Thus, it was only added here in Rekhmirê, where the Keftiuans appear in company with the wearers of this pendant, that is to say, the People of the Isles in the midst of the Sea. As I stated originally,³⁵ these pendants in Rekhmirê are very faint, having white paint on them, and now Mr. Davies, whose lifetime of study of the Egyptian frescoes gives especial weight to his judgment, pronounces them to have been painted out.³⁶ In other words, it was realised that People of the Isles ought to have kilts with pendants, and that Keftiuans ought to have full kilts without them. The artist, having painted the whole of his mixed group of Islanders and Keftiuans with the less unusual full kilt, tried to fit in the queer Island pendant which he knew ought to appear somehow in such a scene. Finding it impossible with the kilts he had painted he gave up the attempt. His task now was to bring his pictures back to some sort of truth. Should he paint out a number of the kilts and repaint them as the strange garment, of which he had grasped the most salient feature, the pendant? Or should he just paint out the pendants, which he realised were foreign to the garment he had put in, and so leave his people correctly garbed, at least according to the fashion of one of them? To paint out the comparatively small pendant was a quick and easy matter; moreover, it entailed no repainting of a new set of kilts. Who, therefore, shall blame him if he adopted the second course, or brand him as lazy? Ignorant we see he was not. Careless is surely too harsh a stigma to fasten on a man who is subject to the same frailties as the rest of us, but who was not ashamed to admit a mistake. He did what human nature is always prone to do in all countries under such circumstances. He made the best of a bad job, and produced something good enough for his purpose. That purpose, as remarked

³² Mr. Davies has an interesting passage on the subject of the care put into his work by the Egyptian artist. It occurs in the *Bulletin of the Metrop. Museum of Art*, March 1926; *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1924-25, p. 48. Here he says, 'the artists of this and the succeeding reign . . . did not often yield . . . to mere reproduction of a created type, but sought, as a rule, to delineate with care the peculiarities of face, dress, and customs, as if they were fully aware that these deserved study, sympathy, and even admiration.'

³³ Neither are they the very short kilt with the long

network of beads dangling in front that the men wear in the Cupbearer fresco of Knossos; see Fig. 16 of the present article. They are, however, identical in their cut with the kilts worn by the Philistines and their allies, who are commonly called 'the Sea Raiders' or 'the Sea Peoples' by Egyptologists.

³⁴ Or Pl. XVII of *L.A.*, VI, where another is shewn.

³⁵ Wainwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45.

³⁶ Davies, *Bull. Metrop. Museum of Art*, March 1926; *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1924-25, p. 46.

above, was not to illustrate an ethnological handbook of the Levant of his time, though that is how we try to use his work to-day, and in so doing some of us have been sadly disturbed by his solution of his difficulties. In this way it has come about that Rekhmirê's artist has left us pictures of a mixed group of Keftiuans and Islanders dressed in Keftiuan costume, but also with the evidence upon them of his realisation of his own mistake.

To continue the study of the clothing of the Keftiuans. On close acquaintance this proves to be very characteristic and to afford still more evidence as to who the Keftiuans really were. Owing to the very varying views expressed as to the relationships of their garments the question must be treated under at least two main headings. We have to discuss them in their relationship to the Cretan on the one hand and to the Philistine on the other.

In the first place we have Sir Arthur Evans' all-embracing hospitality which he offers on behalf of Crete. He claims the isolated and unnamed figure in yet another fresco, that of Puyemrê, as a Minoan and therefore for him a Keftiuan (Fig. 21). This belief is probably founded on the fact that like the Cretans the unnamed man wears long flowing locks of hair. But even this has lost much of its value for Crete since Mr. Davies' publication of the new figure which is labelled 'Keftiu' (Fig. 23).³⁷ This new Keftiuan wears flowing locks like those of Puyemrê's man, but by no stretch of imagination could he be called a Cretan. On the contrary, it will be shewn later on³⁸ that he fits in well with the little we do know of the Cilician neighbourhood. Puyemrê's unnamed man appears with various ambassadors who are called 'the Chiefs of Further Syria.' He may quite well be intended for a Keftiuan or some allied race; but it would surely be stretching one's complaisance to the extremest limit to accept his kilt (Fig. 15)³⁹ as being 'substantially identical with that of the Cupbearer and his fellows' (Fig. 16) as Sir Arthur would have us do.⁴⁰

On the contrary, the kilt worn by Puyemrê's man appears to me to be even more unlike the Cupbearer's than those worn by the Keftiuans in the frescoes of Rekhmirê and Menkheperresenb. Puyemrê's man wears a full kilt reaching nearly to the knees; cut straight across the bottom instead of falling to a point; without pendants or attachments of any sort; without decorations except an edging running round the outline. The Cupbearer and his fellows, on the other hand, wear kilts that are the tightest and shortest compatible with decency. In fact Minoan dress, whether of this type or of the Senmut 'codpiece' type, is always of the tightest and scantiest, and has been well compared to bathing drawers. So short is the Cupbearer's costume that although it runs down to a long point in front, yet even this point does not reach the knees, the greater part of the thighs being left naked. How can Puyemrê's kilt be compared to this when it has no point to begin with, and then to go on with entirely covers the

³⁷ Fig. 23 of the present article is reproduced from Davies, *Bull. Metropol. Mus. of Art*, Nov. 1929; *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1928-29, p. 41, Fig. 5, and cf. Figs. 1, 2.

³⁸ See pp. 24, 25.

³⁹ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, Pl. XXXVI and in colour Pl. I and in photograph Pl. XXXIIIa. Mr. Davies discusses the man on p. 91.

⁴⁰ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, p. 739, Fig. 472.

legs practically as far as the knees? Then again, besides the long point of his kilt the Cupbearer wears a long network of beads which swings down below his calves. Of anything of this sort in Puyemrê there is as little sign as of the point to the kilt. Yet once more, the kilts that are worn in the Cupbearer procession at Knossos are made of a patterned material, the pattern covering the whole of the surface. On the other hand, Puyemrê's figure wears a plain white kilt whose only ornament is an edging in blue and red somewhat in the Syrian fashion. In view of these facts I regret my inability to see any resemblance between the two kilts. Further discussion of the dissimilarities between the Keftiuan kilt and that of the Minoan Cupbearer must be deferred until after the similarities of the Keftiuan and Philistine kilts have been treated, as these two subjects are much involved together. These remarks on the Cupbearer's kilt will be found on pp. 16 to 21.

After this wide casting of the Cretan net which sweeps into one category kilts apparently so very unlike, we are taken to the other extreme when it is the Keftiuan and Philistine kilts that are under consideration. Here we meet with a judgment so meticulous that it refuses to accept the essential relationship of articles of clothing which seem so extremely similar. Thus, Dr. Hall says, 'Like the Shardina and the rest (*i.e.* the Tursha and Shakalsha), they (the Philistines) did not wear the Minoan or Keftian dress.'⁴¹ Here we are only concerned with the Keftian dress. The only article of clothing that is worn by both the Keftiuans and the Sea Raiders, among whom the Philistines appear, is the kilt; the Keftiuans not being shewn in battle but at court, and conversely the Sea Raiders only being shewn as warriors. The question, therefore, of the use of armour does not enter into the comparison. A set of drawings of Keftiuan kilts in the fifteenth century B.C. from Rekhmirê and Menkheperresenb will be found as Figs. 1-8, and a Philistine kilt of the twelfth century from one of Ramesses III's prisoners, will be found in Fig. 9. As stated above, Dr. Hall considers the Philistine and Keftiuan kilts to be quite different the one from the other, but, on the contrary, I have to maintain that there is no material difference between them, and that each is a good representative of the other.

With the Keftiuan and Philistine kilts from the Egyptian monuments are included those from a couple of figures from Enkomi in Cyprus, and dating to the twelfth or eleventh centuries B.C. (Figs. 10, 11).⁴² One of them, Fig. 10, is worn by the warrior fighting the griffin, who is generally known as an 'Arimasian.' Of him Dr. Hall says that 'he does not look in the least like Mr. Wainwright's pseudo-Minoan Keftians from Cilicia . . . but is like a Philistine or Shardana.'⁴³ He thus admits the 'Arimasian' to be a 'Philistine,' but will not allow that he resembles the Keftiuans. Of course the fact that armour is worn on this occasion is as little helpful to the comparison of the 'Arimasian' with the Keftiuans as it was in the case of the Philistines. It does, however, identify the 'Arimasian' with

⁴¹ Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*. II. p. 286.

⁴² Enlarged from A. S. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Pl. I, right-hand corner of the top figure; Pl. II, Fig. 872, A.

⁴³ Hall in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 40. 'Pseudo-Minoan' is, of course, his term for them, not mine.

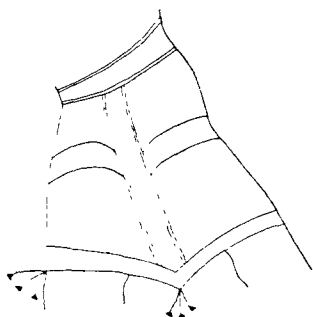


FIG. 9.—PHILISTINE. EGYPT.

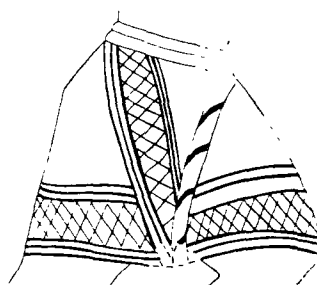


FIG. 10.—‘ARIMASPIAN.’ CYPRUS.

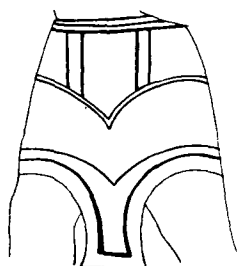


FIG. 11.—‘PHILISTINE.’ CYPRUS.

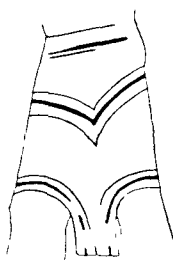


FIG. 12.—N. SYRIA. PUYEMRÉ.

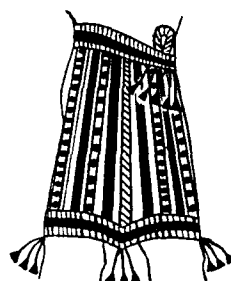


FIG. 13.—ASIA.

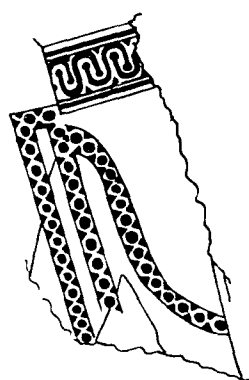


FIG. 14.—ISLANDER. SENMUT.

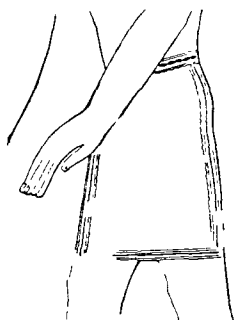


FIG. 15.—PUYEMRÉ.



FIG. 16.—A ‘CUPBEART.’ KNOSSOS.

VARIOUS KILTS.

these last, for his armour shews the same peculiarities as theirs. Here again, then, as with the Philistines, the only article of clothing common to the Cypriote 'Arimaspian' and the Keftiuans is the kilt, and contrary to Dr. Hall I venture to think that his kilt (Fig. 10) is clearly closely allied to those that the latter were wearing some centuries earlier (Figs. 1-8). It is divided into panels by downward curving bands in a manner not dissimilar from theirs. It has the diagonal band running downwards between the waist and the point, and if the point is a little less pronounced than theirs, still it is there all the same. The most noticeable feature of the 'Arimaspian's' kilt is the lower panel filled with cross-hatchings and bordered with broad bands of parallel lines. Now, although Dr. Hall has stated that the 'Arimaspian' 'does not look in the least like Mr. Wainwright's pseudo-Minoan Keftians,' it is a remarkable fact that this very panel is exceedingly common on the kilts of the Keftiuans shewn in the XVIIIth Dynasty frescoes at Thebes. Not only is it merely present, but it is generally used in the same position as the 'Arimaspian's,' that is to say, as the lower panel of the kilt. An agreement so remarkable as this is surely no mere coincidence but an astonishing proof of the identity of the two civilisations, the 'Arimaspian's' and the Keftiuans' of some centuries earlier. The first of these Keftiuan cross-hatched lower panels is to be seen in Fig. 1 of the present article.⁴⁴ Here it has been enriched with a spot in each space, but on the kilt of another of Rekhmirê's Keftiuans we find the same lower panel filled with the simple cross-hatchings of the 'Arimaspian.' This time it is the border of parallel lines that is enriched with spots.⁴⁵ One of Menkheperresenb's Keftiuans also has the same lower panel filled with cross-hatchings and bordered with bands of parallel lines (Fig. 2). But this one is still further enriched, for it both has spots in the spaces between the cross-hatchings and a zigzag line between the parallel lines of the lower border.⁴⁶ Yet again the kilt of another of Rekhmirê's Keftiuans exhibits a panel filled with the simple pattern, though on this occasion it covers nearly the whole surface of the garment. It again is bordered by a series of parallel lines (Fig. 3).⁴⁷ On another occasion the simple cross-hatchings fill one of the many panels of the kilt worn by another of Menkheperresenb's Keftiuans (Fig. 4).⁴⁸ A curious feature of the 'Arimaspian's' kilt is the diagonal roll running down to the point. What this may be is not evident. Perhaps it may be an interpretation of something like the animal's head and neck which form a sort of roll falling from the waist on the kilt of one of the Keftiuans in Rekhmirê's fresco.⁴⁹ In fact, detailed study shews that the 'Arimaspian's' kilt is quite as much like those of the Keftiuans as it is like those of the Philistines. Therefore, there seems nothing to prevent one from not only calling the 'Arimaspian' a Philistine as Dr. Hall does, but from calling both of them

⁴⁴ It is also published in Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 473, *e*.

⁴⁵ Id., *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 473, *b*.

⁴⁶ Fig. 2 of this article - Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 482.

⁴⁷ Fig. 3 of this article = Id., *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 473, *d*.

⁴⁸ Fig. 4 of this article = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, *a*, the man carrying the jackal's head as a present. The reproduction in this plate is too faint to show this fine detail.

⁴⁹ Evans, *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 473, *f*.

near relatives of the Keftiuans of some three hundred years earlier. Indeed, in view of the archaeological correspondences one seems forced to do so.

Besides the 'Arimaspian' there is yet another 'Philistine' from Enkomi in Cyprus, and an enlarged drawing of his kilt is shewn here as Fig. 11. He is the little bearded man, who follows the chariot and carries the axe on one of the panels of the well-known ivory box now in the British Museum.⁵⁰ The proof of his Philistinism is to be found in the fact that he wears the feather headdress that is so remarkable a characteristic of the Philistines on the monuments of Ramesses III in Egypt. It is interesting, therefore, to note that his kilt has a remarkable resemblance in detail to at least one Keftiu kilt, though the type of the garment itself belongs to another series, and this is North Syrian (Fig. 12).⁵¹ While the Cypriote Philistine's garment has no diagonal overlap like the Keftiu kilt, it at least resembles some of the examples in decoration.⁵² In the first place it is divided into panels like those of the Keftiuans by bands which turn downwards towards the point. Having already seen such remarkable agreement between the lower panels of a number of Keftiu kilts and that of one Cypriote 'Philistine,' we are quite prepared to find that this second man's upper panel is almost exactly reproduced by the upper panel of one of Rekhmirê's Keftiuans (Fig. 1).⁵³ As in Cyprus, so in Rekhmirê's fresco we see the vertical stripes filling an upper panel that is pointed below and is edged with a series of parallel lines. Further, in Menkheperresenb this design repeated many times over fills not only the upper panel but the whole of the kilt of another Keftiu kilt (Fig. 6).⁵⁴ Hence, like the 'Arimaspian,' this little Cypriote shews himself not only to have been a 'Philistine,' but also to have had several very remarkable affinities with the Keftiuans of an earlier age.

It has been shewn that the kilt (Fig. 12) worn by a certain man from 'Further Syria,' i.e. North Syria, is of the same type as that worn by the little 'Philistine' at Enkomi. A word may likewise be devoted to the medallion which the North Syrian wears,⁵⁵ for that also is an adornment favoured by one member of the Philistine confederacy.

This is an extremely rare ornament among the foreigners of the Theban pictures. The only others known to the present writer are first of all those worn by a number of the northern enemies of Thothmes IV,⁵⁶ and as the list of names that is also recorded is with one exception from the furthest

⁵⁰ A. S. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Pl. I, right-hand corner of the uppermost figure.

⁵¹ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, Pl. XXXI, top register, and pp. 80, 81. The tribute-bearers in this scene are said to be from 'Further Syria.'

⁵² The outline, though apparently not the construction, of the kilt may be compared with that worn by the Keftiuans. The Cypriote and North Syrian kilt has an exaggerated point which swings against the calves of the legs. This might perhaps be compared with that worn by the Keftiuans of Rekhmirê, such as Fig. 8, and discussed on p. 18. Others are shewn in Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II,

Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, b. It should be observed that though this plate calls both scenes Menkheperresenb, actually the lower of them belongs to Rekhmirê.

⁵³ Fig. 1 of this article = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 473, e. The idea is continued in the main panel, where the vertical stripes are given a zigzag form.

⁵⁴ Fig. 6 of this article = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, a, last man.

⁵⁵ Mr. Davies says it is Babylonian in style, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁵⁶ Carter and Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, Figs. 4, 5, pp. 28, 29; cf. also Pls. X, XI.

north, it is probable that these medallion-wearers are from that district.⁵⁷ A medallion is worn by yet another man in Puyemrê.⁵⁸ He comes in another group of men who are likewise called 'Chiefs of Further Syria,'⁵⁹ which title this time includes the figure claimed as a Keftiuian by Sir Arthur Evans. The man with the medallion is bearded and wears a kilt that is different again from the others, but has decorated edges, a band of decoration across the middle, and a point which hangs between the legs. The other medallion is that worn by a man of the Sea Peoples who accompanied the Philistines on their raid into Egypt. This was the She[kelesh] who also wears a beard and thus resembles our little Cypriote 'Philistine' whose costume led to this discussion.⁶⁰ We have here a circle of connections which is suggestive of interesting possibilities. It is that the medallion goes with certain North Syrian kilts; in Cyprus one of these kilts goes with a bearded 'Philistine'; in Egypt a bearded companion of the Philistines wears the medallion.

Mention may also be made parenthetically of the beard worn by the Chief of Keftiu in Menkheperresenb. Much fun has been poked at the artist for this 'strange blunder' of his. Though it is true that the Keftiuans are otherwise represented as clean-shaven,⁶¹ as are the Philistines and the Sea Peoples in general, yet it is clear that they were sometimes bearded. The little Cypriote 'Philistine' from Enkomi wears a full beard,⁶² and there are certain figures among the Sea Raiders who also wear beards. One of them is the same She[kelesh] who wears one of the very rare medallions, and so completes that curious circle of medallion, kilt, beard, and the others belong to the Sherden and Thekel (Zakkal) tribes respectively.⁶³ Thus, though the Chief of Keftiu was no doubt unusual in cultivating his beard, there is no need as yet to ascribe its presence merely to the artist's clumsiness.

But to return to our comparative study of the Keftiuans and Philistines. Having found the two little Philistines from Cyprus to resemble very

⁵⁷ Carter and Newberry, *op. cit.*, p. 32. The list is: Naharaina, Sangara, Tounipa, Shasu, Kadshi (Qadesh), and Tikhisa. For a number of these places see the map, *J.E.A.*, xvii, Pl. V. Shasu is a Palestinian name.

⁵⁸ Davies, *op. cit.*, frontispiece and Pl. XXXVI, the second man.

⁵⁹ Mr. Davies describes the last man in the group as a 'Libyan' on account of certain of his characteristics: p. 62, and note 1. This is not necessary, for just as his 'pouch' is worn by the men of Qadesh and the chiefs of Keftiu and the Hittites (Max Muller, *Egyptological Researches*, II, Pls. 7, 13, 15, 16), so his crossed bands on the chest are worn by the North Syrian foes of Thothmes IV: see Carter and Newberry, *The Tomb of Thothmes IV*, Figs. 4, 5, 6, pp. 28, 29, 30.

⁶⁰ Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Pl. CXLIII = Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. CCIII.

⁶¹ Amenemhebs Keftiuans are also bearded, though this combined with their dress leads the Egyptians to speak of them as 'pure Syrians wrongly labelled' and so to decline discussing them (Pendle-

bury, *J.E.A.*, xvi, p. 76, note 4, and again p. 81).

⁶² A. S. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Pl. I, right-hand corner of the top figure.

⁶³ See the photographs in the collection published by Petrie, *Racial Types from Egypt*: Sherden, 159; Shekelesh, 160; Thekel, 168, 174-77, 178, and less clearly 158. The beards of all three of these peoples are shewn in Rosellini, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXLIII, but in his version of the plate Champollion (*op. cit.*, Pl. CCIII) omits the beard of the Thekel, but shews the other two correctly. The name Thekel has been transcribed into English letters in a variety of ways, such as Zakkal, Zakaray, etc. It is generally thought of as representing the Greek name Teukroi, that is to say, the native Tarku when Cilicia is under discussion: see Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 131, note 10, pp. 146, 149. On the question of the presence of Keftiuian names at Olba (itself Graecised from a native name, Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 221, in Cilicia Tracheia, where the priest-kings were Teukroi, see the companion article, *J.E.A.*, xvii, pp. 32, 36, and cf. p. 16 of the present one.

closely indeed the Keftiuans of an earlier age, we must now approach those known to us from the Egyptian monuments themselves. They appear in the sculptures of Ramesses III. They, too, offer resemblances to these same Keftiuans, though, as with the others, the fact of their wearing armour does not affect the case. Here once more we are reduced to considering the only article of dress that they have in common with the Keftiuans, and as in the previous cases this is again the kilt. Now, the Philistines wear kilts that are either tasselled or plain. As the plain ones are exactly like those with the tassels except in the lack of this adornment, only a drawing of the one kind is given here (Fig. 9).⁶⁴ In this variable attitude towards tassels the Philistines have another characteristic in common with the Keftiuans, for some of these latter also wear tassels while some do not.⁶⁵ Both the Keftiuans and the Philistines wear a full heavy kilt reaching to just above the knees.⁶⁶ In neither case does the lower edge go straight across between the legs, but in both it falls to a point in front. Again, in each case there is the broad band falling diagonally from the waist to this point. In each case the kilt is not plain, like the Egyptian for example, but ornamented; in the case of the Keftiuans very highly indeed, and in the case of the Philistines with bands indicating decoration. In this respect it must not be forgotten that we know the Keftiuans from elaborately detailed paintings, whereas the Philistines come before us in great temple bas-reliefs where the details must of necessity be more summarily treated. In fact the Philistine bands of decoration falling towards the point and dividing the surface into panels are actually reproduced extremely clearly on the kilt of one of Menkheperresenb's Keftiuans (Fig. 6), and again, though possibly rather less noticeably, on another (Fig. 4).⁶⁷ The only differences are that in the Keftiuans' there are more of these curved bands and that the panels between them are filled in with patterns. This is no doubt due to the more detailed treatment they have received. The division of the kilt into panels was not an uncommon arrangement with the Keftiuans, for several others are thus shewn, though they are rather different in their spacing.⁶⁸ In fact, so fond were the Keftiuans of this type of decoration that sometimes the curved bands were not used merely to separate panels, but the patterns themselves were arranged in this style. Then, by being set in contact one with the other, they formed nearly the whole decoration of the kilt (Fig. 5).⁶⁹ The broad band of decoration

⁶⁴ There is one kilt that has exactly the same bunches of tassels as the Philistine ones, except that it also has them at the back as well as the front. This is worn by the four men who are labelled *Aamu 'Asiatics'* among the figures representative of the four divisions of mankind in the tomb of Seti. See Fig. 13 of the present article = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. Pl. 136, Figs. *a, b, d*.

⁶⁵ For the wearing of tassels see Fig. 8 of this article = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 479. Others are Fig. 473, *b*; Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, *a*, the last man but one; Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, *b*, on the point of the kilt of the first man = Fig. 473, *a*.

⁶⁶ Rekhmirê's are inclined to be very slightly shorter than Menkheperresenb's. Perhaps this may

be due to the presence of the Islanders in this company.

⁶⁷ These figures are also published by Max Muller, *Egyptological Researches*, II, Pls. 12 and 11, or better, Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, *a*, the man on the extreme right of the plate and the other at the extreme left. This same plate, which is a reproduction of Mrs. Davies' facsimile paintings, is also published by Hall in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, Pl. IV, *a*.

⁶⁸ See Figs. 1, 2, 3 of the present article = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 473, *d, e*; Fig. 482, the last man.

⁶⁹ For yet others see Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 473, *c, g*.

edging the lower border of the kilt which is so noticeable a feature of those worn by both the Egyptian Philistine and the Cypriote 'Arimaspian' and little 'Philistine' (Figs. 9, 10, 11), is to be seen commonly on those of the Keftiuans, especially in Rekhmirê. In view of all this I find myself quite unable to agree that the Philistines did not wear the Keftiuian dress, as some have stated, but, on the contrary, am forced to the conclusion that they did.

After all it seems only natural that they should in view of the following pieces of information which have already been collected. The first is that the Zakkal (Thekel) were one of the tribes who accompanied the Philistines on their raid into Egypt, and in Palestine appear to have left their name at Ziklag, one of the Philistine cities in that country. This name Zakkal is often thought to have been the same as the Greek Teukroi. Enkomi, whence come the little 'Arimaspian' and the Cypriote 'Philistine,' is the original Salamis of Cyprus. Now, Greek legend says that Salamis was founded by Teucer. Hence Philistines were well established at Enkomi in the form of Zakkal or Teukroi. The connection between the Philistinian tribe of the Zakkal and the Keftiuans is brought about by two things. The first is that Teukroi ruled as priest-kings at Olba in Cilicia Tracheia, and in this connection Teukros is said to represent Tarku the aboriginal god.⁷⁰ This is the country round which the Keftiuian names centre, two of the classes, *Bndbr* and *zdn*, being actually represented in the environs of the Teucric city itself.⁷¹ Further, the identity of the Keftiuans with the Philistines themselves is made likely by the fact that yet another Keftiuian name, *zkš*, occurs as the Philistine name, Achish,⁷² and Achish probably brings us back to the Zakkal or Teukroi, for he ruled over Ziklag.⁷³

Having shewn the general similarity or, as one might venture to say, identity of the Keftiuian and the Philistine kilts, we may turn to a study of the supposed resemblances of the Keftiuian garment to that of the Cupbearer at Knossos. Here instead of similarities we meet nothing but differences. The most characteristic detail of the Cretan dress is entirely lacking from the Keftiuian. This is the unique network of beads that dangles from the point of the Cupbearer's kilt (Fig. 16), but is entirely absent from those of the Keftiuans. It is so remarkable a feature that no artist could have overlooked it. Its absence, therefore, is only less convincing than its presence would have been, if it had been there. Its absence is the more noteworthy as both the Cupbearer at Knossos and the Keftiuian ambassadors at Thebes are at court. They, therefore, appear before us under the same conditions, and these are such as entail the wearing of their full dress in each case. The absence, therefore, of so striking a feature from the kilts of the Keftiuans is strong presumptive evidence that they and the Cupbearer do not belong to one people.

Other details which may be studied are the fashion of wearing tassels, the cut of the garment, the patterns used for decorating the material, and the

⁷⁰ Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 131, note 10, pp. 146, 149. Olba itself is probably nothing but a Graecised form of a native name, *Id.*, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 22.

⁷¹ See the companion article in *J.E.A.*, xvii, pp. 32, 36.

⁷² *Op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36.

⁷³ I Sam. xxvii, 6.

method of arranging them. One and all, these are quite different in the Keftiuan and Cretan examples. As has been stated, the Keftiuans sometimes wear tassels along the lower edge of their kilts,⁷⁴ and more often on the point itself,⁷⁵ and two even have a string to the belt which hangs down in tassels behind.⁷⁶ Now, there is no such thing as a tassel on any one of the Cretan kilts. However, those that hang from the long point in front of the Keftiuan kilts have been compared with the long network of beads that swings below the calves of the Cupbearer and his fellows at Knossos.⁷⁷ I should prefer to say that, on the contrary, they suggest so much better a comparison with the tassels to be seen on the point of the Philistine kilts that they might even be called a variety of them, if not actually the same thing. (Cf. Figs. 8 and 9, and also Fig. 13, which is Asiatic.) The tassels connect the Keftiuan kilt with another Asiatic garment, the cloak from Ivriz in the Taurus Mountains. The lower edge of Fig. 8 is singularly like that of Fig. 19. Each has a fringe of heavy tassels and runs down to a point in front where there are more tassels. Their attitude towards tassels, therefore, while allying them with Philistine and certain Asiatic costumes, forms a sharp distinction between the Keftiuan and Cretan kilts.

We now come to the cut of the costume. Here the differences between the Cupbearer's kilt and those of the Keftiuans and Philistines appear to my eye to be profound. In the first place, the only resemblance is that both run to a point in front. Yet even this point of the Cupbearer's garment is very different in its structure and details from that of the Keftiuan kilt. The patterns on the Knossian kilts continue right down into the point, implying that the material is either cut into that shape or dragged into it by the weight of the attached beadwork, as in Fig. 16. The point of the Keftiuan kilt, on the other hand, is produced by the overlapping edge of the garment being allowed to hang down loosely, and this edge itself usually has a special decoration of its own and forms an important part of the general scheme. Then, in the Keftiuan garment, we are not dealing with skin-tight short 'bathing drawers' exposing the main part of the thighs as with the Cupbearer. The Keftiuan kilt, like that of the Philistines on the Egyptian monuments and the Cypriote 'Arimaspian' (Figs. 9, 10), is a full free-hanging one which covers all the thighs behind as well as in front, only just leaving the knees free. Fig. 4 shews that the Keftiuan kilt contained enough material for the one end to be lapped over the other. How freely both the Philistine and the 'Arimaspian' kilts hang and how loose they are is shewn by the fact that they are sufficiently roomy to allow the

⁷⁴ Fig. 8 of the present article, which is drawn from Rekhmiré's fresco = Evans, *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 479. Another very similar one is to be seen in Menkheperresenb, Evans, *op. cit.*, II, Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, a, last figure but one on the right -- a poor drawing in Max Muller, *Egyptological Researches*, II, Pl. 12.

⁷⁵ Besides the two kilts mentioned in the previous note, see Rekhmiré: Evans, *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 473, a, b, Fig. 473, a = the first man on Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, b. The last figure on this same plate has them also,

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but only reproduced here dimly, though they are quite clear in Mrs. Davies' facsimile paintings in the British Museum Sculpture Gallery.

⁷⁶ Fig. 8 of the present article = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 479. This one is from Rekhmiré. For the other, which is from Menkheperresenb, see *Id.*, *op. cit.*, II, Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, a, last man but one = Hall in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, Pl. IV, a.

⁷⁷ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, p. 743.

wearer the utmost stretch of his legs (Figs. 9, 10).⁷⁸ The difference in the length of the Cupbearer and Keftiuan kilts is emphasised by a comparison of the points which both possess. While the Cupbearer's, which is very long, scarcely reaches to the knees, the Keftiuans' shortest ones hang below the knees (Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6), while the longest (Figs. 2, 8) swing against the wearers' calves. In fact the Keftiuan kilt is so much the longer, that its point alone may hang nearly as low as the long beadwork attachment that swings from the point of the Cupbearer's kilt.

Then again, not only is the manner of covering the surface of the kilts with patterns entirely different in the case of the Cupbearer procession and the Keftiuans, but the very patterns themselves are quite different also. One of the 'Cupbearer' kilts is reproduced here as Fig. 16, and it will serve as an example of the style of patterning employed by the Minoans. Although many designs were in use, they were all employed in the same way. One element was selected for each piece of material, and repeated over and over again until the whole surface had been covered by it.⁷⁹ Thus, the kilts of the Cupbearer and his fellows are each decorated with a single design. On the other hand, the Keftiuan material is covered with many different ones, and these are almost all arranged in bands, whether vertical, or whether horizontal and turning downwards towards the point.⁸⁰ The Cretan designs themselves are quite different from those chosen by the Keftiuans, as may be seen by a comparison of our Fig. 16, which is Cretan, with Figs. 1-8, which are Keftiuan. Those who wish to see the full range of Cretan patterns may do so by studying the plates and figures in Sir Arthur Evans' *Palace of Minos*.⁸¹ Such a study will impress upon them the completeness of divergence that there is between Minoan and Keftiuan taste in patterned material. There are only three resemblances to be found. The first is the network which covers the field of the kilt worn by one of the Keftiuans.⁸² If so desired, this might perhaps be compared to the network that is produced on the Minoan kilt, our Fig. 16,⁸³ by the spaces between each element composing the pattern. The second is one of the various spot designs which will be discussed below. The third is the pair of volutes forming the element decorating the Knossian kilt. If there were any reason for it, this might be compared to the large

⁷⁸ It is unfortunate that the only Keftiuan who stretches his legs widely is the Chief of Keftiu, who prostrates himself in Menkheperresenb (Max Muller, *Egyptological Researches*, II, Pl. 7). While his kilt allows him to do this without difficulty, it would perhaps be hardly fair to adduce this instance, as his kilt differs in its decoration from the usual Keftiuan ones. In its patterning it approximates more the dress of the 'Keftiuan' figure in Puyemrê, while in shape it is the same as those of the Philistines. Actually it is very much the same as the kilt of the Chief of Kheta who accompanies him (Pl. 7), and also those of the men of Qadesh who come as another group in the same fresco, Pls. 13, 14, 15, 16.

⁷⁹ With, of course, the exception of the border.

⁸⁰ Horizontal bands = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Figs. 473, c, g; 482, the leading man; Suppl. Pl.

XXVIII, a, the leading man. Vertical bands = id., *op. cit.*, Figs. 473, a, b; 474, 479; Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, Fig. a, the last man but one; Fig. b, all the four men. In the use of vertical bands the Keftiuan kilt is the same as those worn by some of Thothmes IV's north Syrian enemies (Carter and Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, pp. 26-29). It is also the same as those worn by the representative figures called *Amu* 'Asiatics' in Seti's tomb (Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, iii, Pl. 136, a, b, d = Fig. 13 of the present article). This kilt of the *Amu* has the same bunches of tassels as have the Philistine ones.

⁸¹ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Pl. XII, facing p. 707, Fig. 450, Nos. 8, 9; Figs. 452, 456; Suppl. Pls. XXVI, XXVII.

⁸² Id., *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 482, the second man.

⁸³ Cf. Id., *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 456, c.

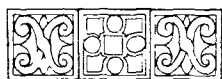


FIG. 17.—BOR. DRESS.



FIG. 18.—BOR. CLOAK.



FIG. 19.—IVRIZ. CLOAK.

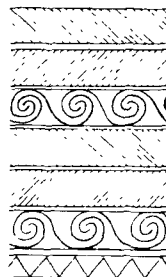


FIG. 20.—BOGHAZ-KEUI.

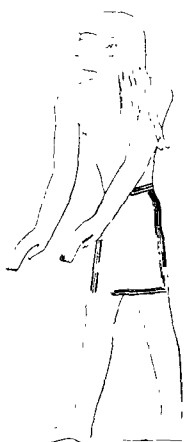


FIG. 21.—PUYEMRÉ.

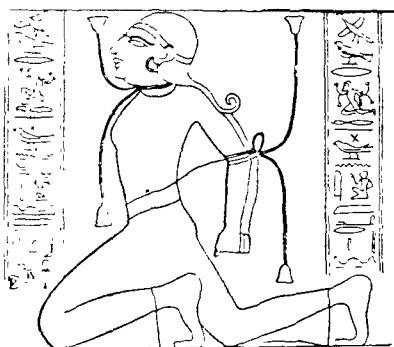


FIG. 22.—HITTITE.



FIG. 23.—KEFTIUAN.

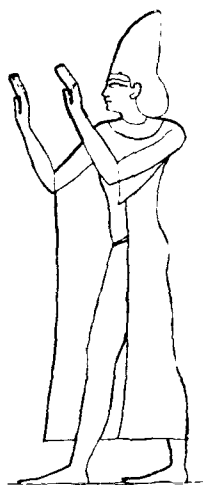


FIG. 24.—HITTITE KING.

VARIOUS DETAILS OF COSTUME.

figures each composed of two of these pairs set together that are to be seen on one of the Keftiuan kilts (Fig. 7).⁸⁴ Yet, while these latter patterns are of course allied to the Cretan, no one could claim for them, either that the patterns themselves were the *same*, or yet that their manner of employment on the material was the *same*. While the Keftiuan pattern of the two pairs of volutes is not to be found on Cretan dress, it is to be found on a costume from Bor in the Taurus Mountains just outside Cilicia and almost due north of Tarsus. There on the lowest band but one of the patterns on the dress, not the cloak, a number of these will be found turned sideways (Fig. 17).⁸⁵ To those who accept Keftiu as Cilicia and its neighbourhood the fact is important that this dress is probably some centuries later in date than our picture of the Keftiuan in Menkheperrensenb. It shews how very permanent and, therefore, how much at home, this pattern was in the neighbourhood of Cilicia.

The Keftiuan patterns are: cross-hatchings, chevrons, diagonal lines, herring-boning, 'plaited' pattern, zigzags with the spaces variously treated, spirals, diamonds, strings of γ , not one of which occurs on a Cretan kilt. The Cretan spirals do not occur on the kilts themselves, but only on the waist-belts, where Senmut's fresco also shews the **S** pattern. On the other hand, the Keftiuan ones are liable to be put in any of the strips of decoration of the kilt itself. On looking about for a kilt ornamented with patterns in strips going round it, we note that worn by the figure at Boghaz-Keui (Fig. 20).⁸⁶ Two of the bands of pattern on this kilt are composed of spirals, and they thus form a very close analogy to the Keftiuan ones (Figs. 3, 5). The rest of the decoration of this Boghaz-Keui kilt is composed of bands of diagonal hatchings. Moreover, these are so arranged that each pair forms a herring-bone pattern, thus reproducing two more of the Keftiuan kilt patterns. Yet again the lower border shews still another Keftiuan pattern, that of zigzags, which in Figs. 2 and 7 is used for the lower border exactly as on the Boghaz-Keui figure. Still further, the Keftiuan diamonds are to be found arranged in bands running across a tasselled garment at Ivriz (Fig. 19), which like Bor is situated in the Taurus Mountains just outside Cilicia. Indeed these are not the only resemblances which this Ivriz pattern has to the Keftiuan ones, for the Ivriz bands turn downwards towards the point of the garment, and actually have a spot in the centre of each diamond and others, though in pairs, in each space between the diamonds. This use of diamonds and spots in bands running across the robe is to be found again on that sculpture at Bor in the Taurus Mountains, which has already been mentioned as providing parallels to the Keftiuan designs (Fig. 18).⁸⁷ The use then of both diamonds and of spots, which is characteristically Keftiuan, also proves to have been

⁸⁴ Fig. 7 = Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 482, the third man, or Fig. 483, *b*, where it is reproduced on a large scale but turned upside down, and mistakenly said to be from Rekhmurê. Actually it is from Menkheperrensenb.

⁸⁵ Fig. 17 is drawn from Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, Pl. LVI, facing p. 185. The pattern comes out quite clearly under a magnifying glass.

⁸⁶ Fig. 20 is a section of the kilt published by O. Puchstein, *Boghasken: Die Bauwerke*, Pl. 19; cf. also Pl. 18, and on p. 70, Fig. 48. The figure has often been republished; for example, in A. E. Cowley, *The Hittites*, Fig. 10, on p. 25; Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. XIX, facing p. 86.

⁸⁷ Fig. 18 is drawn from Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, Pl. LVI, facing p. 186.

quite common in the Taurus Mountains, though the diamonds are completely absent from Cretan costume. It is evident, then, that if the connections between the Keftiuan patterns and the Cretan ones are very few and slight, they are many and close between the Keftiuan and various Cappadocian ones.

Though the Keftiuan diamonds do not occur on the Cretan kilts, spots are found on both the Keftiuan and Cretan kilts, but generally used in a completely different manner. The Keftiuans use them as the decoration itself, either covering an entire field or occupying the centre of a space produced by some other pattern, such as cross-hatchings, zigzags, and scallops. The Cretan use of spots is totally different from this. Sometimes, however, the Keftiuans use them in rows,⁸⁸ and in this they do approximate the Cretans.⁸⁹ With these exceptions the Cretan patterns for kilt material find no counterpart whatever on the Keftiuan kilts. Thus, then, while both the Keftiuan patterns themselves and the manner of their use are very different from the Cretan, both are, on the other hand, already well known in Cappadocia and the Taurus Mountains.

Two things have thus become apparent about the clothing of the Keftiuans and the Cretans. The first is that the Keftiuans wore a kilt that was that of the Philistines of a later date both in cut, style of decoration and the occasional addition of tassels. The second is that the Keftiuans also wear a kilt that is quite unlike the Cretan dress, whether that of the Cupbearer and his fellows at Knossos or the cutaway kilt of the Vaphio bull-catchers and of the envoys from the Isles in the midst of the Sea who are shewn in the frescoes of Useramon and Senmut. This dissimilarity extends to the cut, the patterns employed, their arrangement on the material, and the complete lack of the long swinging network of beads which is so striking a characteristic of the Cupbearer and his fellows. The 'cod-piece' of the Minoan cutaway kilt, added by mistake to the Keftiuan kilts in Rekhmirê, was painted out by the artist as soon as he discovered what he had done. It was never painted at all on the kilts of Menkheperresenb's Keftiuans. Once more, then, the Keftiuans shew themselves not to be Cretans, and the evidence of their costume, which shews a complete divergence from the Cretan, is even more emphatic than was the analysis of the presents they bring. While with the presents the maximum amount of influence that could be attributed to Crete was no more than some 17.5%, with the kilts the influence is practically nothing at all.⁹⁰

Objects of Cretan type have long been known as coming from Asia in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Thus, in one Egyptian fresco three bulls' heads are brought by ordinary cloaked Syrians, who, as the inscription states, come from Naharain, the land between the Euphrates and Orontes.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Fig. 473, *b, c, g*, Fig. 474, Fig. 482, the first and second men; Max Muller, *Egyptological Researches*, II, Pl. 10, last man, Pl. 11, last man.

⁸⁹ Senmut's Islanders, Fig. 14. - Evans, *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 470, the last man. A Cretan kilt, *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 485.

⁹⁰ The only connection is in the use of spots in a row as a border. But this is in no way a remarkable

design, but something quite simple, and, standing as it does by itself, neither indicates influence from Crete upon Keftiu, nor from Keftiu upon Crete. Until we know more about the interactions of the various cultures, these can only be treated as parallels the one to the other.

⁹¹ Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, Pl. CLX, Fig. 1.

In another wall-painting a bull's head is brought by people who are named as those of Lower Retenu,⁹² which represents much the same country. The people from Qadesh on the southern border of this same country are depicted by Menkheperresenb as bringing three lion's-head proto-mai.⁹³ In yet another fresco ordinary cloaked Syrians bring an eagle's head,⁹⁴ but unfortunately they have no name and so cannot be more accurately placed. The Annals of Thothmes III mention 'the head of a lion' together with 'vessels of all the work of Zahi (Phoenicia).'⁹⁵ Three of these heads are duly figured in the sculpture accompanying the Annals, which shews the masses of offerings made by Thothmes to Amon-Rê from the booty of his campaigns.⁹⁶ This sculpture not only shews these lion-head protomai, but also fourteen 'Vaphio' cups.⁹⁷ Ordinary Syrians, who once more are unfortunately unnamed, bring a lion's head to Akhenaton at Tell el Amarna.⁹⁸

Although these have been known so long, and although there are evidences of trade between Crete and Syria going far back into the Middle Minoan Age corresponding to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom,⁹⁹ yet it is only comparatively recently that objects of Cretan shape have actually been found on Asiatic soil. The first of these is the well-known group found at Byblos.¹⁰⁰ This included the silver vase and the bronze one which are now famous, the one for its Cretan aspect and the other for its Cretan decoration. They are well dated by various objects, which were found with them and bore the name of Amenemhat III. As he was one of the later kings of the XIIth Dynasty he reigned a long time before Thothmes III, and the vases in question would antedate those shewn in the XVIIIth Dynasty frescoes by that amount of time. Sir Arthur himself publishes a rhyton which comes from Amisos in Pontus on the northern coast of Asia Minor.¹⁰¹ Mr. Woolley has published another from Aintab on the southern side of Asia Minor.¹⁰² As it is, knowing where the objects were found, no one proposes to claim the inhabitants of these countries as Cretans, and the countries themselves as Crete. But the treatment

⁹² In the fresco of Amenemheb, where it is brought by the first of the standing men of the middle row. Wainwright, *L.A.*, VI, Pl. IX, Fig. 22, and p. 52. It is much damaged and has been transformed into a leg of beef by Virey in his publication of the scene, *Mémoires. miss. arch. fr. au Caire*, V, 2, the first of the coloured plates after p. 244.

⁹³ Max Muller, *Egyptological Researches*, II, Pl. 6. That they belong to Qadesh may be seen on Pl. 1, where they are shewn in the bottom row of the lower group, that is to say, the one placed in front of the people of Qadesh.

⁹⁴ Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, Pl. XV, the last man of the lower row of Fig. 1. In the illustration it is not very clear, but is quite distinct in the original, now in the British Museum.

⁹⁵ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, § 509. Sethe, *Urkunden der XVIII Dynastie*, p. 718. ll. 1, 2.

⁹⁶ Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, Pl. CCCXVI; Wainwright, *L.A.*, VI, p. 52, where the

bearing of all this is discussed.

⁹⁷ Champollion, *op. cit.*, Pl. CCCXVI, and Wainwright, *L.A.*, VI, p. 60, where the subject is discussed.

⁹⁸ N. de G. Davies, *El Amarna*, II, Pl. XXXIX, third row up from the bottom.

⁹⁹ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, p. 655.

¹⁰⁰ Virolleaud in *Syria*, III (1922), pp. 279, 282, 283, and Pls. LXVI, Fig. 12, LXIV, and Fig. 5, Nos. 10, 11.

¹⁰¹ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, pp. 658, 659. He dates it to about 1450 B.C.

¹⁰² Woolley, *L.A.*, VI, Pl. XX, a, and p. 90. Mr. Woolley says it bears a striking resemblance to Cretan work of L.M. I., and assigns it almost certainly to the second period of his civilisation. Sir Arthur Evans, however, dates it a good deal later, to about 1000 B.C., see *Archaeologia*, lkv, p. 94, and *The Palace of Minos*, II, p. 658. The vase actually comes from Tell Kerab near Tell Basher.

meted out to the Keftiuans and Keftiu suggests an interesting analogy. Had these objects only been known to us as pictured in the hands of tribute-bearers on Egyptian frescoes, their bearers would presumably have been hailed as Minoans from Crete, especially if once they had happened to come with a Minoan embassy. Yet, again, no one ever tried to imagine that Kahun in Egypt was really Crete because some Kamareware pottery from Crete was found there. Why, therefore, should it be attempted to create Cretans out of Keftiuans who also possessed a few Cretan objects?

Here let me enter a protest against the imputation to me of such ideas in connection with the Keftiuans as 'hypothetical "Syro-Minoan" Cilicians,' 'not pure Minoans,' 'pseudo-Minoan Keftians from Cilicia.'¹⁰³ As for 'not pure Minoans' and 'pseudo-Minoans' I would say that I have never thought that the Keftiuans were Minoans of any sort, either genuine or imitation. In fact I state that the evidence of the monuments shews them to have had an independent civilisation of their own.¹⁰⁴ My point has always been merely that the Keftiuans of the Egyptians were the people of the Asia Minor coast, more especially of Cilicia and its neighbourhood. But I should be very sorry to make any definite statement on these grounds as to their ethnic relations.

As to their cultural relations, the utmost upon which I would venture at present is the following. The little we do know of ancient Cilicia and its neighbourhood shews that there were important states there called Arzawa and Luia, and that a special language was spoken there called Luvian.¹⁰⁵ These people must have had a civilisation of their own of some sort, whether of a high or low standard. But whether Crete influenced the native Cilician civilisation or not we do not yet know. That Syria had many and close connections with it will be shewn later.¹⁰⁶ If the Keftiuans be accepted as Cilicians, the presents which they bring shew the Syrian influence strongly. They also include some objects which at present we believe to be Cretan. But to possess a few Cretan objects does not make a Keftiu a pseudo-Cretan and still less a genuine one, any more than to possess a few Japanese colour prints makes an Englishman a pseudo-Japanese and still less a genuine Japanese. In fact these expressions, 'not pure Minoans,' 'pseudo-Minoan Keftians from Cilicia,' are ones that I have never used, and would ascribe to me a definition of the inhabitants of Cilicia which we are as yet in no position to make. At present we are scarcely beginning to feel our way into the almost completely unknown, and are still surrounded by vast uncharted tracts. This being so, it would behove us not to try to put the new wine into the old bottles of the knowledge we already have of other countries in the neighbourhood. At present we can only speak in the most general terms, and use such evidence as we have most cautiously. Let us, therefore, avoid such expressions as 'not pure Minoan,' 'pseudo-Minoan,' etc.

¹⁰³ Hall in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, pp. 32, 39, 40.

¹⁰⁵ See *J.E.A.*, xvii, pp. 29, 30.

¹⁰⁶ See pp. 25, 26.

¹⁰⁴ Wainwright, *L.A.*, VI, p. 26.

We now come to the expression 'hypothetical "Syro-Minoan" Cilicians' which Dr. Hall applies to my Keftiuans.¹⁰⁷ Mr. Davies' new picture of a Keftiu (Fig. 23),¹⁰⁸ shews a man who combines a very definite costume of his own with locks of hair that look Cretan. Little as the costume may resemble anything Syrian, it is far more unlike anything Cretan. While the figure gives at first sight a vague general impression of a Syrian, as soon as we come to study the details, we find that it neither represents a Syrian, or a Minoan, or a Syro-Minoan, but something different from all of them. Mr. Davies describes the figure thus: 'In everything he is non-Cretan, having a fair and prognathous face, rather Mongolian in aspect, with bulging forehead and fat chin, a long mantle with sleeves to the wrist, a skull-cup, and shoes. But the last have the sharply upturned toes which are characteristically Hittite. In short, except for the long Syrian sleeves and the division of the hair behind, the man might be worth study if he had been presented as a Hittite.'¹⁰⁹ This man, then, is dressed in a fashion of his own, though some of the details can be paralleled elsewhere. These are his sleeves which resemble Syrian ones; his hair which is dressed in a manner resembling the Cretan; and his shoes which resemble the Hittite ones. Did the Egyptian artist really make a confusion so wild as this, selecting scraps from everywhere and adding some out of his own head, in order to build up a phantasy which he then labelled 'Keftiu'? Surely it would have been less trouble for him to draw a reasonably accurate interpretation of something which actually existed. If he did, he certainly succeeded in producing a figure which fits in well with the results of my study of the other frescoes. It will be remembered that they have already shewn the Keftiuans to have had a civilisation of their own, with relationships to Syria on the one hand and to Crete on the other. Like 'not pure Minoans' and 'pseudo-Minoans,' the expression 'hypothetical "Syro-Minoan" Cilicians' does not seem to fit the case.

Now for a closer study of this little man himself who comes to us from the reign of Amenhotep III, *c.* 1400 B.C. Among these features of his costume which are neither Cretan nor Syrian, perhaps the most striking is the cloak. It is unlike the Syrian in being open, and is not, therefore, a long *gallabiyah* or shirt. As it is open it is less unlike the Libyan cloak, and if we were to apply the rules of criticism which have hitherto obtained in the study of the Keftiuans, we might call him 'merely a badly-conceived Libyan.'¹¹⁰ But actually it is very unlike the Libyan cloak also, for it is open in front, not at the side; fastened on the breast, not on the shoulder; and sleeved instead of being sleeveless. A garment so designed is very rare in the Egyptian representations of foreigners, and is, therefore, the more distinctive when found. Those who object to an Asianic situation

¹⁰⁷ *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸ Copied from Davies, *Bull. Metropol. Mus. of Art*, Nov. 1929: *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1928-29, p. 41, Fig. 5, and cf. Figs. 1, 2, where the man with the remains of his name may be seen among the other captives.

¹⁰⁹ Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Dr. Hall's view of 'Mr. Wainwright's pseudo-Minoan Keftians from Cilicia (whom I think to be merely badly conceived Cretans),' which he expresses in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 40.

for Keftiu should note that it is the Hittite prince whom Ramesses II shews as wearing a sleeved cloak which is also open in front (Fig. 24),¹¹¹ though whether it is fastened on the breast or not is not indicated. At Ivriz in the Taurus Mountains just outside Cilicia we have another cloak which is very like the Keftiuan one under discussion,¹¹² for it is not only open in front but is clearly shewn as being fastened on the breast. It, however, seems to be sleeveless. The same district provides yet another Hittite figure of about the same date which wears a cloak that is open in front.¹¹³ This is at Bor, which is also in the mountains and is practically due north of Tarsus. Though shorter than the one at Ivriz, the cloak at Bor is like it in having tassels and bands of patterns which run across it horizontally. Two of the bands are filled with diamonds and spots in the spaces (Fig. 18), which are similar to those at Ivriz (Fig. 19). The new Keftiuan's cloak thus finds several parallels in Asia Minor, two of which are actually from the Taurus Mountains themselves and just north of Cilicia. In fact this cloak of Ivriz has already been mentioned for other parallels which it offers to the dress of the Keftiuans.¹¹⁴ The probability that all of the Asianic examples are later in date than Amenhotep III makes the coincidence the more remarkable, for to those who accept a Cilician situation for Keftiu it shews how firmly established the cloak was in that neighbourhood and how long it lasted there.

Our new Keftiuan wears a skull-cap. Here again the sculptures at Ivriz and Bor present us with a garment which if not identical in shape is very like the one in the Egyptian painting. The sculptures at Boghaz Keui do the same.¹¹⁵ All of these figures wear a small cap rather like a bowler hat without a brim, and one cannot but think that these and the Egyptian picture represent two not very different interpretations of one and the same headgear. Probably it was a felt cap like the *libdah* of modern Egypt, which those at Ivriz and Bor closely resemble in shape.

Hence, the new Keftiuan's cloak and skull-cap, which are neither Syrian nor Cretan, ally themselves to the Hittite fashions on the outskirts of Cilicia. In so doing they fit in with the shoes which Mr. Davies has already pronounced to be Hittite. The man's costume, therefore, strongly suggests that his homeland, called Keftiu in the accompanying inscription, will be found to have been somewhere very near to Cilicia.

From this archaeological study of the Keftiuan civilisation, and leaving the racial affinities of the Cilicians, let us turn to the written record of the cultural influences at work in their country. The Sandokos legend indicates that there were ultimate Syrian influences at work in Cilicia, for Sandokos is said to have migrated from Syria to Kelenderis.¹¹⁶ The relationships of

¹¹¹ Fig. 24 of the present article = Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, iii, 196, a. Compare the sculpture at Boghaz Keui for the way in which the sleeves fall from the elbow as they do in an *abayah*: Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, p. 106, Fig. 6, and apparently p. 110, Fig. 7.

¹¹² See Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, Pl. LVII. Fig. 19 of this paper shews its lower part.

¹¹³ Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, Pl. LVI,

facing p. 186. A detail from this cloak is published as Fig. 18 of the present article.

¹¹⁴ The diamonds and the arrangement of the pattern in rows which turn down towards the point. A further resemblance is that it is tasselled.

¹¹⁵ Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, p. 106, Fig. 6; p. 110, Fig. 7.

¹¹⁶ For references see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopadie*, s.v. col. 2266.

Cilix, the eponymous hero of the country, do the same, for he was said to have been 'son of Agenor, a Phoenician,'¹¹⁷ and, as another of Agenor's sons was Phoenix,¹¹⁸ Cilix was also brother to the eponymous hero of Phoenicia. In fact, it would have been most extraordinary, if there had not been influences of some sort seeing how close the two lands are together. That the Keftiuans had trade relations with Syria we know definitely from the statement in the Annals of Thothmes III that he received in Zahi (Phoenicia) 'Keftiu-ships, Byblos-ships, Sektu-ships laden with poles and masts.'¹¹⁹ If the Keftiuans are Cilicians, as I believe them to be, then it was the Cilicians who had these trade relations, and the bringing of Syrising vases by the Keftiuans would agree with the above-mentioned indications of Cilicia's Syrian and Syro-Cypriote connexions. That the Keftiuans had trade relations with Crete also is made probable by the fact that they bring a few objects which at present we believe to have been Cretan. If the Keftiuans be accepted as Cilicians, then it was the Cilicians who had this commerce with Crete. But as a matter of fact all this is really beside the point. We are not concerned in this article with what was going on in Cilicia, but with the situation of the land known to the Egyptians as Keftiu. My argument was, and still is, that the evidence of the Egyptian monuments first of all makes it impossible that it should have been in Crete, and then makes it necessary that it should have been in some country lying between Crete and Syria. For these requirements Cilicia and its neighbourhood seems to fill the rôle. This, however, is not to presuppose the existence of 'hypothetical "Syro-Minoan" Cilicians.'

All this type of thought, to which may be added the expression 'badly conceived Cretans,'¹²⁰ is the outcome of the assumption that Keftiu is Crete. It results in that maze of doubt and difficulty so ably expressed by Dr. Hall in his essay on 'the Keftians, Philistines, and other Peoples of the Levant,'¹²¹ With it go such refinements as Caphtor and 'the real Caphtor,' 'the Keftian proper,'¹²² and therefore presumably the Keftian who was 'improper.' The assumption that Keftiu is the same as Crete leads its adherents into this further difficulty: starting with the theory that Keftiu is Caphtor, which is no doubt correct, and that both are Crete,¹²³ which on the contrary is entirely doubtful, the pro-Cretans cannot but admit that the Philistines came from Caphtor,¹²⁴ for there is no fact of ancient history better established than this. It should, therefore, be evident that the Philistines would be Minoan Cretans. Yet this they have to deny emphatically. Thus we are told, 'There is however a serious difficulty in accepting this conclusion (Caphtor = Crete) without modification. The Philistines were not Keftians or Minoans. . . .'¹²⁵

¹¹⁷ Herodotus, vii, 91.

¹¹⁸ *Apollodori Bibliotheca*, iii, 2, published in Teubner's series by R. Wagner: *Mythographi Graeci*, i, p. 106.

¹¹⁹ Sethe, *Urkunden der XVIII Dynastie*, p. 707, ll. 11, ff. Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, § 492.

¹²⁰ Hall in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 40.

¹²¹ Id., *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, pp. 275-88.

¹²² *Op. cit.*, II, p. 287.

¹²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 286. Cf. *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 32.

¹²⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 286, and *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 286, and *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Again, 'Hence, the Philistine was very different in appearance from the Minoan or Keftian of Crete.'¹²⁶ Finally, as Dr. Hall cannot but allow that the Philistine name Achish is probably the same as the Keftian 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤓 , he has to conclude, 'it is an Asia Minor rather than a Cretan name.'¹²⁷ In fact the burden of these pages of Dr. Hall's is that the Philistines do not come from Crete but from Asia Minor.¹²⁸ How then is the Cretan theory to be salvaged? In the first place, Keftiu must be extended to include Asia Minor, thus 'the latter name (Keftiu) may have meant, also, to the Egyptian, not necessarily Crete only, but the neighbouring isles and lands to the eastward. . . .'¹²⁹ 'But in all probability Caphtor is not to be confined solely to Crete, but meant Crete and, in general, the other islands and lands in its vicinity, Caria and Lycia included.'^{129a} On another occasion the centre of gravity is shifted to Asia Minor, when Caphtor is said to have meant 'the south coast of Asia Minor and very possibly the Aegean Isles and Crete,' though on the next page we return to the original view.¹³⁰ Sometimes even my view that Keftiu was Cilicia is partly admitted in such words as 'It is not impossible, however, that Keftians may have lived as far east as the Cilician coast, etc.'¹³¹ or ' . . . the Cilician coast, to which in a narrower geographical sense the name of Keftiu should apply.'¹³² Then, finally, the pro-Cretans have to seek refuge in the recording of a number of similarities between Philistia and Asia Minor, and between this latter and Crete, and then round again to the connections which are well known to have existed between Crete and Philistia.¹³³ Actually this solves no part of the present difficulty as to whether the Philistines from Caphtor came from Crete or Asia Minor. In fact it leaves everything just as vague as it found it. Another way out is to make the Philistines break their journey to Palestine by stopping awhile in Crete,¹³⁴ for which bold assumption we should surely want a great deal of proof before we could accept it as fact. But why drag in Crete? The island has been very well excavated now, but no archaeological evidence for their arrival, departure, or the length of their sojourn, appears to have been brought forward as yet to give colour to such a theory. Strange to say, the real way out of the difficulty lies ready to hand all the time but neglected, though, as I pointed out originally, it is quite simple. Once admit that Caphtor was not Crete, and it becomes quite evident that the general Philistine confederacy consisted of peoples from Asia Minor along with whom came some Cretans. As a matter of fact Dr. Hall, having taken his Philistines to Crete, finally passes on into my suggestion of a group of Cretans accompanying the Philistines, which is really quite another story.¹³⁵ These Cretans, being so distinct from the rest, are often specified as well as the others, in the well-known phrase of

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 287; Cf. also pp. 277, 278.

¹²⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 287.

¹²⁸ A thing I had already shewn in some detail in note 4, p. 64 of *L.A.*, VI.

¹²⁹ Hall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 287.

^{129a} *Op. cit.*, II, p. 287.

¹³⁰ Id., in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, pp. 32, 33.

¹³¹ Id., in *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 279. Cf.

also the similar remark in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 33.

¹³² Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, p. 657.

¹³³ Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 288.

¹³⁴ Id., in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 33. Id. in *Rec. d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de J. F. Champollion*, etc., Paris, 1922, p. 314.

¹³⁵ Id., in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 33.

the Old Testament, 'the Kerethim and the Pelethim.'¹³⁶ In other words, the Philistine confederacy in Palestine shews itself to have been identical in its general composition with the embassy of mixed peoples which Rekhmirê depicts as coming to Thothmes III some three hundred years before their great invasion of the south-eastern Levant.¹³⁷ In each case we have an Asia Minor people accompanied by some Cretans; they were the Keftiuans and Islanders in Rekhmirê, the Pelethim (Philistines) and Kerethim (Cretans) in Palestine.¹³⁸

In conclusion to this part of the study I would remark that, if only students of the Keftiu question would jettison the assumption that Keftiu was Crete, they would disembarass themselves of most of the difficulties that at present beset them; the 'carelessness' and 'confusion' and 'inaccuracies' of the ancients would stand out as only very minor in degree; in fact the difficulties would be found to have largely melted away.

Having dealt with the views expressed about Keftiu by the earlier members of the pro-Cretan school, we now come to the newest statement of them. This is Mr. Pendlebury's, whose work did not come into my hands until after the foregoing was written. A review of it is added here, and as a matter of fact it would have required separate treatment in any case. For it is of different standing from the other writings on the subject, the author attempting a detailed study of the case as it has been presented to him.¹³⁹ The essay takes the form of an elaborate criticism of my original article, for Mr. Pendlebury's allegiance belongs whole-heartedly to the theory that Keftiu was Crete. After working through his article I would make the following remarks:—

To begin with, Mr. Pendlebury, like Sir Arthur Evans, includes as Keftiuans the unnamed people who are shewn bringing *dhṭy* (lead or tin) into Egypt on the XIth Dynasty fragment of sculpture.¹⁴⁰ Now, these people shew no signs whatever in themselves of being Minoans, either in costume, hairdressing, or associations, and the idea that they might be Minoans has no more solid a basis than the remarks made by Max Müller in his original publication of the fragment.¹⁴¹ Here it will be seen that he is quite at a loss to explain them, as they correspond to nothing that we knew of then, or indeed that we know of even yet. One of the world's sources of supply for tin has been Europe (Britain and Central Germany), and so, after discussing the various impossibilities, Max Müller suggests that 'the most plausible theory is to assume' that the ingot-bearers come 'from the European or Asiatic side of the Aegean Sea.' This sculpture was studied in 1904 when the archaeological world was being overwhelmed with the new marvels that Sir Arthur Evans was bringing to light year by

¹³⁶ II Sam. viii, 18; xv, 18; xx, 7, 23. I Kings i, 38, 44; I Chron. xviii, 17.

¹³⁷ As I pointed out in my original article, *L.A.*, VI, pp. 74, 75.

¹³⁸ Unless of course the Asiatic name *Crustte* should prove to be the original of Kerethim. It occurs with *Prustte* which may be the original of Polishu, Pelethu, Philistine, *Prsti* or *Plstl* see *J.E.A.*,

xvii, p. 35, note 9). If so, the Kerethim would also be an Asia Minor people like the Pelethim.

¹³⁹ Pendlebury, *Egypt and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age*, published in *J.E.A.*, xvi (1930); pp. 75-92.

¹⁴⁰ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, pp. 176 ff. and Fig. 90; Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁴¹ Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, 1, pp. 5 ff.

year at Knossos in Crete. However, seeing how common *dhṭy* (lead or tin) was in Syria,¹⁴² the probabilities are that these people will prove to have been some sort of Syrians whom we shall learn to recognise in due time. It seems a pity to add more complications to the Keftiu question by gratuitously importing these people into it. Let us pass on to Mr. Pendlebury's views on the Keftiuans and Islanders of the New Kingdom.

Mr. Pendlebury declines to consider the group of Keftiuans in Amenemheb, where they are dressed as Syrians, saying, 'They are, in fact, pure Syrians wrongly labelled.'¹⁴³ This is, of course, a simple way out of the difficulty, but the picture of a Keftiuian newly published by Mr. Davies¹⁴⁴ sets a term to so facile a method of disposing of uncomfortable evidence. It shews a man dressed in a costume which, though actually quite independent, at first sight seems almost Syrian, and even has sleeves which are, in fact, Syrian in style. It would not take very much 'confusion' on the part of the artist to transform such a man into a Syrian. This would especially be so when he came with Syrians as the Keftiuans do in Amenemheb, where their companions are the people of Upper and Lower Retenu—northern Palestine and North Syria. As a matter of fact, the Keftiuans shew exactly the same type of confusion in Amenemheb as they did in Rekhmirê. In Rekhmirê, where they come with Cretans, their kilts were given Cretan 'codpieces,' which were seen to be wrong and painted out; in Amenemheb, where they come with Syrians, their cloak is given the Syrian cut. It would be just as legitimate to claim the Keftiuans as Syrians on the strength of this fresco, as it is to claim them as Cretans on the strength of Rekhmirê's fresco.

In reading his article I do not find that Mr. Pendlebury is aware of the fact that the Cretans in Useramon are not called Keftiuans at all, but Islanders. This is unfortunate, for, as already shewn on p. 2 of the present article, this is an important point in the discussion. Mr. Pendlebury appears to have collected his material not from the original publications, but from secondary sources, where the people are at least confused with the Keftiuans, if not actually called by their name. Here then is a case which emphasises the urgent necessity of not using the names Keftiu, Isles, and Minoan indiscriminately, for it makes it much more difficult for the student to discover what the evidence really is. At the end of his article Mr. Pendlebury does separate the two names, calling Keftiu Crete and the Islands her empire.¹⁴⁵ But in one of his paragraphs emphasising the Minoanism of the Keftiuans he bases his argument on the fact that Senmut's and Useramon's people 'are manifestly Cretans.'¹⁴⁶ Yet we now know they were called Islanders. Which are the islands to be—Crete herself or her subject islands?

Although originally Keftiu meant to the pro-Cretans nothing more than Crete, yet nowadays we find a variety of attempts to escape from

¹⁴² See the Annals of Thothmes III, where it is named as part of the tribute in Breasted's *Ancient Records*, §§ 460, 462, 471, 491, 509, 534. In §§ 493, 521 it is included in the tribute from Asy.

¹⁴³ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 76, note 4.

¹⁴⁴ Fig. 23 of the present article.

¹⁴⁵ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 89, points 1, 4; p. 82, points 1, 3 and 4; but this again he seems to retract in note 6.

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

that earlier limitation, but still without cutting entirely loose from Crete.¹⁴⁷ Mr. Pendlebury avails himself of this new view of Keftiu, which tries to compound with my evidence for the location of the country in Cilicia. He says that 'Keftiu in fact could be used like "Rome" either in the narrow or broader meaning, *i.e.* either geographically or politically.'¹⁴⁸ This is the line of argument which led Dr. Hall into such refinements as Caphtor and 'the real Caphtor,' 'the Keftian proper,' etc., and all its complications and contradictions.¹⁴⁹ But to make such assumptions is surely to postulate a much more intimate knowledge than we possess; a deduction of this sort could only be made from a study of an immense quantity of unexceptional evidence as to conditions and usage. In any case, large assumption as it is, the theory does not seem to bring its adherents any nearer to unanimity. While to Dr. Hall Keftiu now seems to mean Crete with an expansion to Lycia and Caria, to Sir Arthur Evans it means Cilicia, and all the trend of his book shews that he considers it in a wider geographical sense to include Crete. To Mr. Pendlebury it means Minoan Crete and her empire in the isles of the Aegean Sea.¹⁵⁰ But into this statement he interpolates parenthetically the words 'especially when accompanied by the Men of the Isles.' Hence Mr. Pendlebury's view is really a combination of two theories; that of the supposed variable use of the name Keftiu and that of the supposed identity of, yet at the same time distinction between, the Keftiuans and the Islanders. While the supposed identity of the two names is the original stumbling-block of the pro-Cretans this form of distinction has been newly propounded by Dr. Hall.¹⁵¹ He says that even supposing it were necessary¹⁵² to supply 'and' between the names Keftiu and Isles in Rekhmirê, 'why should the phrase not mean simply, as we should say, "Great Men of Crete and the Aegean Isles?"' Besides, as pointed out in the last paragraph, Mr. Pendlebury does not seem to be quite sure whether the 'Isles' are Crete or merely the island empire of Crete, Crete herself being called Keftiu. It seems dangerous to rely on such complicated theories until after they have been proved beyond any manner of doubt.

Mr. Pendlebury says that I 'cannot distinguish an Islander from a Keftian by his dress.'¹⁵³ To this I would reply that, on the contrary, one can do so very clearly. Senmut's and Useramon's people are Islanders, while Menkheperresenb's people are Keftiuans. As stated earlier in this article,¹⁵⁴ there is no resemblance between the cutaway kilts with the 'codpiece' of the first two frescoes and the full heavy kilt of the latter. In Rekhmirê, where both people appear together, the kilts are Keftian for all of them. The mistake was realised; an attempt to put it right was made by adding the 'codpiece'; this was seen to make it worse still and it was painted out.

A curious line of argument is applied to the 'rhytons' brought by the

¹⁴⁷ See pp. 3, 27 of the present article.

¹⁴⁸ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 82, note 6.

¹⁴⁹ See pp. 26, 27 of the present article.

¹⁵⁰ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 82, point 4 and note 6.

¹⁵¹ In *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 34.

¹⁵² See p. 4 for this quite normal construction, which is used elsewhere to connect Keftiu with Asy, just as in Rekhmirê it connects Keftiu with the Isles.

¹⁵³ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁵⁴ See p. 8.

Keftiuans on the one hand and on the other by the Syrians of Qadesh, Retenu and Naharain. While those brought by the Syrians are considered as imports into Syria,¹⁵⁵ the same things brought by the Keftiuans appear not to be imports into Keftiu, but apparently go to prove the bearers to be Cretans. This scarcely seems to be sound reasoning. The true pro-Cretan makes a point of labelling any similarities that he can find between Crete and either Keftiu or the Philistines as the case may be. Mr. Pendlebury is no exception. In his case it is the 'rhytons' that are called upon for duty. He rightly points out that they are like many Cretan and Mycenaean things, and no one has ever denied the similarity. But the trouble is that this action does not prove that Keftiu was Crete. If the actual Syrising vases themselves that Mr. Pendlebury demands of me have not yet been found on Asiatic sites, several of these 'rhytons' have.¹⁵⁶ Asiatics may, therefore, import 'rhytons' into Egypt as well as Cretans. The fact that some objects that are like Cretan things on the one hand and like those of Senmut and Useramon on the other, are brought by Keftiuans is no argument in itself that the Keftiuans were Minoans. All it need shew is that the Keftiuans were in touch with Crete or else that they had a civilisation that was allied to the Cretan.

The following would seem to be a parallel line of argument. So far as is known at present, lapis lazuli is discovered in no other country but Afghanistan. Therefore, as Asshur sends blocks of lapis lazuli as gifts to Thothmes III,¹⁵⁷ the Assyrians proclaim themselves to have been Afghans. But we know that Assyria was not Afghanistan. The Keftiuans, therefore, do not proclaim themselves Cretans by bringing a few objects which at present we believe to be Cretan, any more than the Assyrians proclaim themselves Afghans. We know them to have occupied a position intermediate between Afghanistan and Egypt, and this is comparable to the position which I would propose for Keftiu as intermediate between Crete and Egypt. On the other hand, let us learn from the history of opinion as to the origin of the silver 'teapot' vase from Byblos. First thought to have emanated from Mycenaean workshops, it is now believed to have been a product of some civilisation other than that of the Aegean, and to have been a prototype of those things in Crete that are like it.¹⁵⁸ This should give pause to the formulation of these all-embracing claims on behalf of Crete. That Keftiu did possess a civilisation which could produce splendid works of art is shewn by the fact that Thothmes III picks out one such object, when, in the list of presents sent by a land called Tinay, he specifies 'a silver *shawabty* vessel of the work of Keftiu.'¹⁵⁹

The statuettes of the bulls that I published¹⁶⁰ have come in for a great deal of criticism at different times. I merely included them to shew that bull statuettes are not the peculiar hall-mark of Crete. Other countries had them also, and long before the XVIIIth Dynasty. In fact I now

¹⁵⁵ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁵⁶ See pp. 21, 22, of the present article.

¹⁵⁷ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, § 446: 'genuine lapis lazuli, a large block . . . genuine lapis lazuli, two blocks.' In § 484 Sangara in the Mesopotamian

plain also sends blocks of lapis lazuli.

¹⁵⁸ Pottier in *Syria*, iii, p. 301; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, pp. 655, 825.

¹⁵⁹ Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, § 537.

¹⁶⁰ *L.A.*, VI, Pl. XIV, Figs. 7, 8.

have Sir Arthur Evans' support for such a view, for he says of the Cretan ones that they are imitations 'of inlaid stone "rhytons" in the form of whole bulls, of remote Sumerian descent.'¹⁶¹ At the period of our Keftiuans there were vigorous little bull figures in Cyprus. These were the little bull-vases which at present we only know in terra-cotta.¹⁶² But because I am conscious that other lands made bull-figures I do not at present wish to deny that Menkheperresenb's Keftiuans may have obtained theirs from Crete. In fact in getting out my percentage of 18.4% of Cretan things in this fresco, I give Crete the credit of it. At present we do not know and should not exclude any possibilities.

Mr. Pendlebury speaks of the 'Keftiuian' in the tomb of Puyemrê and compares the fact that his plain kilt has an ornamental border to the fact that the Cretans of Senmut and Useramon wear kilts which also have an ornamental border.¹⁶³ What, however, he does not mention is that the latter people have the kilt that is cut away in front and has the 'codpiece,' both of which characteristics are entirely lacking from the dress of Puyemrê's man. Moreover, he takes it for granted that the man in Puyemrê is a Keftiuian, though of course the inscription does not give him any name at all. Yet again, Mr. Pendlebury did not know that the people of Useramon were called Islanders in the inscription and not Keftiuans.

Mr. Pendlebury naturally makes a great point of the locks of hair which the Keftiuans wear.¹⁶⁴ I have already shewn¹⁶⁵ that locks of hair were worn by peoples other than Cretans. To this I now can add a few more examples. In the first place, there is the man from Sangara.¹⁶⁶ He wears his hair divided into a number of little locks which fall on to his shoulders in a fashion very like indeed to that of the figures representing Keftiu and Mallos under the throne of Amenhotep II.¹⁶⁷ Sangara is the North Mesopotamian plain. We have already seen that a group of men called *Amu* 'Asiatics' wear a tasselled kilt very like the Keftiuian ones in general type (Fig. 13 and p. 15, note 64, p. 18, note 80). It is noteworthy that one of these figures wears long hair, with a long lock curling to below his armpits.¹⁶⁸ Yet again the figure is well known that is labelled 'Hittite' and has a long lock curling all down his back.¹⁶⁹ It appears, then, that in some of the immense tracts of land in the neighbourhood of North Syria and Cilicia, which are at present quite unknown archaeologically, there were men who not only wore kilts like the Keftiuans but even had locks of hair as well. Crete was not the only place where such methods of hair-dressing were in vogue. The new Keftiuian (Fig. 23), who by no manner of means can be called a 'Cretan,' also wears locks of hair. While of course they are very like the Cretan and Islander locks, they are also very like those

¹⁶¹ Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, p. 654.

¹⁶² Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, Fig. 335.

¹⁶³ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁶⁴ Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82.

¹⁶⁵ *L.A.*, VI, s. 34, pp. 66, 67.

¹⁶⁶ Carter and Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis*

IV, p. 32, Fig. 10.

¹⁶⁷ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii, Pl. 63, a.

¹⁶⁸ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, iii, Pl. 136, d.

¹⁶⁹ Fig. 22 = Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Pl. CXLIH, Fig. 7 = Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. CCIII.

of the unnamed man in Puyemrê (Fig. 21), who has been claimed as a Keftiu, and he, I must still maintain in spite of Sir Arthur Evans, has nothing Cretan about him except the locks. As has already been seen, the new figure is entirely independent,¹⁷⁰ while at the same time shewing certain details that are comparable to those of other races whom we already know. Thus, then, the wearing of locks of hair will not of itself prove a man to have been a Cretan.

Mr. Pendlebury falls back on the 'stupid blunder' theory¹⁷¹ as an explanation of the beard worn by the Chief of Keftiu in Menkheperresenb, and thus dismisses the question. It has been shewn in the foregoing pages that there were bearded 'Philistines' and Sea Raiders in that part of the world where I would put Keftiu. I also hope that I have shewn that the Philistines and other Sea Raiders were very like Keftians. Moreover, the kilt (Fig. 13), which is a very Keftian type, is worn by *Aamu* 'Asiatics' who are bearded.¹⁷²

We now come to Mr. Pendlebury's summation of his reasons for identifying the Keftians with the Minoans. We may take them one by one, commenting on each as we go.

1. Mr. Pendlebury says 'Keftiu is always spoken of as a western land.' This is an erroneous idea which seems to be widespread. Instead of being 'always' spoken of as a western land, Keftiu is referred to in this way only once, and then it is grouped not with the Isles at all but with Asy. Asy is either Cyprus or the neighbouring coast on the mainland, both of them in the immediate neighbourhood of Cilicia. The interpretation to be put upon 'west' would vary according to conditions. We, studying our maps to-day, see clearly that Crete lies to the west of Egypt, while Cilicia is N.N.E. by the compass. But it is highly improbable that the ancient Egyptian had any opportunity for making these observations. Actually 'western' is an epithet that would well suit a land situated in the neighbourhood of Cilicia. The Egyptian approached it from the south via Syria, whether sailing along the coast or travelling by land. Then, after having journeyed north and ever northwards for many days, he at last turned west and there was Cilicia. Surely the ancient traveller was well justified in calling Cilicia 'the Western Land.'

Again, 'In one case (Keftiu is) definitely mentioned in connection with the Islands,' which Mr. Pendlebury takes to imply a close relationship. The table at the end of my original article shews nineteen occurrences of the name Keftiu and ten of the name Isles. Yet out of these twenty-nine cases the two names are only twice mentioned in the same passage.¹⁷³ There is no very close connection here. If one Keftian embassy appears with the Islanders, let it not be forgotten that there are two others which do not. Of these one appears with the Hittites and the people of Tunip, a city in north Syria somewhere near Aleppo, and the other comes with the people of Upper and Lower Retenu, *i.e.*, central and northern Syria.

Then we have, 'So far from being connected with Asia as against

¹⁷⁰ See pp. 24, 25.

¹⁷¹ P. 82 of his article.

¹⁷² See pp. 14, 15, and note 64.
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¹⁷³ *L.I.*, VI, pp. 78–83. The two passages in which the two names occur together are Nos. 10 and 22.

the Aegean, it (Keftiu) is always, wherever distinction is desired, contrasted with Asia. . . .’ But surely this contrast applies with greater force to the Isles in the midst of the Sea, for the Hymn of Victory of Thothmes III separates the Keftiu and Asy stanza from that treating of the Isles by the stanza about Mitanni. The distinct separation that there is here is a more cogent argument that the two names did not mean one and the same place, than any mention in connection with each other could be for their identity. I give the whole of the passage, for it seems instructive.¹⁷⁴

I have come, causing thee to smite the western land;
Keftiu and Asy are in terror.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a young bull,
Firm of heart, ready-horned, irresistible.

I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in their marshes,
The lands of Mitanni tremble under fear of thee.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a crocodile,
Lord of fear in the water, unapproachable.

I have come, causing thee to smite those who are in the isles;
Those who are in the midst of the Great Green (Sea) hear thy roarings.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as an avenger
Who rises upon the back of his slain victim.

2. Mr. Pendlebury says, ‘The offerings brought by the Keftians contain a large proportion of Minoan objects and many that may well be Minoan.’ The proportion of Minoan objects I make to be about 17·5%. For the rest it is interesting to hear that what comes before us in Egypt as Syrian or Syrising is to be found also in Crete.

‘In no case is anything shown that can be proved *by the results of excavation* to be Syrian.’ This is a safe argument, seeing that excavation in Syria has hardly yet begun.

3. Mr. Pendlebury says, ‘The costume and general appearance of the Keftians, apart from the kilt, is Minoan and finds no contemporary parallel in Asia. The kilt may be a fashion which we do not know, but it is certainly not Asiatic.’ The author of this statement admits that we do not know this fashion of kilt in Crete, and I hope that my Fig. 13 of this article and the kilts of Thothmes IV’s north Syrian enemies¹⁷⁵ will sufficiently refute the statement that ‘it is certainly not Asiatic.’ Another specimen of this *Aamu*-Asiatic kilt (Fig. 13) is worn by a man with a long lock of hair hanging to below his armpits. A Hittite (Fig. 22) also wears a lock of hair.¹⁷⁶

Mr. Pendlebury says, ‘The Keftians are nowhere distinguished from the Islanders, who may have formed part of the Minoan Empire.’ This statement is sufficiently answered by Useramon’s naming his Cretans ‘Islanders,’ not Keftiuans. More answers are supplied by the extreme difference of the dress of these people from that of the Keftiuans in Menkhe-perrêsenb, and yet again by the painting out of their distinctive ‘cod-piecc’ in the mixed group of Keftiuans and Islanders in Rekhmirê. The

¹⁷⁴ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 659–60.

¹⁷⁶ See p. 32.

¹⁷⁵ See note 80

passage just quoted from the Hymn of Victory also distinguishes them the one from the other as completely as possible. When we come to the remark, 'the Islanders, who may have formed part of the Minoan (*i.e.* Keftiuan) Empire,' we are merely dealing in suppositions.

4. 'We cannot expect photographic accuracy in an artist who did not copy from a model,' which is what Mr. Pendlebury says that I demand of my artist. While perhaps hardly going so far as to require that for every detail of every figure and every object painted, I would draw Mr. Pendlebury's attention to the fact that he already has this photographic accuracy in a number of the admittedly Cretan objects in the frescoes. Why then stop short at the things that are Cretan? Why not carry the known fact of this accuracy a little further and admit that if the artist be accurate in one set of objects, he is likely to be so in another? That would entail the admission that our frescoes are not a wild jumble of fanciful imaginings, out of which we may pick and choose a few things which we happen to recognise, and brush the rest lightly aside. On the contrary, we should have to admit that the draughtsman was working on some principle. Then, when his records do not tally with our present very limited knowledge, we ought to believe him to be probably justified until we can prove the contrary. It should be remembered that the great northern regions of his world, which are known to have been highly civilised, are at present practically unknown quantities to us archaeologically. The difference between the views of the pro-Cretan and myself in regard to the frescoes seems to be one of degree. The pro-Cretans seem to think them too hopelessly inaccurate to convey anything more than a general impression from which one may select details that interest one. On the other hand, in view of the extreme accuracy we have seen, I think the inaccuracies will prove to be nothing very serious when we know more of the archaeology of the Near East.

This must suffice for the present. For the future we await further concrete discoveries. What is needed, of course, is excavation and ever more excavation. Our present state is one of merely having to watch such reflections of the North as are to be seen in the mirrors of other civilisations. But even already evidence is accumulating which makes it practically certain that Keftiu will be found somewhere round about Cilicia.

Some results of the enquiry which has been carried out in the foregoing pages may be stated as follows:—

1. The people shewn in Useramon's and Senmut's frescoes are one and the same. They are called 'The People of the Isles in the midst of the Sea,' and their dress and gifts show that their isles represented Crete. They are quite a different people from the Keftiuans.

2. An analysis of the Egyptian artists' pictures agrees with the study of the incantation and the list of names which was made in the companion article. Both direct the enquirer to some such country as Cilicia, Lycaonia, Isauria and Pisidia for Keftiu.

3. A number of resemblances to details of Keftiuan dress have been

found in Asia Minor, *i.e.* at Boghaz Keui, and in the Taurus Mountains just outside eastern Cilicia at Ivriz and Bor.

4. The Keftiuans were like the Cilicians in having relations with Syria.

5. The Philistines, who are so very like the Keftiuans, Dr. Hall himself shews to have many characteristics which mark them as an Asianic people. This is in consonance with all that indicates that Keftiu was a coast-land of Asia Minor.

6. The Keftiuan kilt is entirely different from the two types of Minoan dress, both in cut, the patterns employed, and their arrangement. It is, on the contrary, very like the Philistine kilt in these details, whether in Egypt or Cyprus, and also like some *Aamu* 'Asiatic' ones. That some of the patterns are to be found in Cappadocia has been mentioned as No. 3.

7. Cretan influence, which is probably entirely absent from the Keftiuan kilt, is not apparent in the Keftiuan gifts to a greater extent than about 17.5%.

8. Keftiu was not the only country in which objects of Cretan shape were to be found. Other places were Pontus, Aintab, Byblos, and even Egypt.

9. The application to the Keftiuans of such expressions as 'hypothetical "Syro-Minoan" Cilicians,' 'pseudo-Minoan,' etc., is unsatisfactory and misleading.

10. As well as shewing themselves to be allied to the Philistines culturally, the Keftiuans appear once in Egyptian records with the People of the Isles (Cretans). This is the same combination as the Old Testament group of the Kerethim and the Pelethim, 'the Cretans and the Philistines.'

We have finished the summing-up of our conclusions with a reference to the Philistines gathered from the Old Testament. The same source supplies yet another scrap of evidence, and it also is in accordance with the results so far obtained. The Philistines were brought from Caphtor, and were therefore the Caphtorim.¹⁷⁷ I would remind the reader that in the only two places where the Septuagint gives a translation for the Hebrew Caphtor and Caphtorim it does not give Κρήτη and Κρήτες, but Καππαδοκία and Καππάδοκες.¹⁷⁸ The fact that this is done on two separate occasions is important. Had it occurred only once it might have been merely a mistake, but being used twice, as it is, and in different books, this translation must have been purposeful.

Much evidence culled from many sources has led our search for the position of Keftiu to the neighbourhood of Cilicia and the borders of Cappadocia. We may, therefore, permit ourselves to end by pointing out a curious coincidence, which is this. It is only in the terminations that the three names Keftiu, Caphtor, and Cappadocia differ from each other, for the rest of each one of them is composed of the letters K, F(P), T(D). Perhaps some day this may prove to be more than mere chance.

¹⁷⁷ Jeremiah xlvii, 4; Amos ix, 7.

¹⁷⁸ Deut. ii, 23; Amos ix, 7.

ADDENDUM.

Although Senmut's Islanders really have nothing to do with the question of Keftiu and its inhabitants, yet they have often been introduced into it. It becomes desirable, therefore, to append the following remarks upon the figure published and commented upon by Dr. Hall in his original article and republished by him again in 1927.¹⁷⁹ Actually the outline of the figure's back as published is a restoration, though this is not indicated for the reader. This representation shows one of Senmut's People of the Isles, though Dr. Hall used to claim them as Keftiuans,¹⁸⁰ as if the Egyptian artist had drawn him with the narrow waist, which is so remarkable a feature of the Cretan portrayal of the human form. Dr. Hall not only calls attention to this supposed fact in the caption to the republication of his figure, but also makes use of this supposed Minoan waist in his discussion.¹⁸¹ While it in no way affects the argument about Keftiu, it should be pointed out that this supposed narrow waist in the Senmut frescoes is a pure illusion. It was never painted so, and indeed there would be little probability that it should have been, if, as has sometimes been contended, the narrow waist was not an actual physical characteristic of the Cretans but only a convention of their art. In Senmut the opportunity for restoring it as Dr. Hall does is entirely due to the ravages of time. A great part of the paint from the back of the figure has peeled off the underlying stucco, with the result that the original edge of the belt, lower part of the back, and upper part of the kilt has vanished. Mrs. Davies' facsimile painting, which Dr. Hall himself reproduces as his Plate III,¹⁸² shews clearly that the back of the belt is not complete. There is no painted red line edging it as in front, nor is the present edge straight as in front, but broken in an irregular manner. Similarly, the back of the kilt has no outline in its upper part, which is all ragged. The thin red outline, which originally shewed the whole of the edge, is quite clear on the lower part of the thigh, where the edge still remains complete. Yet again the broken nature of the painting is very distinctly shewn in Bossert's photograph of the fresco,¹⁸³ and also in Max Müller's plate, though his drawing presents sundry inaccuracies.¹⁸⁴ I myself shewed that the back was broken away in my own drawing of the figure's waist and kilt,¹⁸⁵ which I republish as Fig. 14 of the present article. Mr. Davies has realised it also and restored it in his publication of the scene.¹⁸⁶ His restoration is, however, some-

¹⁷⁹ Hall, *B.S.A.*, x, p. 156, Fig. 2, and p. 157; *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 39, Fig. 4.

¹⁸⁰ See p. 3 of the present article

¹⁸¹ Hall in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, p. 34 and Fig. 4, p. 39.

¹⁸² *Id.*, *op. cit.*, facing p. 40. The facsimile painting is at present on view in the Egyptian Sculpture Gallery of the British Museum. One must not be led away by the angle of such outline as does remain for the upper part of the body. This is not the back at all, but the arm, which is bent back to support the vase: cf. Mr. Davies' restoration quoted

in note 186.

¹⁸³ H. Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*, 2nd edn., Pl. 333.

¹⁸⁴ Max Muller, *Egyptological Researches*, I, Pl. 7. He only indicates the break at the belt itself.

¹⁸⁵ Wainwright, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, 13.

¹⁸⁶ Davies, *Bull. Metrop. Museum of Art*, March, 1926: *The Egyptian Expedition*, 1924-25, Fig. 2, facing p. 42. His drawing has been reproduced by Sir Arthur Evans as Fig. 470 of *The Palace of Minos*, II, where it may be found more conveniently than in the *Bulletin*.

thing very different from the one under consideration. He shews no constricted waist, but the normal one of Egyptian art, though possibly rather slim. At the same time he shews four of each of the up-turned and down-turned points of the **S**'s decorating the belt. That the outline, given to the back of Dr. Hall's figure, really represents the broken edge of the damaged painting is proved by the fact that he only shews the three points of the **S**'s that actually remain. Mr. Davies, however, found it necessary to draw in a fourth before he felt justified in filling in the vanished outline. It should be noted that the Islanders in the fresco of Useramon have much the same waist that is indicated by the remains in Senmut, and the proportions of their figures are those that are usual in Egyptian paintings. It is a misfortune for Dr. Hall and his artist that the paint should have cracked off in such a manner that when combined with the angle of the flexed arm, the result happens to be suggestive of a narrow waist. It would be a pity for the belief in this narrow-waisted figure in Senmut's fresco to be perpetuated, for it cannot be substantiated, nor indeed is there any probability that such an outline was ever painted there.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

DISJECTA MEMBRA

I

IN the autumn of 1929, through the kindness of Professor Giuseppe Lugli, I was able to study the Castellani vase-fragments in the Villa Giulia at Rome. I had never seen them before, and I was much surprised to find that some of them came from the same vases as fragments in another collection, the Campana collection in the Archaeological Museum at Florence. Surprised, because I had never heard of any connection between Campana and Castellani. I afterwards learned from Dr. Minto that after the fall of Campana the residue of his collection long lay sequestered in the Monte di Pietà at Rome: it was eventually bought by Gamurrini for the museum of Florence; but meanwhile Alessandro Castellani, or some agent of his, must have had access to it. Castellani kept some of his acquisitions; these descended to his brother Augusto, and passed with the rest of Augusto's collection to the Villa Giulia. Kept some; but disposed of others: for the *disjecta membra* are not confined to Rome and Florence, but crop up, as will be seen, all over Europe and even in America.

Thanks to the generosity of Dr. Minto, I had already worked at the Campana fragments on two occasions, and I now put in a third spell at them. Dr. Minto kindly sent me a set of the photographs intended for the *Corpus Vasorum*; and suggested that I should send a report, on the matter of pertinences and joins, to him, as Director of the Archaeological Museum at Florence, and to the Director of the Villa Giulia at Rome. I did so: and in consequence of my report an admirable decision has been taken: to send all the red-figured fragments of the Campana collection to Rome, and all the black-figured fragments of the Castellani collection to Florence; and to make a new distribution when the material has been worked through. What follows is my report, with a few alterations. I have no doubt that corrections and many additions will be made by others, especially as I understand that there are many fragments in the Villa Giulia which I have not seen. Most of the Florentine fragments are to be published by Dr. Doro Levi, this year or next, in the first Florentine fascicule of the *Corpus Vasorum*; the Heidelberg fragments by Dr. Kraiker in his Catalogue.

My thanks are due, for various favours, to Dr. Minto, Dr. Stefani, Professor Lugli, and Dr. Doro Levi; and I must not forget the help I have had from Mr. Amedeo Neri, the keen and intelligent restorer at Florence, who is to accompany the red-figured fragments to Rome. Professor Koch, Dr. Schröder, and Professor Zahn kindly allowed me to publish fragments in Leipsic, Dresden, Berlin.

1. Black-figure fragment of a cup: in Florence (exposed among the black-figure fragments in a wall-case by a window). Inside, part of a

silen's back, with long hair, and flourished tail: inscription . . . +VLος. A fragment in Villa Giulia joins this, and gives the lower part of the silen, who is holding an amphora: inscription ΗΙς . . . Ν. The signature is therefore ΗΙς+VLος [επτοιεσε]Ν. The cup must have had a red-figure exterior, but I do not know if any of it remains, as I have not seen the back of the Roman fragment.

A cup-fragment in Heidelberg, B 116, gives, inside in black, the right-hand part of an amphora, and the letters . . . ΟΙΕ>Ε . . in the same bold hand as Villa Giulia and Florence. Does this belong?

2. Florence 4. Fragments of an eye-cup, black-figure inside, outside red-figure. Inside, black-figure, a warrior, and Η+VLος (for ηιοχυλος). Outside, red-figure, part of a horse's hind-leg. Heidelberg A 24 (lower part of a horse) probably joins: Kraiker assigned it to Epiktetos, I believe rightly.

3. Two fragments in Villa Giulia must belong to a single cup: one gives most of the picture inside (a girl fondling a phallus-bird), and the cup-foot, which is of the rare Chalcidising shape. The other gives the middle of Herakles running to right. The style is the earliest red-figure style, the drawing of great beauty. I think by the Cerberus painter.

Two fragments in Florence join each other, and the lower of them joins the Villa Giulia Herakles: they give face and arms of Herakles, who is drawing his bow.

To the same cup belong three other fragments in Florence which join each other and make up the greater part of the figure of Geryon.

Three other fragments in Florence do not join each other or any of the fragments mentioned, but must come from the same cup. One gives right arm and chest of a male figure—possibly Eurytion from the Geryonomachy. The second gives the upper part of a female figure moving to right; the third gives part of a draped figure running to left.

4. Villa Giulia, fragmentary cup. I, athlete running with acontion. A-B, between palmettes and eyes, remains of a figure on each side (A, part of a foot; B, the half of two halteres and a bit of a foot).

Most of the rest of the two external figures is in Florence: A, acontist; B, athlete with halteres.

5. Florence 10, two fragments of a cup. Outside, on each half, a youth reclining. A fragment in Villa Giulia joins one of the Florence fragments: it gives the shoulders of a youth and the back of his head, with his cushion, and floral pattern to left.

6. Villa Giulia, fragmentary pelike: A, a youth seated, and a little boy at his feet; B, a youth seated playing with his dog. By Euphronios (*Att. V.* p. 60, No. 9). I saw this vase some years ago, and pointed out that the upper part of the picture on B was in Chicago (see *Att. V.* p. 60, No. 9 *bis*): not in the Art Institute there, as I had supposed; but, as I learn from Mr. Rich (*A.J.A.* 1930, p. 153), in the University collection.

7. Villa Giulia, fragment of a volute-krater: part of a warrior attacking, to left, then part of the palmettes. By Phintias. Joins the fragment Berlin 2181, assigned to Phintias by Hartwig, No. 8 in my list of Phintias' works, *Att. V.* p. 58. (See Fig. 1.)



FIG. 1 = NO. 7.—LEFT, IN BERLIN; RIGHT, IN VILLA GIULIA.

8. Small cup-fragment in Florence (Fig. 2): outside, parts of two figures:—nose-to-beard, and shoulder, of a man, mouth open; and, higher, right arm, with spear, of Athena (aegis). By Epiktetos. In the cup by Epiktetos in Aberdeen (Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 195-6: new, *Jahrbuch*,

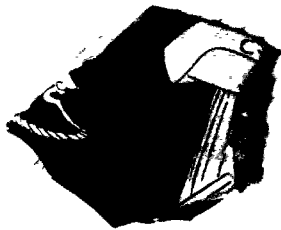


FIG. 2: SEE NO. 8.—FLORENCE.

44, pp. 187 and 184-5, Kraiker; see my *Att. V.* p. 29, No. 5, and *B.S.R.* 11, p. 16, note 3), just this part of the seated Achilles and the Athena beside him, in the picture of Achilles and Ajax playing draughts, is restored (Fig. 3). This is the missing fragment. Now one can say why the man's mouth

is open: he is saying something. One can even tell what he is saying: *Tessara*.

9. Villa Giulia, fragment of a cup. I, archer and hoplite side by side to left (device gorgoneion), inscription ΕΡΟΙΕΥ[εν]. Outside, all that remains is feet and knee of a figure kneeling at what must be an altar.

A fragment in Florence (now increased by a second fragment) gives two boys kneeling with spits of meat in their hands and joins Villa Giulia.

By Epiktetos. The upper part of the Florence fragment is mentioned by me in *B.S.R.* 11, p. 16, note 3.

10. Fragment of a cup in Florence. Outside, heads and chests of two youths, side by side, to right.

By Epiktetos.

May not this belong to the same cup as a fragment by Epiktetos in the Villa Giulia? Outside, males leading a bull (or cow) to sacrifice: behind the animal, a pair of youths to right, side by side.

And may not these belong to the same cup as the boys with spits (No. 9)?

The Florence fragment with the two congruent heads of youths, just mentioned, goes very closely with four Florence fragments from a single cup:

(α and β) woman fluting and woman: inscription . . . ΕΛ[ραφσεν];

(γ) middle of woman with castanets;

(δ) half the upper part of a woman holding a cake; and part of a woman.

These four fragments are by Epiktetos: the fragment with the two congruent heads is so like them that it would seem to be from the same cup. I have put the congruents and one of the woman fragments together in *Att. V.* p. 29, No. 11.

If the two congruent heads belong to the bull-fragment, and if the bull-fragment belongs to the meat-roasting (No. 9), then the four woman fragments also most probably belong to the same.

This is not quite certain: but certain that (1) the Villa Giulia warriors and the Florence meat-roasters join; (2) that all the fragments are by Epiktetos.

Further: a fragment by Epiktetos in Berlin, 2277, joins the Florence cake-fragment on the left, and gives head and right shoulder and arm (with another cake in the hand) of the woman with the cake (also the rest of her first cake), and the upper half of a woman moving to right, playing a lyre. The Berlin fragment is mentioned as Epictetan in *Att. V.* p. 29, No. 12, and figured by Kraiker in *Jahrbuch*, 44, p. 190.

11. Villa Giulia. Fragment of a rough cup by Epiktetos. Outside, between pegasoi, (a) maenads, (b) fight.

Two Florence fragments, one with part of a pegasos to left, the other with part of a wing, may belong to this. And I suggest that another

Florence fragment might be applied to the Villa Giulia cup to see if it does not join. One of the warriors on B of the Villa Giulia cup has a shield-device, in outline, which I took to be a kantharos, although all that remains is the right-hand part of the kantharos foot: a Florence fragment gives part of a warrior with an outline kantharos as shield-device. Does not this join Villa Giulia? The inscription on the Florence fragment is . . . Ε · · , which I take to be part of ΕΤΟΙΕΘΕΝ.

I am avoiding excursions, but I must say a word about Dr. Kraiker's admirable study of Epiktetos in *Jahrbuch*, 44, pp. 141-197. I have already



FIG. 3: SEE NO. 8.—ABERDEEN.

dealt with the fragments which he puts together under his No. 54. His numbers 44, 66, 67, 68, 70, 75 are imitations: some of them I don't think I ever assigned to the painter's own hand. No. 45, the Florence fragments with Herakles and the horses of Diomedes, and No. 76 (see below, p. 44) no longer seem to me Epiktetan. Kraiker omits the Palermo fragments No. 13 in my list, and the kantharos fragments, my Nos. 39-40. In No. 17 the brown lines, as I now see from the publication, are on the chiton, not on the neck. In the Louvre cup No. 27 the armed youth is not a hoplitodromos starting, since he has a spear, but, as Pottier says, a warrior setting out. The Preyss cup figured on p. 193 is Dr. Kraiker's No. 59, as he says on p. 192, not No. 48 as is implied, through a slip, on p. 186.

Some additions have been made above; here are others:—

Louvre, fragment. A, between eyes, the upper half of a youth to r., looking round. Early: just like the Louvre plate.

Florence, fragment. A (left arm of a woman, holding what seems to be a thyrsus: so a maenad).

Florence, several fragments, making up most of the interior picture. A naked youth sitting on a pointed amphora. [επο]IESEN.

Florence, fragment. A (head of an archer).

Villa Giulia. I, a naked woman using an olisbos (the same subject as in the Petrograd cup). ΕΠΟΙΕSEN. Outside probably black.

London, 1929.11—11.1. *B.M. Quarterly*, IV, No. 4, wrapper, and Pl. 55. I, youth with spear. ΕΠΟΙΕSE. A, Herakles and the Centaurs. B, fight. ΕΠΟΙΕSEN. A lip-cup of the shape Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 181, No. 135, and p. 183, No. 138.

12. Villa Giulia: a fragment of a cup has, inside, Pegasus; outside, A, the legs and tail of the right-hand figure, a silen to left; B, a foot to right, feet of a chiton-figure to right, and a foot to right. By Oltos: early and fine.

Two fragments in Florence (26 and another) join this: giving the lower halves of the two left-hand figures on A, silen and maenad, and the middle of the third figure, a silen; and the lower part of the reveller who is the left-hand figure on B. These fragments are *Att. V.* p. 17, Oltos, No. 73.

The upper part of the left-hand silen is still wanting: it is in the Villa Giulia.

And now the upper half of the left-hand reveller on B: it is in the Villa Giulia, a man with beard but no moustache.

Now the upper half of the maenad. It is in Baltimore; was until lately built into a cup to which it did not belong (*A.J.A.* 1917, p. 167: *Att. V.* p. 17, Oltos No. 70).

The head and shoulders of the other silen are still missing: I think this must be the fragment in Brunswick, assigned to Oltos in *Att. V.* p. 17, No. 71.

Several fragments of the palmettes remain. One is in Florence: joins Villa Giulia. In Villa Giulia I noted at least two others.

The petals have the peculiarity that their bounding-lines (in relief) are produced to meet the enclosing tendril.

13. Villa Giulia. A cup has, inside, a woman with a ladle moving to right; outside, between palmettes and eyes, (A) a reclining male, (B) a maenad. The upper half of the maenad is missing: it is in Florence (upper half of a maenad moving to right, looking round, in her left a branch). By Oltos: the Florence fragment is *Att. V.* p. 17, No. 69.

14. Florence, cup-fragment: outside, middle of a naked woman running to left: on the left, part of a lampstand with ladles hanging from it; and part of an oinochoe.

I conjecture that this belongs to the erotic cup, Berlin inv. 3251

(Peithinos group); and that it is the upper part of the third figure from the right on A (von Lücken, Pl. 81).

Another Florence fragment, with a left arm, and then, to right, traces of the handle, seems to be from the same cup as the woman fragment. I conjecture that it is the missing left arm of the right-hand woman on B of the Berlin cup (von Lücken, Pl. 80).

15. A fragment in Villa Giulia comes from a fairly large cup decorated inside only. What remains is the lower half of a silen, turned to the right. I wonder whether the upper half may not be preserved on a fragment in Heidelberg, which gives part of a silen holding a horn in his hand, with the inscription $\text{KAL}\omega\text{S}$ retrograde.

16. Two fragments of a cup, in Dresden, show a komos outside. The first gives the upper half of two youths, both seen from behind, one turned to left, the other rushing to right. The second gives the upper half of another youth rushing to right. A fragment in Florence joins the first fragment, and gives the buttocks of the first youth, with most of his right leg; and the left leg of the second youth. Two fragments in Leipsic, each with the head of a reveller, belong to the same cup but don't join.

17. Many fragments of a cup, in Florence (33; 66; etc.). Outside, A, athletes; B, youths carrying anaphora.

Two small fragments in Heidelberg belong to this. One (A 20) has the face of a youth, to right: the other (B 34) a hand with an anaphoron. One of the Florence fragments joins, I believe, Heidelberg B 34, which has a $\text{H} \dots$ on it, and the Florence fragment an $\dots \circ \dots$ and the right end of one anaphoron and the left end of another basket.

18. Villa Giulia, fragment of a cup. Inside, the upper part of an athlete with a pick. Outside, Theseus and the Bull. The lower part of the athlete is in Heidelberg, A 12.

The legs of Theseus are given by one of the fragments which make up Florence 93.

The other set of fragments in that number (there are more now than there were) gives the picture on the other half of the exterior: Herakles and the Lion, with Hermes seated on the left.

The hindquarters of the bull, and the middle of the fleeing youth to the right of them, are given by a composite fragment in Florence.

19. A composite cup-fragment in Florence gives the upper half of a youth bending to right. To the same cup belongs, I think, another composite fragment with the middle of a youth bending to left, and to the right of him, the cloak held on the extended arm of a companion. The fragments are by the same hand as the Theseus-Bull-Herakles-Lion cup. The upper part of the youth bending to left, and of the cloak, is given by a fragment in Heidelberg, A 17. This tells us the motive, for in front of the youth's face is the tail of a bull. The two youths are mastering a bull.

I think a fragment in Florence joins Heidelberg A 17 on the left, giving hands with cords, binding the bull, parts of whose hind-legs are seen.

We now come to certain fragments by the same hand as the Lion-Bull cup and the Bull cup just mentioned, and with similar subjects or motives. It is hard to say which of them belong to our cups.

Heidelberg B 74 and B 37: upper half of a youth with spear and cloak, and part of the bent neck of a bull.

Bryn Mawr, *A. J. A.* 1916, p. 340, 4: bull; fleeing youth.

Bryn Mawr, *ibid.* p. 340, 3: fleeing youth.

Bryn Mawr, *ibid.*, p. 340, 5: youths with cloaks and weapons.

Florence: fleeing youth.

Florence: part of a similar figure.

Bryn Mawr, *A. J. A.* 1916, p. 340, 1: head of Athena.

Florence: youth attacking with spear and cloak.

20. Florence 52. Fragment of a cup with a sacrificial scene outside. One fragment gives part of a youth moving to left and looking round, and part of a robe with crosses on it. A fragment in Heidelberg (B 77 and B 26) joins this fragment: the robe belongs to an old priest. By the Epeleios painter.

21. Florence 58, 56, 57, 63, etc. Several fragments of a cup. The interior, almost complete, with foot, and part of the exterior, is given by Heidelberg A 3. Inside, an athlete with a pick. Outside, athletes. The picture on A consisted of 1, a male standing to right; 2-3, wrestlers; 4, youth in himation to left; 5-6, boxers (pancratiasts).

Florence 63 joins the Heidelberg fragment on the left: Florence 58 joins the Heidelberg fragment above.

The picture on B had, on the right, boxers (57, etc.). To the left, probably another group of boxers. Heidelberg contributes hardly anything to B. School of the Euergides painter.

22. Villa Giulia, fragment of a cup: outside, part of a barbarian running to r., looking round.

This must belong to the cup with Herakles and Busiris, Berlin inv. 3239, Hartwig, Pl. 4, which has already been augmented by a fragment or so since Hartwig's publication.

23. A fragment of a symposion cup in Tübingen (E 12: Watzinger, Pl. 18) joins a composite fragment in Heidelberg (B 128 and B 32), and this joins fragments in Dresden (305) and Leipsic (T 522). Outside, symposion: inside, a warrior running to right, looking round, seen from behind, with spear and shield (device a horse).

I think a fragment in Florence (two fragments joined) belongs to this cup. Outside, symposion. Inside, the lower half of a shield (device, I think, a horse—a hoof remaining) and a bit of a spear. Early manner of the Colmar painter. The interior very like *Sammlung Somzée*, Pl. 37, 3, 2 (= *Cat. Somzée, vente 20-25 mai 1901*, Pl. 1, No. 36), which is by the same hand.

24. A cup fragment in Villa Giulia has, inside, maeander and . . . +1 . . . ([vαι]χ1), and, outside, the right-hand figure of one of the two pictures—a maenad to left.

Two other fragments in Villa Giulia come from the same cup: one has, inside, the head of a maenad to left, and outside, the feet and part of the legs of a female figure (maenad) to right. The other has parts of two silen, one with his hand on his breast, the other holding horn and jug. By the Colmar painter.

The first of these three fragments joins a large fragment in Leipsic, T 490 (No. 25 in my list of the Colmar painter's works, *Att. V.* p. 229). This gives, inside, the upper part of a silen, and the right arm of the maenad whom he is pursuing; and outside, the lower part of the Villa Giulia maenad, a silen, and the left foot of a second maenad. This second maenad is the same whose lower part is preserved in the Villa Giulia fragment, which joins the Leipsic on the other side.

Whether a second fragment in Leipsic, T 559 (No. 26 in my list *Att. V.* p. 229; head of a maenad) belongs to this cup, or to another cup by the same hand, I cannot at present decide.

25. Florence, fragment of a cup. In *Vases in Poland*, p. 22, note 2, I mentioned, and attributed to the Panaitios painter, a fragment in Florence which bears, outside, thigh, belly, mons veneris, and left hand of a reclining woman, and, inside, a foot, turned to right, with a shoe (persike) on it. To the same cup belongs another fragment, with the middle of a silen, moving to right, on the reverse. These belong to the beautiful fragmentary cup by the Panaitios painter, Florence 3917 (Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 44, 3, and p. 453; No. 46 in my *Att. V.* p. 169). The second fragment gives the ΠΑ . . . of Panaitios: . . . 105 ΚΑΛΟ[s] is all that remains on 3917.

Two other Florentine fragments belong to the same cup: 107, with the upper part of a woman reclining to left; and another fragment with the spotted sakkos of a similar figure.

The external decoration consisted of two large figures on each side: a sleeping maenad and a satyr stealing up to her.

26. Florence, 106, 108, and another fragment (breast and arm of a naked woman with a phiale) which joins 106. Cup by the Panaitios painter (*Att. V.* p. 169, Nos. 50 and 51). A fragment in Heidelberg, B 14, with the middle of a naked woman reclining, joins 108.

27. A fragmentary cup in the Villa Giulia, by Makron, has, inside, the lower part of a woman seated to right; on the extreme right, remains of a flute-case: outside, silen. Two fragments in Florence, 124, with heads of silen, most probably belong to this cup, although I don't think there are joins: they are *Att. V.* p. 213, Makron 31.

The upper part of the woman inside the cup is given by Heidelberg B 17 (*Att. V.* p. 214, Makron, No. 45). Little is now missing of the interior picture except the middle of the flute-case. Outside, the Heidelberg fragment gives the legs of three silen. The Heidelberg fragment was acquired by Hartwig in 1896, in Rome.

There are two other silen-fragments by Makron in Florence, 125 (middle of silen, with wineskin), and another (middle of silen, his right hand at his chest): whether either may belong to the Villa Giulia cup I have no means of telling at present; nor whether Heidelberg B 13 and B 84, 3, both silen-fragments by Makron, belong or not.

28. Villa Giulia, fragment of a cup. Outside, head of a warrior to left, and part of his shield. A fragment in Florence joins, and gives the middle of the device on the shield, a lion: part of the tail remains on the Villa Giulia fragment. By Douris. It seems probable that Florence 133 and 146 and 130 come from the same cup. For the lion, compare the Douris cup in Bonn, *W.V.* 7, Pl. 5.

29. Florence 147, fragment of a cup, by Douris. Outside, part of a seated man to right, and the hand of a figure lifting down a shield. Belongs to the signed Douris cup in Bonn (No. 47 in my list *Att. V.* p. 203). The old drawing in *W.V.* 7, Pl. 5, reproduced by Hoppin, *Rf.* i, p. 222, is superseded by the new publication, Winter, *Schale des Douris*. Our fragment joins the Bonn cup near the left-hand edge of the picture on B. This part is restored in the older drawing, but see the newer.

30. Cup-fragment in Villa Giulia by Douris. Inside, concert. Outside (feet).

It seems worth while looking to see if the fragments of a School cup (like the Berlin) by Douris in Florence may not be from the same vase as the fragment in Villa Giulia. The Florence fragments are:—128 (plus?), youth seated right with lyre and youth standing left with lyre: above (a fragment joining), a lyre between them: and two other fragments with lyres hanging up. A fourth lyre-fragment, of exactly the same style, is in Heidelberg, B 21, and has already been assigned to Douris (from a comparison with the Berlin cup) by Kraiker. Now the remains on the reverse of the Villa Giulia fragment consist of the feet of a seated male to right, the feet of a standing male to left, and apparently the legs of a second seat. This makes me ask whether the Florence fragment may not belong; especially as the interior subject is also connected. A fragment in Heidelberg with suspended sandals might also belong.

31. Several fragments of a cup in Florence (141, etc.): one of them is published by Doro Levi in *Boll. d'Arte*, Nov. 1928, Fig. 1. Outside, hoplitodromoi making ready: inside, part of the pattern, and a foot, remain. These belong to the fragmentary cup Florence 3910, which bears the love-name Arista[goras] and is in the manner of Douris (Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 225; *Att. V.* p. 205, No. 71), though perhaps not from his hand. A join inside. The men are hoplitodromoi and not hoplites.

32. Three small fragments, very fine work, join; came from the outside of a cup; show the belly of a man with cloak and spear, part of his legs, the hock of an animal; join the fragmentary cup by Apollodoros, Florence 73131, No. 3 in Hartwig's list (*Meisterschalen*, pp. 633-4 and 690), No. 3 in

mine (*Att. V.* p. 53); and belong to the left-hand hunter in one of the pictures on the reverse. Another fragment, with part of another hunter



FIG. 4: SEE NO. 33.—LEFT, IN LEIPSIK; RIGHT, IN FLORENCE.

(legs, right forearm with spear, cloak, sword), belongs to the same cup, probably to the other reverse-picture, although it does not join. The cup is labelled 'Orvieto,' but Dr. Minto tells me that it did not come to the museum from government excavations; it was acquired from a collection at Orvieto or near.

33. The cup-fragment Florence 246 is No. 40 in my list of works by the Brygos painter, *Att. V.* p. 179. Another fragment in Florence joins this, and gives the feet of a leaning figure outside, and something more of the inside picture. Florence 245 also belongs to the same cup.

No. 37 in my list of the same painter's works, *Att. V.* p. 179, is a fragment in Leipsic. It joins Florence 246, to the left, and gives arms of the leaning figure, a seated man, part of another leaning figure, and the rest of the dog (Fig. 4).

Another fragment in Leipsic joins Florence 245, above, and gives the greater part of two athletes sparring: their feet are preserved on Florence 245. And now the head and shoulders of the right-hand sparrer: they are given by another fragment in Florence (Fig. 5).



FIG. 5: SEE NO. 33.—LEFT, IN LEIPSIK; RIGHT, IN FLORENCE.

34. Fragment of a cup in Villa Giulia. Inside, all that remains is a right foot, frontal, and the lower tip of a helmet-crest to the left of it. Outside, a fight; the left leg of an attacking warrior, to right, with part of his shield, and the right leg (minus foot) of a retreating warrior. By the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy.

A fragment in Florence joins this, and gives the missing foot of the retreating warrior, and the middle of the attacker. A second fragment in Florence joins the first, and gives the lower part of the attacker's right leg. Three other fragments in Florence do not join, but belong: they give (1) the upper part of a warrior to right; (2) the head of a warrior looking round to left; (3) the upper part of a warrior to left.

The cup had three figures in each picture on the reverse; (1) gives, from B, part of the figure corresponding to the attacker on A; (2) and (3) may come from either A or B.

The Florence fragments are No. 29 in my list of this painter's works in *Att. V.* (p. 191). No. 28 in that list is a fragmentary cup in Leipsic, T 514. The subjects of this are the same as in the Florence-Villa Giulia fragments: and the fragment which I have called (1) above joins the Leipsic cup T 514. The cup is now nearly complete.

35. Fragment of a cup in the Villa Giulia. I, left leg of a male (satyr or reveller) with a wineskin. A, fight. A fragment in Florence (knee of a fallen warrior with shield) is by the same painter, the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy, and may come from the picture on B.

36. Florence, fragmentary cup by the Antiphon painter (*Att. V.* p. 235, No. 75), published by Levi in *Boll. d'Arte*, Nov. 1928, Fig. 4. The missing half of the reveller is in the Villa Giulia. See Fig. 6.

37. Villa Giulia, fragment of a cup. Outside, runners (most of one youth and a little piece of a second: to the right, traces of the handle). Antiphon painter.

The fragment Heidelberg B 11 must belong to the same cup, although there is no join.

38. Florence 168 and others, four fragments of a cup.

- (1) Upper half of a man right, with an apple.
- (2) Joining this on the right (ancient mend), head of a boy to left.
- (3) Boy running left looking round, with a lyre.
- (4) Legs of (Eros) flying to right.

These must belong to the cup Florence 4219. School of Makron.

39. Florence 221, fragment (of a neck-amphora?) (head of a warrior to right) joins a fragment in the University of Vienna, which gives neck to thighs of the warrior, with his right arm and hand. See Fig. 7. A second fragment in Vienna, though it does not join, seems to belong, and would give part of the maeander below the figure.



FIG. 6=No. 36.—LEFT, IN FLORENCE; RIGHT, IN VILLA GIULIA.



FIG. 7=No. 39.—ABOVE, IN FLORENCE; BELOW, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA.

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40. Florence 283, fragment of a cup. Inside, a wool-basket and a saccos remain; outside, parts of two maenads. A fragment in Heidelberg (B 115) is by the same hand, and I think from the same cup: inside, part of a woman's back, and a piece of stuff hanging in the field: outside, a maenad. By the Amymone painter.

41. Villa Giulia, fragment of a cup, about 460 B.C. Inside, two warriors moving to left: the first has an ordinary helmet, the second a 'Thracian.' Doesn't a fragment in Florence, with part of a crest, and part of a Thracian helmet with plume, complete the Villa Giulia picture?

42. Villa Giulia. Cup by the Codrus painter. I, Phrixos. A-B, departure. The fragments by the same artist in Florence (*Att. V.* p. 426, No. 6: *Boll. d'Arte*, Nov. 1928, Figs. 11 and 12) belong to this cup.

43. Villa Giulia, fragment of a cup, late fifth century. Inside, to the left, a laver: then the lower part of a male figure in a himation, then a youth moving to right, looking round, with a strigil. Outside, parts of male figures. Two fragments in Heidelberg (W 20) belong to the same cup: one joins Villa Giulia, and gives the upper part of the left-hand youth inside, and outside, great part of the three figures. The other Heidelberg fragment gives part of the exterior.

44. Cup in Florence, 285 and 287, about 400 B.C. I, a youth pursuing a woman; A-B, each, athletes and youths. A fragment in Villa Giulia joins, and gives the middle of the youth inside, and the woman's thighs.

45. A fragment of a cup in Villa Giulia, beginning of the fourth century, has a woman inside riding a dolphin and holding a bunch of grapes. A fragment in Florence joins.

II

This seems the right place to add a few disjecta which do not concern either Florence or Rome. I pass over, first, disjecta concerning Oxford, for those are dealt with in the first two Oxford fascicules of the *Corpus Vasorum*; secondly, with a few exceptions, disjecta which I have mentioned elsewhere; and thirdly, with one or two exceptions where the remains have been published incomplete, disjecta within a single collection.

1. 'Fragment of an archaic kylix: woman, Hermes, Centaur armed with a tree-trunk.' So Gábrici on a black-figure cup-fragment from Selinus in Palermo (*Mon. Lincei*, 32, Pl. 91, 3, and p. 338, above, No. 3). Another fragment in Palermo, I dare say found since the publication, joins this and makes the subject clear: Peleus bringing the infant Achilles to Chiron. The cup belongs to the class which Payne and I have called 'Siana cups' (*J.H.S.* 49, p. 260: see also Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*, pp. 16-18, groups C and D). The subject is

treated in much the same way on a cup of the same class in Würzburg (Baur, *Centaurs in Art*, Pl. 10, 242). These are the two earliest representations of the story: for the cups belong to the second quarter of the sixth century.

On the left of the Palermo fragment is part of a woman standing facing left: this probably completed the picture. There are several other fragments of the same style in Palermo, some of which may have come from the other half of the cup; but one cannot be sure.

2. Two fragments of a white-ground plaque in Athens, found on the Acropolis, and dedicated to Athene by Pollias, perhaps the father of Euthymides (see Robert in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Euthymides, and in *Jahrbuch*, 30, pp. 241-2). One fragment, with part of an Athena on it, is figured by Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Pl. 109. The other bears the inscription. The text mentions a third, 'in an English private collection.' It is in Oxford, presented by Prof. Stuart Jones in 1927, and, as Hartwig says, joins (*a*), giving the right arm of Athena and the rest of her helmet, and, on the reverse, a rough sketch of the goddess, partly incised with a blunt tool, partly painted in brown and red lines.

3. No. 1 in Klein's list of vases with the love-name Antimachos (*Lieb-
lingsinschriften*, p. 67) is part of a cup. 'Heidelberg. Inside, fragmentary, within a circle, a wreathed silen holding an uncertain object in his left. ANT. .AXO.'

The fragment has been mislaid, but there is an old photograph of it in Heidelberg. A fragment in Dresden joins, and gives the legs of the silen (without the feet), part of his tail, most of the object in his left hand, and part of that in his right, and the continuation of the inscription, . . . ΣΚΑ . . . The objects are wineskin and horn. Date about 520.

3a. Three fragments of a kotyle, from the Athenian Acropolis, E 1. Fragment (*a*) gives the legs of Herakles, part of the Hydra, part of the Crab. Fragment (*b*), from the other side, gives the left arm of Athena holding spear and reins, evidently mounting her chariot. Fragment (*c*) gives part of Athena's back, and, behind her, a hand holding a helmet.

A fragment picked up on the Acropolis last year by Mr. Martin Robertson of Cambridge belongs to the same kotyle. It gives the right hand and wrist of Athena, with part of her spear, of the reins, of the chariot-car.

The Athens fragments are now published by Langlotz (*Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis* ii. pl. 38, no. 450): he is reminded, with reason, of early works by Oltos. Mr. Robertson intends to present his fragment to the Museum of Athens.

4. E 812, 1, in the third volume of the British Museum catalogue, is a fragment found at Naucratis, with a silen collaring a maenad. The description in the catalogue is inaccurate, for the fragment is not from a stand but from the interior of a cup, it is not unusual in technique, and it

is not in the style of Brygos. A fragment joining this was found later, and the two were published by Edgar in *B.S.A.*, 5, p. 64. But a third fragment joins these two on the right; it is in Cambridge, N 99; it gives the middle of the maenad's arm, part of the line-border, and of the signature, . . . επ]ο]ις[ε]ν]: the last letter fragmentary but certain. The foot of the cup was of the early red-figure type (Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, p. 177). About 520.

5. Heidelberg B 46 is from the outside of a cup. A silen runs towards a spotted deer. Breast and one foreleg of the deer remain. The upper part of the silen is missing: it is in Tübingen, E 38 (Watzinger, *Vasen in Tübingen*, Pl. 20). The Heidelberg fragment is No. 30 in my earlier list of the Euergides painter's works (*J.H.S.* 33, p. 351), No. 44 in my later (*Att. V.* p. 33). A fragment in Leipsic, from Cervetri, with part of an arm and part of a deer, might also belong.

6. A cup-fragment in New York, o6, 1021.139. Inside and outside, fighting. A photograph in the German Institute at Athens shows this fragment when it was in the Bourguignon collection, and adds a bit more, apparently with part of the love-name Memnon (κΑΛΟ[Σ]ΜΕ]ΜΝΟΝ). Memnon makes one think of Oltos, but the artist is not Oltos.

7. Athens, Acropolis B 2¹, published by Langlotz in Graef and Langlotz, Pl. 8, 181, is part of a large fine cup. A fragment in the magazine at Munich joins; gives part of the foot of the figure inside, and part of the pattern, circumscribed palmettes, on the reverse. Time and neighbourhood of Euphronios, as Langlotz saw.

7a. Tübingen E 17 (Watzinger, pl. 19) is from the outside of a cup. A fragment in Heidelberg (A 10) joins it on the right and gives the rest of the youth's left breast with his left arm, part of his left side, and part of the discus held in the left hand. Another fragment in Heidelberg (B 78) joins E 17 on the left and gives face and right shoulder of a second athlete, seen from behind.

8. Fragments of a cup in the Hague, Scheurleer Museum. Inside, Silenos led prisoner by a hunter. Outside, athletes. There was more of this when it was in Hauser's possession. The missing parts are in the University of Freiburg.

9. The cup-fragments No. 608 in the Cabinet des Médailles give inside, in black outline on a white ground, part of a maenad, moving to an altar, or rather dancing round it, with a snake in each hand: inscription . . . ΠΑ . . . , retrograde, part of *ἡ παῖς καλὸς* or *ἡ παῖς καλὲ*. The outside is red-figured: all that remains is a foot, and a piece of the two-line border. By the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy. From the collection of the Duc de Luynes.

Now there are two cup-fragments by this painter in the Museum of Sèvres. Outside, revellers: inside, a white band between two black bands—nothing else preserved.

Now cups with white inside them are rare; and cups by the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy with white inside them are rarer: and I found that the Sèvres fragments were presented to the museum by the Duc de Luynes. I think it quite likely, therefore, that they belong to the same cup as the fragment in the Cabinet des Médailles.

Cabinet des Médailles 606 may also belong: inside, part of a white band; outside, of a palmette.

10. The kotyle Berlin 2316 (*A.Z.* 1854, Pl. 68: von Lücken, Pl. 49-50) is incomplete. One handle is modern, foot and base are ancient but



FIG. 8: SEE NO. 10.—DRESDEN.

alien. In the youth, a big patch—right arm and half the trunk—is modern. The missing fragment is in Dresden (Fig. 8).

11. Fragment, probably of a loutrophoros, in Tübingen, E 98 (Watzinger, Pl. 27). This joins the fragment in Louvain published by Mayence in *Mélanges Holleaux*, p. 138. Two other fragments in Louvain, as Mayence notes, belong to the same vase (*ibid.* p. 139).

12. Two fragments in Tübingen, E 86. A fragment in the Hague, Scheurleer Museum, joins fragment (a) on the left, and gives part of the woman's sleeve and hand, of the horses' rumps, of the reins, of a male figure with a sceptre. Another larger fragment in the Hague gives the horses' tails, and part of the sceptred male, of the chariot-car, of the driver. By the painter of the Brussels oinochoai: the Hague fragments are No. 17 in my list of his works (*Att. V.* p. 289).

13. Fragment of a bell-krater in Leipsic, T 661, with Selene. A fragment in Bryn Mawr should join, giving the feet of the goddess, the head of her weary horse, and the pattern below the picture. Recalls the painter of the Yale oinochoe.

14. Two bell-krater fragments in Syracuse, 23628 and 23630, published by Orsi in *Mon. Lincei*, 14, pp. 901-2, Figs. 96 and 97, join: giving us (1) a horse standing to r.; (2) a young warrior, wearing corslet and tiara, putting on his greaves: then came the handle.

15. The fragmentary lekanis-lid Naples 2635 (Millingen, *P.V.G.* Pl. 57) is said by Heydemann to have been found at Paestum. He adds, however, that Gargiulo said it was found at Locri. Gargiulo was right: for two fragments from Locri, in the Magazzino Nazionale at Reggio, come from the same vase. One gives the left hand of the woman with her face in three-quarter view, and the lower part of the woman with the box; the other gives the calves and feet of a woman moving quickly leftwards, probably the woman with the basket on the right of the picture.

16. Part of the well-known kalathos published by Stackelberg in *Graeber der Hellenen*, Pl. 33, is in Lord Elgin's collection at Broomhall in Fife, the rest is in the Black Gate Museum at Newcastle-on-Tyne. I owe my knowledge of the Newcastle fragment to Miss Noel Moon.

17. A fragment in Heidelberg, from an oinochoe shape III, has remains of four figures playing ball: a head, probably a woman's, turned to left; the upper part of a child sitting on the shoulders of a third figure; and the hand of a fourth figure. The right-hand portion of the picture is missing: but it is figured, together with the Heidelberg fragment, by Benndorf in *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder*, Pl. 37, 5.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

THE FINANCIAL DECREES OF KALLIAS (*I.G.* I², 91-92).

[PLATES I-III.]

Bibliographical Note.—Of the two Financial Decrees of Kallias inscribed on one stone, one has been known to scholars for 65 years, one for over a century: they have had an enormous literature. They are published in the new Attic Corpus as *I.G.* I², 91 and 92, and the literature down to 1924 is there given. The three most important writers before that date are, I think, Kirchhoff, Meyer, Beloch: I have only one addition of any importance down to 1924, viz. Beloch's pupil, Max Romstedt, whose Leipzig Dissertation, *Die wirtschaftliche Organization des athenischen Reiches* (1914), devotes pp. 22-36 to the δεκάτε mentioned in line 7 of the first decree. He is strongly for a late date, but I do not find his arguments cogent.

Since 1924, the following major articles have appeared:—

- Stevenson, *J.H.S.*, 44 (1924), 1 sqq.: *The Financial Administration of Pericles.*
- Bannier, *Rh. Mus.*, 75 (1926), 184 sqq.: *Zu den Beschlüssen, I.G.* I², 91/92.
- Kolbe, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1927, 319 sqq.: *Das Kalliasdekret.*
- Kolbe, *Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1929, 273 sqq.: *Studien über das Kalliasdekret.*
- Kolbe, *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden* (Berlin 1930), Kap. II. and III.

Kolbe claims (1929, p. 273) to have given documentary proof that Beloch's date 418/17 is impossible: he argues confidently for the year 434.

I note also the following references, some more cautious than others, to show how deeply bedded our document is in almost all considerations of the history of the Akropolis:—

- Welter, *Ath. Mitt.* 48 (1923), 200 (*Der Nikepyrgos*).
- Preuner in Noack's *Eleusis* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927), 392.
- Paton, *The Erechtheum* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1927), 455, note 3, 463, note 2, 471.
- Doerpfeld in his review of the above, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1928, 1073.
- Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture* (Cambridge, 1929), 127, note 1.
- Judeich, *Hermes*, 1929, 405, note 1, 414, note 1 (*Hekatompedon und alter Tempel*).
- Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (2nd ed. 1931), 269.

I refer to the most important articles as follows:—

- Meyer = E. Meyer, *Forschungen*, II, 88 sqq.
- Beloch = *Gr. Ges.*², II, 2, 344 sqq.
- Kolbe, *S.B.* 1927.
- Kolbe, *S.B.* 1929.
- [Kolbe, *Thukydides*, is a reprint of his former papers.]

My excuse for adding to all this, is the new readings I offer. I have argued the date 422/1, but have held a watching brief for 434/3, which I consider the next most probable date. The endeavour not to write a *suasoria* may make the following pages inconclusive, but we need truth more than conclusions. Let my 'Sinking-Fund' join (if it must) the many shipwrecks which this Lorelei among inscriptions has made; but not without first showing that the problems it tries to solve need solving. It is indeed possible that this Sinking-Fund is right, though my dating of Kallias is wrong. I take this occasion of thanking the authorities of the Louvre for the pleasure of the days I spent in the *Salle des Caryatides*, also the Oxford Philological Society for listening with patience to most of this paper in the autumn of 1929.

I. *The Text of Face Y*

THE 'Decree of Kallias,' most commonly so called, is a decree ordering the repayment of Temple monies borrowed from Temple treasures other than Athena's (*I.G.* I², 91). It is, so far as it goes, almost perfectly preserved and completely legible: so far as it goes, for it is not complete. The top is intact, and so are the two margins; but what is at present the bottom edge was cut by the Christian mason who used this chunk of Kallias' decree for the altar of his church. He took his saw pretty exactly between lines 31 and 32 of the inscription: so that line 31 is almost intact, and of line 32 nothing is certainly legible (Plate II).¹

I am speaking so far only of one side of the stone (Face X). The other side (Face Y) is also inscribed, but has suffered far worse damage, for it served as the top of the altar-slab and has consequently had continuous wear;² moreover, to fit it for its new purpose, a channel was cut down the middle, the two margins were elaborately carved, and the head and foot were bevelled. The central channel means a loss of about five letters from the middle of each line, and the carved margins a loss of about ten letters each from beginnings and ends. These gaps have given scope for more or less fruitful conjecture. The two bevels, at head and foot, have perhaps done more harm: each means a loss of surface with room for nearly three lines. The undamaged side contains 31 lines complete, and had room for 32; for a blank line has been left at the top, since it is the beginning of a decree. The damaged side contains only 28; and of these the top and bottom lines are cut horizontally through the middle, and have consequently only a few letters legible, and those with great difficulty (Plate III).³

The question has been put again and again: what is the relation between the two sides of this stone? Enough of the damaged side survives to make it clear that both sides are concerned with more or less the same large topic; namely, public policy with regard to temple treasures. There are, however, certain differences; the handwritings on the two sides, though not unlike, can be distinguished,⁴ and though the vertical spacing is the same, the lateral spacing is much wider on the damaged side, so much so that while the undamaged side has 54 letters to the line, the damaged has only 51.⁵ There is also a notable difference in the spelling of dative plurals of the 1st declension.⁶ The undamaged side has the newer

¹ It was certainly inscribed, for 31 ends in the middle of a word. A horizontal stroke, as of E or T or Π, is to be seen in the 50th space in 32, under the P in 31; and there are one or two other less certain vestiges.

² The bottom 11½ lines were better protected, and are more legible in consequence.

³ The vertical spacing is approximately the same on both sides. Line 34 in *I.G.* I² (line 3 in my transcript, page 63) stands level with line 3 on the undamaged side: line 59 in *I.G.* I² (line 28 in my transcript) stands about level with line 28 on the

undamaged side.

⁴ The most distinctive letters are Y and N with flattish diagonals, on the undamaged side; and P with a neat small eye, on the damaged.

⁵ This has always been taken count of in suggested supplements; but the number 51 is, of course, determined by the spacing of the extant letters and the known margins; not by the requirements of supplements.

⁶ For the bearing of this on the date, see Epigraphic Appendix A.

form *ελλενοταμιαισ* (line 6) *ταμιαισ* (line 18) *αισ* (line 29): the damaged side has the older form *ταμιασι* (line 52 in *I.G.* I², line 21 in my transcript).

In face of these facts, very nearly all possible hypotheses have been tried. Instead of enumerating them, I wish to consider certain fresh facts.

In Plate I, the portions in black are a reduced facsimile of what I believe can be read on the damaged side. I have added in red such restorations as seem to me fairly certain. The restoration of a prescript identical with the prescript on the undamaged side is, I believe, absolutely certain;⁷ and this answers the question of the relation between the two sides. They are two separate decrees, both moved by the same Kallias at the same meeting of the Ekklesia. I will henceforth quote the decree on the damaged side (Face Y) by the lines in my transcript, page 63, not the lines in *I.G.* I², 92.

This does not make it certain (though it seems to me nearly certain) that they were *inscribed* at the same time. But before any questions of date, there are one or two more questions of text to discuss.

The fixing of the prescript gives us much firmer data for restoring the opening clauses of the decree itself: though I fear not quite firm enough. Between *Καλλιας ειπε* in line 2 and *τα λιθινα* which I take to be certain⁸ in line 3, we have 16 spaces: for the noun which *τα λιθινα* qualifies, and perhaps for a verb to govern this row of accusatives. On such lines one may write [*εκποιεσαι* (or *εκτελεσαι*) *τα βαθρα τα λιθινα* etc., and let a new clause begin (as Hiller and Bannier do) at the end of line 3. But there is another possibility: that *χρεσθαι* in line 4 is the first main verb; that the accusatives (with some preposition before them) are dependent on *χρεσθαι*; that the subjunctive clause, whose last letters —*εθει* we have at the beginning of line 4, is closely dependent on *τα προπυλαια*. On these lines, there is an unwelcome wideness of choice: for example, *Καλλιας ειπ[εν] εσ τα διερει[σματα]⁹ τα λιθινα και τας Νικ[κας] τας χρ[υ]σας και τα Προ[πυλαια], ηεσ[αν] οικοδομ[ε]θει παντελος, [επισκεφ]σει χρεσθαι*. But it is clear that such supplements beg the issue: one might write *πριν αν* or *οποταν* instead of *ηεσ αν*, or even *ην ε[χσοικοδομ]εθει*. By such variations the building policy of the decree is given totally different colours. We know that Mnesikles' plans for the Propylaea were severely modified in fact; does this decree tie or free his hand? *πριν αν* would tie it; *ην εχσ*— would free it.

⁷ Prof. Meritt has very kindly confirmed for me that *λλ* in *Καλλιας* is certain: *i.e.* *-λλιας ει-* is certain, and the remains are compatible with *-λλιας ειπ-*. Few scholars, then, will demur to *Καλλιας ειπε*. This must be preceded by *ho δεινα επεστατε*: we know, therefore, that the name of the epistates ends with *θεσ* (or *οεσ*). The identity of the epistates will carry with it the identity of the whole prescript. Names in *-θεσ* are rare (in *-οεσ* almost non-existent: *Κοεσ* of Mytilene): the few Attic examples (*Τιμανθεσ*, *Φιλανθεσ*, *Ευμαθεσ*, *Χσενοπειθεσ*, *Διοπειθεσ*, etc.) are

excluded by the traces of the earlier letters, with the single exception (as I believe) of *Ευπειθεσ*. The matter was clinched for me beyond reasonable doubt when I found that the prescript written out full exactly fills the line above, and that this line is exactly the same distance below the head of the stone as the first line on the undamaged side.

⁸ There are clear traces of a circular letter before *ΙΝΑ*.

⁹ See Epigraphic Appendix B.

One thing at least, however, is now clear: *κατα τα εφσεφι[σμενα]* in line 5 refers to a previous¹⁰ decree. I return to this point later.

The subject of *χρεσθαι* is not expressed; it is not easy to find room for it,¹¹ there is certainly no need for it. For it is clearly the same as of *αποδοναι* and *αποδιδοναι* in lines 2 and 4-5 of the undamaged side, and in fact of all the infinitives in both decrees (with the sole exception of *κατατιθεναι* in line 20 of this one¹²), namely, *τοσ Αθηναιος* understood. It is the Athenian State which is taking the work in hand and will spend¹³ 10 Talents a year on it (lines 6-7). This renders impossible the supplement given in *I.G.* I². for the end of line 4: *απ[ολογιζομενο | σ τει βολει]*, for the State cannot give an account to one of its organs. I have supplied, purely *exempli gratia*, *απ[ο το νοτοθεν α | ρχσαμενος]*.

It further renders impossible another supplement which I had long suspected on other grounds: in line 8 *[χσυνε]πιστατοντον δε [τοι ερ]γοι οι ταμιαι*. So far no executive has been named: it is named now, the *ταμιαι* are to be *ex officio* the executive (*Epistatai*) of the work resolved upon: *ε]πιστατοντον—οι ταμιαι*. This leaves 4 letters missing at the beginning of line 8: many supplements are possible; *exempli gratia* (lines 7-8) *επισκευασ[θει τα οικο | δομεματα ε]πιστατοντον* etc.

In line 6, *I.G.* I². gives *ΡΑΜΕΝΑ*: Cavaignac read *ΤΑΜΕΝΑ*. The *P* is, I think, pretty certain. But *ραμενα* is extremely difficult,¹⁴ and *γεγ]ραμενα* with one *M* impossible. The second letter seems to me to be not *alpha* but *gamma*: we have the end of some word like *καθεργμενα*, and a reference (probably) to the enclosed *Temene* such as *Artemis Brauronia* and *Pandrosos* possessed: the former certainly, the latter perhaps, thwarted *Mnesikles'* plans.

We must, I am afraid, admit that the medieval mason with his carvings has pretty effectually concealed from us the nature of the work ordered by *Kallias* in these opening lines. It has something to do with the lay-out of the *Akropolis*: the yearly *Tamiai* are to be in charge of it, and it will involve an expenditure of 10 Talents a year. It stands in some relation (but we don't know what) to the golden *Nikai* and the *Propylaia*.

In the next line an architect is mentioned. The restoration of *επι-μελεσθο* as a singular imperative is certain:¹⁵ it is therefore a single architect.

¹⁰ In e.g. *I.G.* I², 49, line 12. it probably means 'as *herein* decreed'; and so long as the beginning of our decree was totally unknown, it was possible it meant so here. But it is now clear that it means 'as previously (elsewhere) decreed': cf. *I.G.* I², 39, line 49.

¹¹ Kolbe suggests that *τοσ επιστατας* stood in the lacuna in lines 4-5. What *Epistatai*? of the *Nikai*? or the *Propylaia*? or both? The *Epistatai* of the work here ordered (and *not* the 'Xynepistatai') are named in line 8.

¹² - - εν in line 9 is not, I think, a main verb: for *αριθμεσαι* alleged in line 27, see the end of this section.

¹³ Cf. *I.G.* I², 295-8 and 301-4, *Αθηναιοι ανελοσαν επι το δεινα αρχοντος*: the phrase is improper of any mere executive. In *I.G.* I², 78, line 8, *Epistatai* are

ordered *αναλίσκεν μεχρι μνας*, i.e. to expend *out of their main fund* on a bye-function.

¹⁴ *Κεκραμενα, πετραμενα, δεδραμενα, ηεοραμενα*, etc. *αραμενα* and several improbable aorist participles middle: *παραμενα*?

¹⁵ It is one of the singularities of our scribe that his circular letters (see lines 7 and 13) have worn worst (they commonly wear best and are visible when nothing else is: e.g. in *I.G.* I², 19). The surface is here unbroken, the letters are worn, not broken away: so the restoration of two circular letters is pretty conclusive. Bannier supplies *ηε δε βολε* instead of *ηουτος δε*. The *Boule* indeed sometimes performs executive functions (*I.G.* I², 56¹, 106a¹, 110², 113¹²), but an expert executive function like this is outside its province. In *I.G.* I², 88, line 17, it is doing its properest work of *Probouleusis*.

We can perhaps go further and say, a definite architect; and consequently read τον αρχιτεκ[τονα] in line 9, not [εν]α τον αρχιτεκ[τονον]. Preuner (in Noack's *Eleusis*, 392) has proposed [Μνεσικλε]α τον αρχιτεκ[τονα]: and if anyone ever manages to read the letter before the A, and to read it as E, I think I would accept this intriguing proposal.¹⁶ Meanwhile, I give a duller and more non-committal supplement, whose moods and tenses are unobjectionable:¹⁷ και [κελευσαντο | ν τα γραμματ]α τον αρχιτεκ[τονα ποι] εν hocπερ το[ν] Προ[πυλαιον]. The plural τα γραμματα accords with the apparently miscellaneous nature of the work, and perhaps justifies the present tense in ποιεν.—This architect is responsible, with the Tamiai, for tidying up the Akropolis, however that is to be done.

Why do we have to suppose some definite architect is intended? Because the lay-out of the Akropolis was a controversial matter, on which the great architects of the day, e.g. Kallikrates and Mnesikles, were sharply divided.¹⁸ A legislator as careful as Kallias will not leave its execution to 10 annual Tamiai chosen by lot, with the advice of any architect they choose. From when the Propylaia was begun to when the Nike Temple was finished (and our decree certainly comes within that long period) the ground on the south side of the Propylaia was fought for foot by foot. This decree registers a decision one way or the other, for or against Mnesikles' programme. Its execution was entrusted to the respectable and impartial Tamiai:¹⁹ the more need for their technical colleague to be one specified person.

We have seen that there had been a previous psephisma regarding this building programme, referred to in line 5: presumably the architect was named therein, as, for example, Kallikrates is named in *I.G.* I², 24 and 44.

The work was, of course, to be paid for out of Temple monies: to judge from line 12, out of Athena's monies; and the decree turns now to the question of the administration of these monies. There is no important question of text until lines 19–20. Kirchhoff's εκ δε τον φορο]ν κατατιθεναι κ[ατα το]ν ενιαυτον τα ηεκα[στοτε γενο]μενα παρὰ το]ις ταμιασι - - τοσ ελλενο[ταμιασ] has long passed unquestioned, except that περιοντα has been sometimes preferred to γενομενα. But εκ δε τον φορο]ν cannot stand. In the left of the space required by the second ο in φορον there is the upper part of a vertical stroke.²⁰ Both Prof. West and Prof. Meritt have confirmed this; and Prof. Meritt has suggested to me that it is part of an *iota*, and possibly to read εσ δε τεν πολ]ιψ. I have gratefully utilised this

¹⁶ As it stands, και [το παραδειγ | μα Μνεσικλε]α τον αρχιτεκ[τονα ποι]εν, the tense of ποιεν seems to me very difficult. The surface before the A is not broken but only worn: I think possibly some reagent might show traces of the letter.

¹⁷ I cannot agree with Kolbe, *S.B.* 1927, 328, that the *infinitivus adhortativus* is required by the usage of our document. Its usage is almost absolute, viz. infinitive when the subject is the unexpressed τοσ Αθηναίος, with all other subjects (here οι Ταμιαί) imperative.

¹⁸ This question will, I hope, be dealt with in Dinsmoor's *Propylaia*.

¹⁹ They were wealthy, 'Αθ. πολ. 8. 1: chosen by lot, *I.G.* I², 91 (the reverse of this decree), lines 13–15.

²⁰ The space is part of the carved margin, but this fraction of surface has been left. Lay a straight-edge along the intact surface (which here is quite unworn), and there is not room for a hair between it and the surface which has preserved the letter-trace.

suggestion, though to me the stroke seemed slightly far to the left for an *iota*: I had rather thought of the left hasta of K or L or H, but none of these gives any possible restoration.²¹

In line 20, κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν must (as Beloch insists) mean what it means in line 25–26 of Face X, ‘in the course of the year,’ and cannot mean the same as κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν in *e.g.* Thuc. 2. 13. 3. Accordingly, I think περιόντα impossible, and keep γενομένα.

In lines 26–27 *I.G.* I² reads ὁποσα δὲ τοῖν χρεμάτων τὸν [ἱερο]ν ἀσάτα ἐστίν εἰς ἀν[αριθμὰ τὰν] τὰ ἀριθμῶσα]ι νῦν μετὰ τὸν τετταρον ἀρχον etc. The subject is obviously ‘the Tamiai,’ but it is not expressed: we cannot understand the common unexpressed subject τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, because the Athenian State cannot co-operate with the ‘four colleges.’ Read εἰς ἀν[αριθμῶσα] ἡ[οὶ] ταμιαὶ ἡ[οὶ] νῦν: this will cure everything. We must now read στε[σαντων] in line 29: and the few traces in the second half of the line suggest that the sentence continued with τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ and so perhaps concluded with ἀριθμῶσαντων.

In line 27 the current supplement αἰ seems to me improbable Greek, and is also I believe a non-Attic form²² for the fifth century. I write provisionally [τὸν νῦν | λογον].

II. The Tamiai of the Other Gods

The Decree—I should now say, the *two* Decrees of Kallias are notoriously difficult to date. Historians cannot leave them alone, because not to know at what date 3000 Talents were placed on the Akropolis makes child’s play of all attempts at a financial history of the last half of the century. I hoped a closer study of Face Y, in the knowledge that the two decrees are contemporary, might give some clue to the date of both. It has given me no certain clue, and now that I must discuss the date, let me disclaim all pretensions of complete proof.

I take it as established that the two decrees are contemporary, passed the same day. And it is sufficiently clear, I think, that the undamaged side, Face X, was passed before Face Y: Face X orders the repayment of monies to the Gods, and Face Y regards that order as already given.

There are only three years which need be seriously considered. It is clear from the phrase in line 27 of Face Y, οἱ Ταμιαὶ οἱ νῦν μετὰ τὸν τετταρον ἀρχον,²³ that it is the first year of a Panathenaic period. It cannot be as early as 438–7, before the building of the Propylaia was begun; nor as late as 414–13, a full year after the fleet sailed for Sicily. Two years inside this period 430–29, and 426–5, are, as we shall see, effectively excluded by the Logistai’s account, *I.G.* I², 324, which covers them both. There remain 434–3, 422–1, 418–17.

²¹ ΗΗ ΗΗ (200 talents) would do, but is extremely improbable.—I have written εἰς πολὺν, omitting τὸν (cf. X, 4 *et passim*).

²² See Epigraphic Appendix C.

²³ ‘The present college, *plus* their four predecessors of the last Panathenaic period.’ (For αἰ supplied

commonly in line 27, see the end of Section I.) The phrase recurs regularly at the beginning of a new Panathenaic period: *I.G.* I², 232, 236, 240, etc. This does not damage the 434 hypothesis, though it excludes any date before 28 Hekatombaion of that year.

Text of Kallias' Second Decree = I.G. I². 92, (Face 1').

- [εδοχσεν τει βολει και τοι δεμοι Κεκροπις επρυτανευε Μνεσιθε]
 [οσ εγραμματαυε Ε]νπ[ε]ιθεσ [επεστατε Κ]αλλιασ ειπ[ε] εκποιεσαι τα]
 [βαθρα τα λι]θινα και τας Νι[κας] τας χ[ρυσας] και τα Προ[πυλαια] επει]
 [δαν δ εκποι]εθει παντελοσ [επισκεφ]σει χρεσθαι απ[ο] το νοτοθεν α]
 5 [ρχσαμενος] κατα τα εφσεφ[ισμενα] και τον ακροπολιν [? ho]ρισαι πλε]
 [ν με τα εχσε]ργμενα και επι[σκευα]ζεν δεκα ταλαντα α[ναλίσκοντα]
 [σ το ενιαυτ]ο ηεαστο ηεοσ [αν ποιε]θει και επισκευα[σθει] τα ?οικο]
 [δομεματα ε]πιστατοντ[ο]ν δ[ε] τοι ερ]γ[ο]ι [ο]ι ταμιαι και [κελυσαντο]
 [ν τα γραμματ]α τον αρχιτεκ[τονα] ποι[εν] [ο]σπερ το[ν] Προ[πυλαιον] του]
 10 [τοσ δε επιμ]ελεσ[θο] μετα το[ν] επιστ[α]τον hoπποσ αριστ[α] και λαμπρο]
 [τατα κοσμεθ]εσεται ηε ακρ[οπολις] και επισκευασθε[σεται] τα δεο]
 [μενα τοις δ]ε αλλοις χρεμα[σιν] τοις τεσ Αθηναιας το[ις] τε νυν οσι]
 [ν εμ πολει κ]αι ηαττ αν τ[ο] λο[ιπον] αν[α]φερεται με χρεσ[θαι] μεδε απα]
 [ναλίσκεν α]π αυτον ε[σ] αλλο [μεδεν ε] εσ ταυτα ηυπερ μυ[ρ]ι[ας] δραχμα]
 15 [σ ε εσ επισκ]ευεν εαν τι δεε[ι] εσ αλλ[ο] δε μεδεν χρεσ[θ]α[ι] τοις χρεμα]
 [σιν εαν με τ]εν αδειαν φσεφ[ισεται] ο] δεμος καθαπερ ε[αν] φσεφισετ]
 [αι περι εσφ]ορασ εαν δε τισ [ειπει ε] επιφσεφι[σ]ει με ε[φσεφισμενε]
 [σ πο τεσ α]δ[ει]ας χρεσθαι το[ις] χρεμ[α]σιν τοι[σ] τεσ Αθε[ν]αιας ενεχε]
 [σθο τοις αυ]τοις hoισπερ εα[ν] τις εσ]φερεν ει[π]ει ε επιφ[σεφισει] ν ν]
 20 [και εσ πολ]ιν κατατιθεναι κ[ατα] το[ν] ενιαυτον τα ηεκα[στοτε] γενο]
 [μενα παρα το]ις ταμιασι του [τεσ Αθ]εναιας τοσ ελλενο[ταμιας] επε]
 [ιδαν δ απο το]ν διακοσιον τα[λαντο]ν ηα εσ αποδοσιν εφ[σεφισατο] η]
 [ο δεμος τοι]ς αλλοις θεοις α[ποδοθ]ει τα οφελομενα τα[μινευσθο] τ]
 [α μεν τεσ Αθ]εναιας χρεματα [εν τοι] επιδεχσια το οπισ[θοδομο] τα δ]
 25 [ε τον αλλον θ]εον εν τοι επαρ[ιστερ]α *vacat*
 [hoπποσα δε το]ν χρεματων τον [ηιερο]ν αστατα εστιν ε αν[αριθμετα] η]
 [οι Ταμιαι ho]ι νυν μετα τον τετταρο[ν] αρχον ηαι εδιδο[σαν] τον νυν]
 [λογον εκ Πα]ναθηναιον εσ Παν[αθηνα]ια hoπποσα μεγ χρν[σα] εστιν αυ]
 [τον ε αργυρα] ε υπαρχυρα στε[σαντον] τα δ]ε αλλ[α] αριθμεσαντον . .

The case for 418-17 has been put with great ability by Beloch; but it has recently been damaged almost beyond repair by the discovery that the College of the Tamiai of the Other Gods existed in full strength, 10 in number, in the year 421-0 (*I.G. I²*, 370, lines 7-9).

434-3²⁴ may be called the orthodox date: its case was put with great cogency 30 years ago by Eduard Meyer, and most recently by Prof. Kolbe (*S.B.* 1927) in a paper of great learning and persuasiveness. With such advocates, its advantages (as Dr. Johnson said of the blessings of poverty) have had justice done to them; and yet I am perhaps not alone in being still unconvinced. The difficulties of that date, both those which will appear in the course of my paper, and also the epigraphic difficulty, that the stone bears the signs of having been inscribed nearer 420 than 430,²⁵ have induced me to develop the case for the remaining year, 422-1.

What is the time of year?

A good deal of work is demanded from *hoi λογισταὶ hoi triakonta hoiper nun*. Eduard Meyer indeed held²⁶ that Logistai only met every four years, at the time of the great Panathenaia; but this can hardly be true. The Hellenotamiai 'show their *απαρχε*' to the Logistai every year, unless the documents mislead me greatly; surely there can be no question but that they did so in 454-3 (*I.G. I²*, 191²) and 452-1 (*I.G. I²*, 193¹) and probably 422-1 (*I.G. I²*, 220⁷). Apart from this, we have the Logistai mentioned in *I.G. I²*, 304*c*,²⁷ which is commonly dated to 407-6; the Logistai who calculated interest to 28 Hekatombaion 422 (Great Panathenaia); and the *προτεροὶ λογισταὶ* of the same inscription who *λελογισμένα παρεδσαν*. It is these last who persuaded Meyer to his thesis: he supposed them to be the same as the Logistai who had calculated the interest to the Great Panathenaia of 426. But clearly they are not the same; the Panathenaic figure was handed on, year by year, until the calculation was done again at the next Great Panathenaia, and the old figure included.²⁸

The Logistai probably²⁹ held office for the financial year, 28 Hekatombaion to 28 Hekatombaion. We must assume that a good deal of this year is still in hand. It agrees well that the decree falls some time before the current Archairesiai, at which the new Tamiai of the Other Gods will be appointed.³⁰ Their duties will begin after next Midsummer: they will enter office 28 Hekatombaion next, and then take over *παρα τον νυν αρχοντον* (Face X, 18-22) and proceed to the duties laid down in lines 15-18, 22-30.

For the considerable remainder of the current year, are there or are

²⁴ Or 435-4 (see Kolbe, *S.B.* 1927, p. 330), which I exclude *ab initio* because of Face Y, line 27.

²⁵ See Epigraphic Appendix A.

²⁶ *Forsch.*, II, 131, note 1.

²⁷ See the new reading of line 74 published by Meritt in *Cl. Phil.*, xxv. (1930), p. 237.

²⁸ *Λελογισμένα παρεδσαν* can hardly mean 'calculated and left on record,' which is what Meyer apparently supposes. It means, in this case, 'found calculated, and handed on to us': '*παρεδσαν*' precludes any gap in time between the two Colleges.—

Also, Face X, 25-27 speaks clearly of *annual* Logistai: the four-yearly account in 27-28 is a separate thing.

²⁹ I know of no evidence. In *I.G. I²*, 324 they calculate interest to 10 Hekatombaion 422 B.C., which Meritt takes to be the last day of the outgoing Boule. Since their report is for the information and action of the (new) Boule, this seems fairly certain (Meritt, *Calendar*, p. 16).

³⁰ They are to be appointed at the usual *αρχαιρεςiai*, *ησταμπερ τας αλλας αρχας*, X, 14.

there not any Ταμιαί τον άλλον θεόν? This question is cardinal: its answer depends on three passages.

1. Who are οἱ νυν Ταμιαί in Face X, line 18?
2. Who are οἱ Ταμιαί οἱ νυν in Face Y, line 27?
3. Do lines 23–25 of Face Y refer to the current year, or do they not?

1. Next year's Tamiai are to take over the duties of a number of officials, who in lines 21–22 are called οἱ νυν ἀρχοντες, and in lines 18–19 are specified in detail: οἱ νυν Ταμιαί, καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται καὶ οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἱ νυν διαχειρίζουσιν. Beloch has argued that these words must mean: 'The present College of Tamiai, *plus* such local Epistatai and Hieropoioi as at present have charge of treasure.' Kolbe protests that this translation is not inevitable.³¹ It is not inevitable: but it is, I submit, far the most natural way of reading the Greek. The Tamiai are qualified as οἱ νυν: the others are qualified as *local*, and 'in charge for the present.' This exactly describes the case: the local officers are to hand over to a central body, and then they will no longer have charge: the Tamiai, who will just hand over to the next Tamiai, are just given the regular title οἱ νυν.

But this is a well-known battle-ground, fought over often enough.

2. Οἱ Ταμιαί οἱ νυν in Y 27 have not previously appeared *totidem verbis*,³² yet have mostly been taken for granted. Meyer says they are the Tamiai of Athena only, because the weighing and counting of the Other Gods' Treasure are already provided for on Face X, line 20. The argument proves nothing: all incoming Tamiai ἀπαριθμούνται καὶ ἀφίστανται τὰ χρήματα have their treasures counted and weighed out to them. The Tamiai of Athena must have been doing this for years past; how else could they have been 'giving the account from one Panathenaia to the next' (X, 27–29)? What is here ordered is that the inventories be made complete. Both Colleges might do this; and there is a certain awkwardness in the 'sacred treasures' being Athena's only.

Nevertheless, this passage is inconclusive for our purpose. If Tamiai of the Other Gods existed, they will be included in οἱ Ταμιαί οἱ νυν: if they did not, they won't. This takes us no further.

3. Athena's money is to be administered on the right of the Opisthodomos, the Other Gods' on the left. The case will rise (whatever our supplements in the lines before) at least as soon as the money begins to be paid to the Other Gods. If this happens during the current year, there must be Treasurers of the Other Gods to receive and administer the money.

The debt is to be calculated by the Logistai of the current year, and is to be paid out of the revenues of the current year (X, 6–9). It is conceivable that the Logistai will calculate the debt, with interest, down to the last day of the present Boule,³³ and the payment will be made at the beginning of the new year. But this is not how I read the orders in Face

³¹ *S.B.* 1927, p. 322. He would translate, 'The local Tamiai, Epistatai, and Hieropoioi, who at present have charge': he allows that this makes the νυν in οἱ νυν ταμιαί redundant, but tolerates the

redundance.

³² They are due to my restoration, which I believe to be almost certain.

³³ See note 29 above.

X. There, as it seems to me, accounting, payments, and cancelling proceed *pari passu*; and the same Boule which has superintended the accounts is to make the payments and cancel the vouchers (ζετεσαντες - - αποδοντον - - και εχκαλειφοντον). Or, if this does not compel us to say 'the same Boule,' at least it does not specifically envisage that after one Boule has superintended the accounts, another makes the payments.³⁴

That is the case for supposing Tamiai of the Other Gods already existed at the time the decree was passed. I hope I have not overstated it: it is strong, but not conclusive. *If they did exist, the main argument for an early date disappears completely.*

For Tamiai of the Other Gods are known to have existed early in the Archidamian War. Kirchhoff took it for granted that they could not have existed when Kallias moved his decree: *ergo*, the Decree was moved before the Archidamian War. These Tamiai appear as follows:—

In *I.G.* I², 310 we have an inventory of the treasures of the Other Gods, drawn up by the Tamiai of the Other Gods, and dated 429–8 B.C. In line 97 they refer to their predecessors, the προτεροι ταμιαι. Ταμιαι τον αλλον θεον existed, then, in 430. This was the corner-stone of Kirchhoff's argument. It can be reinforced, if necessary, by further traces of these Tamiai during the Archidamian War.

They are mentioned in *I.G.* I², 127; an extremely fragmentary and rather ill-written decree which may belong to any date.^{34a} The Logistai drawing up an account of monies owing to temples in 422 B.C. give in great detail the monies borrowed from the Tamiai of the Other Gods in 423, but, more than this, they record an older outstanding debt to the Other Gods, contracted between 431 and 426, which in 426 had amounted, with interest, to something approaching 1000 Talents. The Epistatai charged with making two statues for the Temple of Hephaistos record the monies received by them from the Ταμιαι τον αλλον θεον in 421–0, 420–19, 418–7 (*I.G.* I², 370, lines 7–17). This last inscription (which, it should be noted, is later than the date I am positing for Kallias' decrees) gives the list of the Tamiai of each year, ten in 421–0 and ten in 418–7: in 420–19 only nine names are given. The Inventory of 429–8 (*I.G.* I², 310) also gives the names of the Tamiai of the year, but it is only five names. Finally, Dr. Meritt has suggested to me that an unpublished fragment which defies restoration as a document of the Tamiai of Athena is really a document of our Tamiai, and records some of those loans which by 426 were reaching four figures of Talents.³⁵

We have thus reached two conclusions, one certain and the other I think probable:—

- A. Tamiai of the Other Gods existed early in the Archidamian War.
- B. They existed at the time of our decree.

³⁴ The Year of the Boule invariably ends some days (or weeks) before the Year of the Tamiai. The latter ends 28 Hekatombaion: for the former, see Meritt, *Calendar*, p. 118.

^{34a} The writing is not so archaic as is implied in

I.G. I². There is *e.g.* no sloping *N*.

³⁵ Other Gods are perhaps mentioned in *I.G.* I², 172, and their Tamiai perhaps in 176, if (as is possible) the two fragments belong together. It might be extremely interesting to recover this decree.

When and why was the Treasure of the Other Gods first assembled? There is one occasion on which I think anyone, not preoccupied with the 434 hypothesis, would fix: namely, the evacuation of Attica³⁶ in the summer of 431 B.C. This is Thucydides' account³⁷ (2. 16. 2):

'They were oppressed and grieved to leave their houses, and the temples which they had kept as a continuous heritage since before Attica was a nation: they must change their life and leave what was to each nothing less than his native city. And when they came to Athens, some few had houses, or friends or relations to go to, but most inhabited the open spaces of the city, and the Temples and hero-shrines, excepting only the Akropolis and the Eleusinion and other safely enclosed places.'

This was the moment when the country temples were left to the invaders, and the minor temples of Athens and Peiraeus were crowded with refugees. The Treasures of both, as I believe, were rescued and put in the 'safely enclosed' Akropolis. For it is of precisely such elements that the central Treasure was made up: Herakles of Kynosarges, Poseidon of Sounion, Apollo Zoster and Athena Zosteria of Halai, south of Hymettos: Artemis Mounichia, Bendis and Adrasteia of Peiraieus, Apollo Delios at Phaleron, Hephaistos and Zeus Olympios just below the Akropolis.³⁸

And I commend this view by two further considerations: (1) Thucydides dwells on their tenacious parochial loyalty at the moment when it was broken; he would do strangely to stress it now, if three years before they had sent their local treasures to the Akropolis.³⁹

(2) The tumultuary circumstances explain what is otherwise a serious difficulty of our inscription: why does Kallias foresee an elaborate search for vouchers and documents before the debt can be established? (Face X, lines 11-13). This is easily enough explained if the Treasure was assembled in the stress and muddle of the evacuation.

My thesis then is this. The Treasure was first assembled in the emergency of 431. The Tamiai who draw up the inventory of 429-8 are five in number; probably elected and irrespective of tribe, like the usual emergency boards of five.⁴⁰ In 423 the armistice was signed, and in 422 the relation of the State to the temple Treasures was thoroughly explored: the Logistai's report, on all loans contracted during the Archidamian War, has its interest calculated to 10 Hekatombaion, 422.⁴¹ In that year, the Attic year 422-1, I suggest we must put Kallias' two decrees:

³⁶ Perikles in Thuc. II. 13. 5 is urging the evacuation, ἐτι δε και τα εκ των αλλων ιερων προσετιθει χρηματα οκ ολιγα οισ χρησεσθαι υτους. See Kolbe's discussion of the passage, *S.B.* 1927, p. 321.

³⁷ Cf. Andokides, frag. 4. 'May we never again see the charcoal-burners coming from their hills to the city, with sheep and cattle and waggons and women-folk, old men and labourers turned soldiers.'

³⁸ The names are from the inventory of 429-3, and from the Logistai's report.

³⁹ It would be an extreme instance of Thucydides' alleged dramatic instinct, which concentrates slow processes into dramatic moments.

⁴⁰ Τον δεμον ηελεσθαι πεντε ανδρας αυτικα μαλα εκ

παντων αθηναϊων *vel* *am.* Cf. *I.G.* I², 221¹⁻⁵, 261¹¹, 391⁶⁻⁷, 651¹⁶, 901¹¹ &c. The five Tamiai, *I.G.* I², 310, lines 91-94. There are, of course, other ways of accounting for this number. Kolbe suggests the plague. The Tamiai of Athena do not always put all 10 names to their documents: contrast *I.G.* I², 355 and 358 with 359 (it is possible indeed that if we could put dates to these documents we should have the year in which Athena's Tamiai first became 10 *Klerotai*, one per tribe). The Tamiai of the Other Gods, who are certainly 10 in 421-0 and 418-17, write only 9 names in 420-19, *I.G.* I², 370.

⁴¹ The day the Boule left office. *Menut. Calendar*, p. 16.

the reorganised board of Tamiai, made now exactly analogous to Athena's Tamiai, enter office in August⁴² 421. It is this first College, and their successors of the next few years, whose names we read in *I.G.* I², 370: they are recorded as paying, in their first year, a Talent to the cost of two statues for the Temple of Hephaistos. The work goes on for five years, and costs just over six Talents, all paid by the Tamiai of the Other Gods.

III. *Payments and Debts*

We have seen that Kallias' decrees fall fairly early in the Attic year. They must, however, be later than the Logistai's report.⁴³ Further, Kallias proposes to repay a debt to the Other Gods: this is *not* the debt which the Logistai have reported as owing to the Other Gods. I will give my reasons for these assertions.

The Logistai report a debt to the Other Gods whose total, including interest, is something over 1000 Talents.⁴⁴ It is clear at once that this cannot be the debt which Kallias proposes to repay 'out of 200 Talents.'⁴⁵ The figure 200 is not indeed absolutely certain: for though the current supplements are most felicitous, we must allow the formal possibility that χίλιον stood before διακοσίον, and the figure is therefore 1200, not 200. It would, however, be difficult to complete the sentence with this figure: I think we may safely disregard it. And it can be demonstrated on other grounds that the c. 1000-Talent debt is not the debt with which Kallias is concerned.

The report of the Logistai is printed as No. 324 in *I.G.* I²; but I refer always to the text given by Meritt in his *Athenian Calendar*. The report gives, first, the detail of all sums borrowed from the Tamiai of Athena and of the Other Gods in the four years from Summer 426 to Summer 422, with the interest in each case calculated to 10 Hekatombaion, 422. It next adds the totals of the sums borrowed from these Tamiai in the seven years from Summer 433 (the Corcyra expedition) to Summer 426, as computed (separately from the interest) by the Logistai of 426-5. It then gives the interest accruing to these 426 totals in the four years down to 422; and concludes with the Grand Totals, first of all loans, then of all interests,⁴⁶ from each of the Treasures; and then the Grandest Total of all loans from all Treasures from 433 to 422, and (separately) the interest on all to 10 Hekatombaion 422. It is thus our evidence (and first-rate evidence) for what had been borrowed during the Archidamian War, and what was owing in 422.

Now Kallias foresees a great hunting about for vouchers before the Other Gods' debt can be established (X, 11-13). The Logistai take account of no such vouchers whatsoever. The debt of about 1000 Talents due to

⁴² 28 Hekatombaion. In 421, 3 July = 21 Skirophorion: Meritt, *Calendar*, p. 118.

⁴³ This is natural enough: the report was the first essential, before reorganisation could be begun.

⁴⁴ *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), p. 164.

⁴⁵ And contemplates a residue at the end. Face X,

31, τοῖς περίοσι χρεῖσθαι χρεμασί.

⁴⁶ It is here that we first find the interest from 433 to 426, which was at a much higher rate (five or six times higher) than from 426 to 422. See *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), p. 163.

the Other Gods is composed of two elements only⁴⁷; the debt already published in 426, and the debt contracted in 423-2. The evidence for the former was in their own predecessor's books: the evidence for the latter was in the books of Gorgoios and his colleagues, the Tamiai of the Other Gods who made all the payments in 423-2.⁴⁸

The debt, therefore, with which Kallias is concerned—which is to require a scrutiny of papers presented by priests and hieropoioi and private individuals—cannot be the debt reported by the Logistai. What then is it? I can only suppose that when the 1000 Talents had been paid, the Tamiai and other advocates of the Other Gods were not willing to give the Demos a clean sheet. So far only those debts had been paid which had been formally noted by the central authorities; there remained the losses caused by the evacuation of Attica: things looted by Spartans and refugees, or lost in transport to the Akropolis, or used perhaps for local emergencies. The State may well have admitted this liability, subject to such strict scrutiny as Kallias prescribes.⁴⁹ Attica was habitable again and peace was in sight; there would be a lot of local patriotism behind the demand. It appears, however, that it was stipulated that this claim must wait until Athena had received a substantial sum on account: this is fixed at 3000 Talents; Athena's whole debt was just over 6000 Talents (*Cl. Rev.* 44, p. 164).

I have now posited that in the Attic year 422-1 there were paid to the Temple Treasures the following amounts:

1. 1000 + Talents to the Other Gods,
2. 3000 Talents to Athena,
3. Something under 200 Talents to the Other Gods,

a total of well over 4000 Talents. I may be asked, where on earth does the money come from? For the answer, we must turn back to the Logistai's report.

The report, we have seen, gives the total of all loans contracted in the eleven years 433-422, with the interest in each case from the date of borrowing to 10 Hekatombaion 422. It follows that no payment has been made by the borrowing party during this time; the debt has been running continuously, and interest accumulating, for eleven years. It is for this reason that I ruled out absolutely any date inside these eleven years for Kallias' decrees.⁵⁰ And there are further conclusions which must, I think, be drawn.

In the *Classical Quarterly*, 24 (1930), pp. 33 sqq., I have examined

⁴⁷ 766 T. 95 Dr. borrowed 433-426, *plus* 37 T. 2338 Dr. interest on this from 426 to 422, *plus* 54 T. 5988 Dr. borrowed 423-2, *plus* 2202 Dr. interest on this to 422: Total 858 T. 4613 Dr. The 1000 is made up by the interest from 433 to 426: *Cl. Rev.* 44, p. 164.

⁴⁸ Line 55, [ταδε παρεδοσαν] η[οι] ταμιαι τον αλλον θεον Γοργο[ι]νοσ etc.: line 77, [δευτ]ερ[αν] δοσιν παρεδοσαν] η[οι] ταμιαι τον αλλον θεον Γοργο[ι]νοσ etc.

⁴⁹ And, it seems, without interest: the Logistai are

not told to compute interest X. 7 sqq.

⁵⁰ It is perhaps barely conceivable (see Appendix E) that a lump sum of accumulated Phoros might be transferred from one reserve to the Tamiai's reserve without diminishing the debt: but not that the Hellenotamiai should pay their income over to the Tamiai (Y, 20-21). In spite of this, Bannier has argued for the date 431-0 (for Face X), after the completion of the *Lapis Secundus* of the Quota Lists. *Rh. Mus.* 75 (1926), 184 sqq.: Face Y is dated 429/8.

those parts of the report which refer to the year 423, and have remarked as noteworthy that the second payment, of 100 Talents, was made about a fortnight after the Great Dionysia:⁵¹ that is to say, the Hellenotamiai had received their Phoros about a fortnight ago. Here is a rather grave dilemma. Have the Hellenotamiai some hundreds of Talents in hand, or have they not? If they have, why do they want to borrow? if they have not, what has become of the money?

The payment was made to Nikias for his expedition to Chalkidike (Thuc. 4. 129, *Cl. Qu.*, 24, p. 36). Nikias' fleet was 50 ships. Supposing they were still paid at the old extravagant rate; that makes a Talent a month per trireme, or 50 Talents a month for the fleet.⁵² The 100 Talents borrowed from Athena is clearly all he got, at least to start with. It appears to me quite certain that since the Hellenotamiai borrowed the 100 Talents, they had no money of their own to give him. What then has become of it?

Those who put Kallias' decree before the Archidamian War will say it had been deposited with the Tamiai of Athena; but that is more difficult than ever. Was it merely deposited for safe-keeping, as in a bank? Then why did they take the 100 Talents out of Athena's Treasure and not out of this? If it was deposited on any other footing, why do both principle and interest of all loans go on steadily and regularly mounting? It seems inequitable that the Tamiai should get Phoros for nothing, and at the same time dole it out again at interest; moreover, a system in which the debtor cannot, however virtuous he is, ever begin to repay his debt is bad for thrift. The case is not isolated: the year before, spring 424, Nikias had received another borrowed 100 Talents, about three weeks after the Dionysia: in 425, 18½ Talents were borrowed about five weeks after them (Logistai, lines 20 sqq. and 13).

In 423 then (and apparently in the whole penteteris 426-422) the Phoros is neither spent on operations nor handed to the Tamiai. There hardly remains any other possibility,⁵³ except something more or less in the nature of a sinking-fund. Such a sinking-fund might have one very practical advantage, well known to privileged borrowers. From 426 to 422 the State paid Athena and the Gods a mere nominal interest, little

⁵¹ The exact time relation between the Dionysia (Elaphebolion 24) and the payment of 100 talents (Privt. VIII. 30) is obtained from Meritt's *Calendar*, esp. pp. 87-88. For the satisfaction of those who do not care to test the precision of his calculations, I offer the following control. The interval between the Armistice and the start of Nikias' expedition comes out at rather under a month [Armistice to Dionysia = Elaph. 14 (Thuc. 4. 118. 12) to Elaph. 24 = 10 days; Dionysia to the payment of 100 talents, *ex hypothesi* about a fortnight]. This short month is very amply occupied: the news of the Armistice is sent to Brasidas (Thuc. 4. 122. 21), the news is disregarded by him, the envoys finally come home *re infecta*.

⁵² The old rate, a drachma per head per day, for a ship of 200 = 6000 drachmas a month: Thuc. 3.

17: he emphasises the extravagance. [See Prof. Adcock in *Camb. Hist. Journ.*, I. p. 319; the situation described is the summer of 430 B.C.] Nikias' fleet had certain other extravagances, 1000 hoplites and some mercenaries (Thuc. 4. 129. 2), but a hoplite only cost more than a sailor because he had a servant, so unless his 50 ships carried more than 10,000 souls, this makes little difference. I imagine the 100 talents had to pay for the whole campaign, *plus* what Nikias could extract locally and perhaps 30 more talents in July. (Thuc. 8. 8. 1 says 25 talents are allotted ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν of a fleet: this is not perhaps the whole sum provided. See also some figures in Lysias XIX.)

⁵³ The whole Phoros cannot have been divided amongst minor executives: though some of it may have been.

over 1 per cent. per annum; and was therefore in the happy position of a man who can get an income on his overdraft larger than the interest he is paying to his bank. If the sinking-fund was really 'invested,' we may perhaps see here the tentative beginnings of a theory that the State Reserve should not be idle but should breed.⁵⁴

This bears in two ways on Kallias' decrees. First, it is improbable that the clause in lines 20-21 of Face Y (however we restore them) was in operation during the period covered by the Logistai's accounts; and this to me is one main obstacle to the date 434-3. Secondly, we can now answer the question, where did the 4000 Talents come from, whose payment I have posited for the year 422-1?

We have long known that Athens contracted a large debt during the Archidamian War. We may find it hard to believe she had been at the same time accumulating a large reserve. Yet this conclusion, which seems to impose itself, should not be rejected as incredible or absurd: it helps to explain why the Logistai's report was followed within a year by a substantial reduction of Phoros. That report is only one half of the balance sheet: there was a statement of assets to put opposite the statement of liabilities.

I imagine the Logistai presented their report in the second or third Prytany: the Hellenotamiai started to realise their investments, and paid the 1000 Talents to the Other Gods at once, and a little later the 3000⁵⁵ on account to Athena: they are now ready to pay the further claim of the Other Gods. Kallias says this is to be paid *out of the money which the Hellenotamiai have actually in hand* (τα τε παρα τοις Ελληνотамиαις οντα νυν) *and other money from the same fund* (και ταλλα α εστι τουτον τον χρηματων): this means, I suggest, *realised investments and unrealised investments*. The State had admitted the liability before Kallias' decree, and money had been already earmarked for payment: Kallias takes the opportunity of the payment to reorganise the administration.

A clause in Kallias' second motion seems to say that in future the Hellenotamiai's revenues shall be deposited with Athena's Tamiai; but its opening words are missing and may possibly contain a limitation of this. In any case, it is to be a παρακαταθεκε, like that mentioned in *I.G.* I²,

⁵⁴ The arguments which force us to assume a sinking-fund at all make it begin in 433. The scheme was improved by the lowering of the interest paid to Athena from 426 onwards (*Cl. Rev.* 44, pp. 163-165). The Delian temple put money out at interest in the third century (Michel, *Recueil*, 594, lines 28-35): the method is not suggested in Xenophon's *Poroi* among the new ways in which the State might use its capital: which perhaps suggests that this simplest method of all was already in use. The story told by two of the Scholiasts on Demosthenes *Timokrates*, 136 (Dindorf p. 743, 1) is interesting. When the Opisthodomos was burnt the Tamiai were arrested: because, say the Scholiasts, they were supposed to have speculated privately with the money and lost it, and consequently fired the building to cover their tracks. I

discuss the date of this fire (between 389 and 367) in a later paper: see meanwhile A. C. Johnson, *A.J.A.* 1914, p. 1 sqq.; Kolbe, *Philologus*, 84 (1928), 261 sqq.; Judeich, *Hermes*, 1929, 412.

⁵⁵ The early commentators, down to and including Kirchhoff, took it for granted that the 3000 talents was paid in a lump sum. The *reductio ad absurdum* of this view, when combined with a date before the Archidamian War, was brought by Loeschke, whom (*pace* Mever, *Forsch.* II, 89, note 4) Kirchhoff never adequately answered. The date 434 was rescued by Mever with the quite fair assumption that the 3000 talents might have been paid in instalments. It might: but I now suggest that it was not, and the old view was right.

310, line 83: such as Xouthias made in the temple of Athena Alea,⁵⁶ or the Milesian stranger with Glaukos of Sparta.⁵⁷ The money will not belong to Athena, nor be loaned back at interest. [I think this clause cannot be restored so as to refer to *repayments*: since these are made not by the Hellenotamiaë but by the Prytaneis (X, 10).]

IV. *The Peace of Nikias*

The sinking-fund, *plus* the Dekate, could cover 4200 Talents (3000 to Athena, 1000 + 200 to the Other Gods). This is the bulk of the Phoros of the last Panathenaic period at least.⁵⁸ How much further it goes back I think we cannot determine, with so many unknowns.⁵⁹

Athena's debt, with interest, was *circa* 6000 Talents in 422: 3000 was paid, and *circa* 3000 remained to pay. The Phoros from 421 was lowered, to about 600 Talents per annum:⁶⁰ but the expenses of empire were light, and much of this annual 600 must have reached the Akropolis, whether as repayment or simply as παρακαταθεκε. The αναλοματα recorded in *I.G.* I². 302 for the period 418-14 are very likely from the παρακαταθεκε: we have no evidence⁶¹ that they bore interest.

But fumbling like this amongst unknown and uncertain figures and methods, we shall never assess with any precision the excess of income over outgoings during these years. Meanwhile we have one specific account of the matter, the famous words of Andokides, *De Pace* 8:

'After many losses, we made the Peace which Nikias son of Nikeratos obtained for us. And I think all of you know this, that by means of this peace we put 7000 Talents of money on the Akropolis, and brought our fleet to more than 300⁶² ships, and we had a yearly Phoros of more than 1200 Talents, and were in occupation of Chersonese and Naxos and two-thirds of Euboea: to enumerate our other colonies in detail would be a long story. With all these blessings, we again went to war with Sparta, this time at the instigation of Argos.'

These statements of Andokides have sometimes been treated with contempt.⁶³ And indeed his natural inaccuracy had been hardened by misfortune into a habit of lying. The passage stands at the end of a short

⁵⁶ *I.G.* V. 2, No. 159B: Ζούθια παραθεκα τοι Φίλαρχιο τριετηρικατι μναι αργυριο. Early fifth century.

⁵⁷ Hdt. 6. 86: παραθηκην RSV, παρακαταθηκην ABCP. The story well illustrates the nature of these deposits. Kallias' words are κατατιθεναι παρα.

⁵⁸ The matter is eased if Kolbe is right (*S.B.* 1930, p. 333 sqq.) in supposing the assessment of 425-4 was over 1400 talents.

⁵⁹ Were any capital charges taken out of the Phoros first? We do not even know if the απορχε was; we have no Quota lists for that penteteris. Was the Fund fed from other sources? What rate of interest did it accumulate? How much Phoros actually

came in during the high assessment period 425-421?

⁶⁰ See Meritt and West, *Harvard Studies*, 38 (1927), p. 50, and the earlier articles there quoted, especially West, *A.J.A.* 29, p. 135 sqq. If Kolbe's figure for the previous penteteris is right (see note 58), the figure 600 would probably need raising.

⁶¹ Not, certainly, *I.G.* I², 324a.

⁶² 400 MSS.: but 300 in the close imitation of this passage in Aeschines, 2. 172 sqq.

⁶³ E.g. E. Meyer, *Forschungen*, II. p. 132 sqq. It has had more sympathetic treatment from West, *Transactions and Proceedings of Am. Philol. Ass.* 57 (1926), pp. 61 sqq., and Kolbe (*S.B.* 1930, 336): both are mainly concerned with the 1200 talents of Phoros.

survey of Athenian fifth-century history which is not so much disingenuous as ignorant to an astounding degree.

Nevertheless, the Peace of Nikias was, both for Andokides and his hearers, a different matter from the Pentekontaetia. He, and most of them, were children before the war, and unborn at the time of the Thirty Years' Peace; but at the time of the Peace of Nikias they were grown men. He is speaking shortly before 390,⁶⁴ and was about fifty years old. Let any man of fifty who is not a professed historian compare his knowledge of what happened twenty-five years ago with that of things before he was born,⁶⁵ or the liberties he would dare to take with each before an average audience. For Andokides indeed the Peace of Nikias was his golden youth: the two came to an end together. His memory is gilded, but this is not the same as the gentlemanly ignorance of his earlier narrative. Let us take his words at this valuation; we shall find that he makes five statements:

1. The war started again at the instigation of Argos.
2. The annual Phoros was more than 1200 Talents.
3. The navy was 300 ships.
4. The cleruchies included Chersonese, Naxos, and two-thirds of Euboea.
5. 7000 Talents were placed on the Akropolis.

1. That the Argive entanglement renewed the war with Sparta is true; see *e.g.* Thucydides, 5. 26. 2: ὁ Μαντινικός καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίος πόλεμος. This statement inclines me to think, with Kolbe and against West (see note 63), that he has chiefly in mind the very first years of the Peace. (But I think both these scholars allow too little for the quarter-century between the Peace and the speech, for the perspective of memory, for Andokides' natural inaccuracy.)

2. This statement is perhaps the ultimate source⁶⁶ of Plutarch, *Aristeides* 24, where the Phoros is said to be gradually raised by demagogues till it finally reached 1300 Talents. West, combining it with the statement of ps.-Andokides, *Alkibiades* 11 (that Alkibiades doubled the Phoros), refers it to the assessment of 417: Kolbe refers it to the tariff made in 425-4 and valid till 421, which he believes was assessed at 1460 Talents (see note 63 for the references). I am inclined to agree that Andokides refers to this period. Even if the real figure is 960 Talents, Andokides' words are not surprising; for since Thucydides 2. 13. 3 estimates the figure of 431 at 600, it is possible that certain monies were commonly reckoned in the Phoros total which do not appear in the Quota lists or assessments. Anyway, the Phoros had been doubled since the beginning of the war, and Andokides doubles Thucydides' figure: that was near enough for him.

However, the Phoros was reduced in 421 (see note 60), soon after peace was made, to something very considerably less than 1200 Talents,

⁶⁴ See Judeich, *Philologus*, 35 (1926), p. 141 sqq.

⁶⁶ The passage evidently became a *locus communis*,

⁶⁵ Andokides' narrative starts (or professes to start!) from 480, forty years before he was born. as we see from Aeschines 2. 172 sqq.

probably about 600: indeed the terms of the preceding Armistice had specified certain reductions (Thuc. 5. 18. 5). That was the real 'result of the Peace': I repeat, we must not expect too much from Andokides. 'Careless but not nonsensical' ⁶⁷ is, I think, a fair judgment.

3. I know no way of determining the strength of the fleet in 421; but the Athenians sent about 170 ships to Sicily, and must have kept at least 150 behind ⁶⁸: so that the figure 300 is not unreasonable. The maximum strength during the Archidamian War had been 350 (Thuc. 3. 17: on this chapter see Adcock in *Camb. Hist. Journ.*, I, p. 319, who suggests that it refers to 430 B.C.). I think Andokides quite likely wrote 400 (see note 62).

4. The statement about cleruchies is approximately true (see Plutarch, *Perikles* 11: though 500 cleruchs were hardly 'in occupation' of an island).

There remains 5, '7000 Talents were placed on the Akropolis.' I have calculated (*Cl. Rev.* 44, p. 164) the amount owing to Athena and the Other Gods in 422 at about 7043 Talents. The actual figures stood in the last two lines (now lost) of the Logistai's report. I submit that we have here the ground for Andokides' figure: 7000 was owing, and I have argued that something over 4000 had been repaid before Kallias' decree. I think it extremely probable the balance (of about 3000) was paid before the Sicilian expedition.

Three thousand Talents, τὸν τῷρισχίλιον τάλαντον, appear to be mentioned, in a decree concerning the Sicilian preparations,⁶⁹ as earmarked for a campaign in Sicily. The phrase catches the ear; but I doubt if we have the right to identify these 3000, whether with those mentioned by Kallias, or with the balance still due to Athena, which may well have been compromised at a round 3000.

V. The Case for 434-3, and the Inventories

The supporter of the date 434-3 must, I think,

- (1) explain the apparently late spelling of Face X;
- (2) reconcile Thucydides' statement (2. 13. 3) that the Treasure had diminished during the 'thirties (for such is the most obvious meaning of εἰς τε τὰ Προπυλαία τῆς Ακροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομηματα καὶ εἰς Ποτειδαίαν) with Kallias' statement that a payment-in of 3000 Talents has recently been made or at least completed (X, 3-4);
- (3) reconcile the principle enounced in Y, 20-21 (that the Hellenotamiai should deposit money with the Tamiai) with the continuous computation of interest from 433 to 422: this problem is, of course,

⁶⁷ *Cl. Rev.* 44, p. 163, note 1. If West is right about the doubling in 417, I am doing Andokides a slight injustice: the doubling would be a 'result of the Peace.'

⁶⁸ 100 ἐξαιρέτοι were to be kept for the emergency of a naval attack on Athens: 30 operated off Methone: about 20 at Naupaktos. Nor do I imagine the Aegean was empty.

⁶⁹ *I.G.* I². 99, line 28. I do not know whether the assignment of this fragment to the Sicilian decrees is certain. The supplements are, of course, tentative and give no real evidence. It may be simply χορισχίλιον; if so, the ἐχσάρ[ετα of the next line will be the Iron Reserve. The alleged 3000 talents have been connected with Kallias' decree by Ferguson, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, V. p. 280, note 2.

much acuter if Kolbe be right (*S.B.* 1930, p. 333 sqq.) in supposing that over 1200 Talents of Phoros actually came in, *e.g.* in 423 (cf. *Cl. Qu.* 24 (1930), p. 36 for the outgoings of this year);

and perhaps (4) find some meaning for τα τε παρὰ τοῖς ἐλλενοταμιαῖσι οὐτὰ νῦν καὶ πολλὰ ἄ ἐστι τοῦτον [το]ν χρημάτων (X 6-7) as felicitous as that provided by the sinking-fund.

En revanche, the date 434-3 has some strong points, among which I feel bound to stress:

(A) the Propylaia: they are spoken of as unfinished, which is not indeed serious, as they are still, in 1931, unfinished; but they are also spoken of as an *immediate precedent* (Y, 9), as if the method of their building was fresh in men's minds. I reserve this to a later paper.

(B) Athena's Tamiai are called, in the early 'thirties, Ταμιαὶ ἐκ πόλεος (*I.G.* I², 359, line 7), but in 433 (*ib.* 295, line 4) and thenceforward always Ταμιαὶ ἱερῶν χρημάτων τεσθ' Ἀθηναίᾳς; as if they now needed distinguishing.

(C) the Inventories.

The Inventory of the Other Gods: *I.G.* I², 310.

Kallias' instructs the incoming Tamiai of the Other Gods to make an inventory of their Treasure, engrave it on stone and deposit it on the Akropolis: all future Tamiai are to do something similar (Face X, 22-30).

The Inventory drawn up by the Tamiai of 429-8, whose fragments we possess (*I.G.* I², 310), corresponds closely with Kallias' detailed instructions. A large part of it lists the Treasure of individual Gods, Poseidon Hippios, Artemis Agrotera, etc., giving the detail of what belongs to each, and (lines 278-9) the total of the whole: the gold and the silver are distinguished. The datives in the *latus sinistrum* may represent payments to the local temples, or else the year's accessions, ἐπέτεια (cf. Face X, line 26). The inscription is too fragmentary for any confident statement of exactly how it was arranged, but there is no doubt the Inventories which Kallias envisages are very similar indeed to this.⁷⁰

The existence of this Inventory, corresponding with Kallias' instructions and dated beyond question to 429-8, is (I think) the strongest surviving argument for putting Kallias' decrees before the war. It is apparently isolated (possibly parts of lines 280-306, and *Addenda*, may belong to other years); we do not know whether the Inventories were *regular* either during the Archidamian War or during the Peace of Nikias: *i.e.* either before or after the date I posit for Kallias. The Treasure had (as I believe) been assembled in emergency in 431: it is possible that the list of 429-8 represents a first stocktaking,⁷¹ and Kallias orders a second such stocktaking immediately (X, 22-24), to be followed by (possibly less elaborate) yearly documents (X, 24-27).

⁷⁰ See Epigraphic Appendix D. and *A.J.A.* 1931, pp. 31 sqq.

⁷¹ Possibly on its first being housed in the Opisthodomos: see the end of this section. The words [παραδεχόμενοι] παρὰ τὸν π[ρῶτον] ταμίον, lines 96-

97, do not exclude this: they merely mean that the ἐπέτεια (if any) are entered separately (perhaps on the *latus sinistrum*). The formula recurs in all our Inventories, with this meaning.

But at the least, if 422 be the date of Kallias' decree, then he is repeating to his new Tamiai instructions which had already been given (for one year at least) to their predecessors. Is such a repetition idle and unlikely? To some scholars it may seem so idle and so unlikely as to make 422 an impossible date for the decree. It does not to me. Kallias found, as I believe, a board of 'Tamiai of the Other Gods' in existence, whom he took the opportunity of the generous settlement of a debt to convert into frankly State officials, modelled exactly on the Tamiai of Athena. Their old and new dates will to some extent coincide; Kallias mentions those duties which express their answerableness to the State; whether or no those duties be different from those performed hitherto.

This is the only Inventory-publication which Kallias orders, so far as we know. Note that the charge is laid upon the incoming Tamiai (hoi Ταμιαὶ hoι λαχόντες): these Inventories, therefore, are to start with the second year of a Panathenaic penteteris.

The Inventories of Athena: I.G. I², 232-288.

It is sometimes implied that the instructions to the *current* Tamiai at the foot of Face Y (lines 26-29), to weigh and count such of the Sacred Treasures as need it, were followed by an order to engrave these findings on stone: and that we have the results of this order in the three series of engraved Inventories of Athena's Treasures, which all begin in 434 (*I.G. I², 232-288*).

This is certainly possible *per se*. For though (X 17, Y 23-25) Kallias is for the most part concerned with a money Treasure in the Opisthodomos, and these Inventories deal with sacred ornaments and vessels in three rooms, none of which can be easily identified with the Opisthodomos; yet it may be argued that the last four lines of Face Y start a wholly new topic and do deal with the ornaments, etc. It is notable that the objects mentioned in these lines include *σπαργύρα*, things silver-gilt (no reputable coin or bullion was that), and some things neither gold nor silver at all, *i.e.* (I imagine) wood or ivory. Nevertheless, the Treasure of the Other Gods (which was eventually housed in the Opisthodomos) contains, among a great preponderance of coin and bullion, a few such vessels (*I.G. I², 310*, lines 148 sqq., 171, etc.), and Athena certainly possessed more vessels, ornaments, procession-gear, etc., than are listed in *I.G. I², 232-288*. The identification of the objects spoken of in Y 26-29 with those in our Inventories is not therefore inevitable.

It is likely that there are lines missing from the foot of Face Y⁷²; and it would be easy to imagine a sequel to lines 26-29 which would make those directions fit precisely enough with those Inventories of Athena which we possess. Failing this sequel, we can draw no conclusive argument; meanwhile it is worth while to give an account of these Inventories.

They give a list of the precious objects contained in the three rooms

⁷² The bevel at the foot of Face Y makes it two lines shorter than Face X; and Face X is broken off in the middle of a sentence.

of the temple which we ⁷³ call the Parthenon. The three rooms are called (in the Inventories) *Proneos*, *Hekatompedos*, and *Parthenon*: the *Proneos* is the East Inner Porch, the *Hekatompedos* is the East Cella, the *Parthenon* the West Cella. These three lists do not, of course, constitute any large part of Athena's Treasure. [They are, in fact, merely the loose furniture of the three rooms in question;⁷⁴ and I may say at once that the date they begin depends, I think, not upon Kallias' arrangements, but upon the date of the opening of the Parthenon for regular use.] They do not even list the whole contents of the three rooms named: for the chryselephantine statue is not mentioned, though it stood in the Hekatompedos and its gold plates were an integral part of the Treasure (Thuc. 2. 13. 5).

Of course there is no sign of the 3000 Talents, for the money Treasure is not mentioned at all: moreover, Athena's *Tamiai* often received uncoined gold (φθοιδες,⁷⁵ cakes or bars of gold), which is not noted, neither in the main list nor among the annual accessions. The *hierà chrēmata* consisted of [A] money, [B] bullion, [C] sacred ornaments and vessels (cf. Thuc. 2. 13. 3-5). *These Inventories list a portion of C only.*

It is indeed possible that the money and bullion were in these rooms, without being listed, just as the chryselephantine statue was. If in any of them, then in the *Parthenon*, the West Cella: which was least disturbed by the traffic of worshippers. Moreover, in *I.G.* I², 301, a statement of yearly accounts which I date to some year of the war before Perikles' death,⁷⁶ a payment (of silver money?) is stated to be made ἐκ τοῦ παρθενονοῦ (line 8). But another payment (made in 425-4) is stated as made ἐχὸς οπισθοδομοῦ (*I.G.* I², 324. 20);⁷⁷ and it is in the *Opisthodomos* that Kallias directs that the *chrēmata* shall be kept: partitioning the space between the two colleges, of Athena and of the Other Gods.

Kallias, then, is concerned (as I believe, even in Y 26-29) with the Treasure (mainly money) in the *Opisthodomos*, a different thing from the sacred ornaments and vessels listed by Athena's *Tamiai* in our extant lists. Was it also kept in a different place? What, in fact, was the *Opisthodomos*?

I believe that it was the building west of the Parthenon and east of the *Brauroneion*, along the south wall of the Akropolis [where Judeich once placed it (*Topographie*¹, 230-231), but has recently, in *Hermes*, 1929, pp. 405 sq., 411 sqq., recanted]: that this was built early in the war, between 431 and 425, to meet the emergency of the evacuation of Attica and concentration of treasure: that it was burnt some time between 389

⁷³ Since Demosthenes (22, § 76 = 24, § 184), the fifth-century Athenians called it the Great Temple (τὸ μέγαν ἱερόν): their *παρθενον* was the West Cella. I postpone discussion of the fifth-century names to a later paper, on the Akropolis buildings (see the end of this section).

⁷⁴ It is notable how little there was to start with. In the two front rooms there are eight items in all in 434: the *Parthenon* items are more numerous indeed (33), but hardly more impressive: Doerpfeld has well pointed out that this West Cella was a sort of

apothēke, where curiosities and oddments were stored. These treasures multiplied themselves many times over during the next twenty-five years.

⁷⁵ *I.G.* I², 301, lines 103-114 (received by former *Tamiai*), 116-120 (by this year's *Tamiai*). I have republished this part of the inscription in *Num. Chron.* 1930, pp. 16-38, with a correction, pp. 333 sq.

⁷⁶ *J.H.S.* 1930, p. 293: see also *Num. Chron.* 1930, 17 sqq.

⁷⁷ The phrase recurs in *I.G.* I², 305, line 13. Cf. Aristoph. *Plutus* 1191-3.

and 367; that the name was later transferred to the whole western end of the Parthenon, where Demetrios was housed in 304-3: on the old site was built the Chalkotheke. I hope to argue this, and also Kallias' building programme,⁷⁸ in a paper devoted to the Akropolis buildings.

VI. Conclusion

I believe I have proved that the two faces each contain a Decree of Kallias; that these Decrees were passed the same day. That this day was before the archairesiai in the first year of a Panathenaic period; and that this year was either 434-3 or 422-1 or 418-17. That the first of the Other Gods' Inventories ordered by Kallias is to be made in the second year of a Panathenaic period. I believe all this to be certain.

My other hypotheses are all bound up with the date 422-1; if that is wrong, they most of them fall. That date stands or, at any rate, falls, on one issue: whether there was money available for the payments in question at that date. If the current view is correct, that the Archidamian War ate up not only the greatest part of the reserve but also the whole of each year's income, then Kallias' decrees cannot be put in 422. The converse is not so certain. Though it were shown (as I think it can be) that Athens had large resources in 422, it would not prove that date for Kallias' Decrees.

There are three other Decrees of Kallias among fifth-century Attic inscriptions: the pair of treaty-renewals of the year 433-2 (*I.G.* I², 51-52), and the Decree for Nike's priestess, shortly before 421⁷⁹ (*I.G.* I², 25). Our Kallias may be probably identified with one or other of these namesakes, according as we date the Decree 434 or 422: the Nike Decree is perhaps more akin in subject.

I take this later Kallias to be Kallias son of Hipponikos,⁸⁰ the wealthiest man in Athens of his day, half-brother to Perikles' sons, the host who gave the supper-party described in Xenophon's *Symposium*. He was just a little older than Alkibiades and just now (422) coming into prominence. The *Kolakes* of Eupolis, of which Kallias was the comic hero, was produced in the spring of 421.⁸¹

Epigraphic Appendix A. Datives in -αισ (See notes 6 and 25)

'Therefore we need no longer give separate dates for the enactment of our document and for its inscription.' So Kolbe brushes aside our scruples: he means we may date both to 434, and no longer need be worried by the datives in -αισ (*S.B.* 1927, p. 330).

⁷⁸ Which I take to have been modest, and to have begun with the final adapting of the S.W. corner of the Propylaia to Nike's bastion and temple. I do not understand how Kolbe, who argues (*S.B.* 1929, pp. 280-282) that the Propylaia cost 2000 talents, can argue *ibid.* 285 that Kallias' Face Y orders the building of the Erechtheion: at a cost of 10 talents a year, which are to cover a number of other works as well.

⁷⁹ It is of the same prytany and ekklesia as *I.G.* I², 87. Laches' motion for alliance with Halieis, which from line 16 $\eta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\lambda[\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma\sigma\ \epsilon\iota]$, must be before the Peace in 421: but, from the dative in -αισ in line 23, probably not long before.

⁸⁰ Though $[\text{H}\iota\pi\pi\omicron\nu\text{I}\kappa\omicron\sigma\sigma\ \epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon]$ is certainly a false restoration in *I.G.* I², 24.

⁸¹ Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie* (Berlin, 1925), p. 40; cf. 43, note 1.

I am not, I imagine, alone in having read this with amazement. Face X contains three datives in -αισ: ἐλλενοταμιαισ (6), ταμιαισ (18), αισ (29): Face Y contains one in -αισι: ταμιαισι (21). This has long been held a great obstacle to dating the inscribing, at least of Face X, earlier than c. 423 B.C. All Kolbe gives us to quiet our scruples is the irrelevant remark that in the 'thirties datives in -οισ and -οισι are both found! So they are in the 'forties: and had the matter been as simple as that, there would hardly have been a problem. But our evidence is (Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*⁸², pp. 120-121, that the two-syllable ending of the dative plural of the first declension persisted much longer, and more exclusively, than that of the second declension, and then disappears with great suddenness, round about the year 420. This is an elementary fact, presumably familiar to anyone who ventures to date an Attic inscription by its spelling.

However, recent advances in epigraphy have made the rule look less absolute than it once seemed: especially the ascription by West and Meritt of *I.G.* I², 231 to *I.G.* I², 216, i.e. the year 430, 29⁸²: including the form αρχαισ in line 11. The form ταισδε also occurs twice (lines 45 and 51) in *I.G.* I², 218, which these scholars date to 426 5 or 427 6.⁸³ These are far earlier instances of the new dative form than any known before, with the notorious exception of *I.G.* I², 16, line 5 (c. 465 B.C.), ΦΑΣΗΛΙΤΑΙΣ (*sic*). I think no one would put any weight on *I.G.* I², 16; but 218 and 231, if rightly dated to 426 and 429, provide something of a bridge to 434. In view of this, I set out a statement of the instances which I intend as complete at least between 440 and 415 B.C.

It is purely a question of conventional spelling and only applies to formal Attic prose (so I do not quote Εὐφρονιδεσι in *I.G.* I², 820, or Ἐρεχθειδαισ presumed in *ib.* 673: nor the various forms, due to foreigners, in the Hymettos Cave, *ib.* 778 sqq.). No one questions that the one-syllable ending was in use in Attic speech and verse as early as Aeschylus: probably a great deal earlier. The two-syllable form is commonly spelt -εσι or -αισι, more rarely -εισι or -αισι: it survived in such locative forms as Αθηνησι, Φλυησι, Οροβιασι. First declension datives are not as common as second, which makes any rule more hazardous: there are, however, some series of documents containing typical words such as ταμιαισι, ἐλλενοταμιαισι, ἐπιστατεσι, and I begin with these.

I. ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΕΣΙ-ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΑΙΣ in building and sculpture accounts.

A. ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΕΣΙ.

1. Two unidentified accounts from about the middle of the century or earlier (I note the shape of *sigma* used).

c. 450	<i>I.G.</i> I ² , 335, line 22	3	[ΕΠΙΣ | ΤΑ]ΤΕΣΙ (X)
"	"	46	[Ε]ΠΙ|Σ|Τ[Α]Τ[Ε]ΣΙ (Z)
"	"	56	[Ε]Π[Ι]Σ|Τ[Α]ΤΕΣΙ (Z)
"	338,	1	[ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΕ]ΣΙ ΚΑΙ (S)
"	"	50	[ΕΠΙΣΤ]ΑΤΕΣΙ ΚΑΙ (X)

2. The Chryselephantine Statue; before and after 440.

c. 440	355	3 4	ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΕ|Σ| 1
"	355 ^a	3 4	ΕΠΙ | ΣΤΑΤΕΣΙ
"	357	5	ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΕΣΙ
"	358	3	-ΙΣΤΑΤΕΣΙ
"	359	3	[ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤ]ΕΣΙ

3. Parthenon.

434 3	352	1	ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΕΣΙ
433.2	353	1	[Τ]ΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΕΣΙ

4. Propylaea.

434 3	366	46	[ΕΠΙΣ]ΤΑΤΕΣΙ
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B. ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΑΙΣ.

1. Unidentified account, dated (by the *Tamias Euphiletos*) to 420 19.

420. 19	379	7 8	Ε[ΠΙΣΤ]ΑΤΑΙΣ ΕΥ[Κ]ΛΕΙΔΕΙ etc.
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2. Eleusis.

407 6	314	2	ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΑΙΣ
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⁸² *Harvard Studies*, 38 (1927), p. 48, note 4; 'Αρχ. Εφημ. 1925, pp. 60-61.

⁸³ *Harvard Studies*, 38, p. 48, note 5, and the articles there quoted.

II. HELLENOTAMIAΣI HELLENOTAMIAIΣ in the Tamiai's statements of payments.

A. HELLENOTAMIAΣI.

432/1	I.G. I ² , 296, line 18	—νοταμιασι
„	„ 20	ηελλεννοταμιασι
„	„ 22	—ενοταμιασι
„	„ 26	—ενοταμιασι
c. 430/29 ⁸⁴	301 65	—[ε]νοταμι[ασιν] gives the right length of line: compare περιπολεσι in line 35.

B. HELLENOTAMIAIΣ.

415.4	302 56	ηελλεννοταμιαισ
„	„ 61, 63, 65,	the same.

III. TAMIAΣI —TAMIAIΣ in the Inventories of Athena (starting 434/3).

A. TAMIAΣI(N).

434/3	232 3	ταμιασιν	Proneos.
„	„ 5	[τ]αμιασιν	„
„	256 2	[τα]μιασιν	Hekatompedos.
„	„ 3	ταμιασιν	„
„	276 2	[ταμιασι]ν	Parthenon.
433/2	257 9	ταμιασιν	Hekatompedos.
430/29	236 47/8	[τα | μιασ]ιν	Proneos.
429/8	237 56	ταμιασιν	„
428/7	238 67	ταμιασιν	„
425/4	241 102	ταμιασιν	„
424/3	242 113	ταμιασιν	„
423/2	243 123	ταμιασιν	„
422/1	204 56	[τα]μιασι	Hekatompedos.
„	280 70/1	[τα] | μιασι	Parthenon.
„	„ 72	ταμιασι	„
421/0	281 94	ταμιασι	„
420/19	283 107	[ταμ]ιασι	„

B. TAMIAIΣ.

418/7	244 134	[ταμι]αισ	Proneos.
„	268 102	ταμιαισ	Hekatompedos.
417/6	269 117	[τ]α[μια]ισ	„
416/5	270 132	[ταμι]αισ	„
414/3	248 211	ταμι[α]ισ	Proneos.
413/2	287 177	ταμιαισ	Parthenon.
411/0	253 266	ταμιαισ	Proneos.

In these documents, then---

επιστατεσι	<i>last occurs</i>	433/2
ηελλενταμιασι	„	c. 430/29
ταμιασι	„	420/19
επισταταισ	<i>first occurs</i>	420/19
ηελλεννοταμιαισ	„	415/4
ταμιαισ	„	418/7

The Archidamian War forms (naturally) a gap in the first series: the second series is so incomplete that it does not take us far into the War. The third series suggests that the change of spelling comes during the Peace; but it is possible that these Inventories archaised. I turn, therefore, to the scattered instances, not in series: separating those whose dates are reasonably certain.

A. —ασι —εσι —αισι —εισι

1. Dateable.

485/4	I.G. I ² , 4, line 8	[τ]αμιασι	[Akropolis tions.]	Regula-
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⁸⁴ For the date see note 76 above.

450/49	<i>I.G.</i> I ² , 22, line 38	δικαστεσιν	[Milesian Constitution.]
425/4	63	10 χίλιασι δραχμεσι	[Assessment of Phoros.]
"	"	15 μ[υ]ριασι δρα[χ]μεσι ιερασι	
"	"	30 1 [μυρι]ασι | [δρα]χμε[σι]	
"	"	37 8 μυριασι δρα[χ]με | σιν	
"	"	42 τεσι	
"	"	58 [τε]σι	
424/3	57	14 5 εν τε[σι] στε | λε]σι	[Methone Privileges.]
"	"	38 9 μυριασι δρα[χ]μαισιν	
"	"	43 τεσι	
"	"	51 2 [τε]σ | ι δε [αλλ]ησι (<i>sic</i>)	
421/0	84	14 δεμοτεσι	[Hephaistia Festival.]
418/7	94	[See end of this Appendix.]	
2. Probably or approximately dated.			
Before 460	6	2, 3 δραχμεισ | [ιν]	[Eleusis Sacred Law.]
Early 'twenties	75	4 ταμιασιν	[Shipbuilding Law: Phantokles is Grammateus, cf. <i>I.G.</i> I ² , 45.]
"	"	[46 -ασι.]	
"	56	5 τεσι αλλεσι	[Honorary Decree. A Charojades dies in 427 B.C., Thuc. 3. 90. 2.]
"	301	35 περιπολεσι ⁸⁵	[Tamiai's Accounts.]
423 2?	76	15 αυτεσι	[Eleusis First-fruits.]
or 419 8?	"	20 χίλιασι ι δραχμεσι	For the date see <i>I.G.</i>
"	"	30 1 τεσι αλλεσι πολεσιν [τ]ε[σι]	I ² : where the script is compared to 190 (quoted below) and 220, dated to 421 B.C. See also Meritt, <i>Calendar</i> , pp. 105 sq., and Koerte in Noack's <i>Eleusis</i> , pp. 313-317.]
		he | [λ]ενικεσι απασεσι	

B. -αισ.

1. Dateable.

430/29	231	11 αρχαισ	[Quota list: for date, <i>v. supra.</i>]
426/5	218	45 ταισδ ε	[Ditto: ditto.]
"	"	51 ταισδε	
422/1	324	25 ηελλενοταμιασ	[Logistai's Report. I quote the lines as given in Meritt's <i>Calendar</i> , Plate II.]
"	"	100 [τετρακισχιλ]ιαισ	
"	"	104 [χιλ]ιαισ - - δραχμιασ	
"	"	108 [δραχ]μιασ	
"	"	110 [τ]ετρακοσιασ - - δραχμιασ	
420/19	86	25 [ηαπασα]ισ ταισ	[The Argive Treaty quoted Thuc. 5. 47.]
418/7	94	[See end of this Appendix.]	
417/6	96	22 [σπονδα]ισ μεδε εκεχ[ερι]αισ	[Argive Treaty.]
416	97	14 ταυταισ ται[σ] ναυσιν	[Melian Expedition.]
416/5	98	8 [η]οσαισ αμ βολοντ[αι]	[Sicilian Expedition.]
"	99	5 [πελ]τασταισ	
2. Probably or approximately dated.			
c. 465	16	5 Φασηλιταισ	[Phaselis agreement. <i>Ionic script.</i>]

⁸⁵ For date see note 76 above. The usual form is περιπολοις (2nd declension). Cf. περιπολις in Pollux 7. 203.

c. 422	<i>I.G.</i> I ² , 87, line 23	ταισ	[Treaty with Halieis: before Peace, see line 16. Moved by Laches, who also moved the Armistice Decree in 423, Thuc. 4. 118. 11.]
c. 420	190	17	[Νυ]φαισ κσι [Tetrapolitai Sacred Law. For date, <i>I.G.</i> I ² compares the script to 76 (quoted above) and 220, dated to 421 B.C.]
c. 420 to 415	90	29	ται[σ] [Treaty with Bottiaioi: prob. during Peace of Nikias.]

Remark how exceptional are those exceptions which I have marked with heavy print: 16 is unique, the work I imagine of an Ionian workman: 218 and 231 trouble me so much that I still reserve some doubts whether the series of single stones ascribed to the Quota lists of the early Archidamian War may not belong to the Peace of Nikias. Otherwise the evidence is strikingly harmonious: the change begins about 422 and is complete about 418.

There remain a few undateables:—

- 49, line 10: χι[λι]α[ισι] δρα[χ]μαισ οπποσ: *i.e.* if the reading is correct, the two forms together. I have no notion why this is placed among the pre-war inscriptions in *I.G.* I²: fragment *C* belongs to 410/9 (Wilhelm in *S.E.G.* III, 8). I have not seen the others, so cannot say if the scripts are alike. Otherwise, our only limit is the revolt of Eretria in 411.
- 80, line 12: [Μοι]ραισ Διι, 16 [?πραχσιεργι]δαισ. This inscription appears, from its singular jumble of letter forms, to be archaistic. I have not seen it.
- 85, line 6: -αχ[μ]αισι, which may be [μυριαισ δρ] | αχ[μ]αισι ι[ε]ραισ ευθυνησθο εκαστοσ το δε φσ | εφισμα etc. So the form is ambiguous. The formulæ resemble the Assessment Decree of 425 B.C. *I.G.* I², 63: it may be from a later (or earlier) assessment.
- 139, lines 4-5: [δραχμαι] | σ χιλ[ιαισ]: but the letters are isolated and the restoration most uncertain. The law is later than the building of the Opisthodomos (line 17).
- 387, line 36: ταισ hierαισ: Hondius gives good reason for dating this c. 420-410 B.C. *Nov. Inscr. Att.* p. 64: his excellent photograph, Tabula V, confirms this.

The following isolated letters *may* be old datives:—

- 177, line 5: -εσι-.
- 83, line 22: -ξεσιν (probably εγκτεσιν).

An unusually early instance of Ionic script (the date, c. 431, is fixed approximately by Thuc. 2. 22. 3) is 55: the dative terminations, in lines 9-10 and 20-1, are lost, but from the count of letters must probably have been two-syllable.

I have kept 94 to the end, as the only inscription which certainly uses both forms in one decree. It is a Sacred Law, dated to 418/17: μυριασι in line 20 is strange, and suggests archaism.

- 418 17, *I.G.* I², 94, line 10: χιλιαισι δραχμεσι
 „ „ 16-17: αποδεκ | ται[σ] οι δε αποδεκται (*new form*)
 „ „ 17: ταμιαισι
 „ „ 20: μυριασι δραχμεσιν.

Epigraphic Appendix B. ΔΙΕΠΕΙΣΜΑΤΑ (See note 9)

Hiller, in *I.G.* I², 92, note on line 34, suggests διεπεισµατα as a word for the marble bases of the Gold Nikai, and quotes a fourth-century inscription, where it is spelt διερισµατα.

I believe the form διερεῖσμα occurs in a fifth-century inscription, *I.G. I*², 368, which gives the details of two Gold Nikai.

In line 28, Bannier has suggested (*Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1928, p. 782) [το or τα ην]πο τ[εἰ δ]ερεῖ σ[ταθμον etc.]. We should, I think, read [ην]πο τ[ο δι]ερεῖσ[ματε] (or possibly [ματос], genitive singular *vice* accusative dual). I have some time seen a squeeze of this inscription, and think I read a further letter which disallowed Bannier's supplement and allowed my own. But I have no note and cannot trust my memory: so I propose my supplement on its merits and hope someone with access will verify it.

I see no sort of cogency in Kolbe's hypothesis that these two are the only Gold Nikai made or planned in the fifth-century (*S.B.* 1927, p. 326 sq.). The contrary evidence is familiar, and he does not touch it.

Epigraphic Appendix C. AEI-AIEI (See note 22)

Marcellinus in his *Life of Thucydides*, § 52, gives, as examples of Thucydides' ἀρχαία Ἀτθισ, that he wrote ξυν for συν and αἰεῖ for αἰ.

The instances in pre-Eukleides inscriptions appear to be as follows (the AIEI list may not be complete: 763 and 920B are hardly relevant):—

AEI

59, line 15, αἰ εοντασ (*sic*;

79, line 10, ηε αἰ βολευουσα *ex Fourmonti schedis*

106a, line 4, [τη]ν αἰ βο[λε]υουσιν

118, line 17-8, την αἰ β[ο]λευουσιν

AIEI

91. 25, ἰοι αἰεῖ ταμῖαι

110. 33, τεν αἰεῖ β[ο]λευουσιν]

The statistics are not very impressive: the word is curiously rare, and is often replaced by ἡεαστοτε (*e.g.* 149, 12-14: Kallias' Face Y 20). What strikes me is that the αἰ list contains *no* good instance in normal Attic writing: 106a and 118 are in Ionic script throughout, in 59 (an honorary decree for a Kolophonian) the Ionic colour is apparent in the next word. The authority of Fourmont will hardly carry what amounts to the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον of 79: especially since he did not observe (what Wilhelm has made probable) that the stone was inscribed *stouchedon*. The αἰεῖ instances are, on the contrary, quite unexceptionable, and the first is from our own stele.

My impression that αἰεῖ is the normal pre-Eukleides form is confirmed by such supplements as demand the word. In 106, line 11, and again line 12, and 154, line 4, [αἰεῖ] seems required by the space: on the contrary, αἰ supplied twice in 70 is due (as Wilhelm has shown) to a false join. In 63, line 46 we should read *ἡνα αἰ* . . .

Αἰ becomes normal in the fourth century, with the adoption of Ionic script. I imagine the pre-Eukleides use of αἰεῖ was (like the long datives) a matter of formal prose, and αἰ was always common in speech and verse.

*Epigraphic Appendix D. I.G. I*², 310 (See note 70)

The large amount of order which has been brought into this inscription make it tantalising that it is not yet intelligible. I subjoin a very few notes: I owe the chance of studying a squeeze of this (and many other inscriptions) to the liberality of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin. [Mr. Johnson's valuable paper in *A.J.A.* 1931, pp. 31 sqq., reached me when this was in proof. He believes the stele covers several years: this, if true, will have important consequences.]

1. The prescript says (96-7) [παράδεχσάμενοι] παρά τον π[ροτερον] ταμῖον: yet lines 220-223 [A]ρτεμίδος [A]γροτερας [δ]εκατεν ανδραποδον appear to be an επετειον. *Ergo*, the prescript does not cover the whole of Col. III?

2. To the right of Col. III there was a column of figures, as there is to the right of most of Col. II. The traces of these figures are clearly visible in lines 205-208 205-207, they are printed in *I.G. I*², but should be further to the left, in a separate column: there is a trace in 208): nowhere else is any surface preserved to the immediate left of Col. III.

3. The head of Col. I may contain valuable information. Its left margin can be probably fixed from lines 15-16 [Δι Ολυμπι]οι: και [Εραι . . . * . . .]ενος, cf. lines 62-3, 70: *i.e.* lines of about 14 letters, but the στοιχηδον order is not absolute. Lines 10-12

are therefore too short, I think: I am not clear what business the Hellenotamiai have here: if the letter before σαρμ could be read (as I think it might, though I could not) it would settle the question. I have a number of minor corrections in lines 1-13: the most important that line 7 does not seem to exist, and in line 8 I read EI not OI. The 5-talent sign in line 14 is certain, and suggests that a large sum may be restored in this line.

Appendix E. The Strasburg Papyrus (See note 50)

The Strasburg Papyrus (*Anonymus Argentinensis*)⁸⁶ contains the following passage (I give Wilcken's readings and mostly his supplements):

5. [ΟΤΙ ΕΠ ΕΥ]θυδημο[υ] Περικλεους γνωμη[ν] εις
6. [ηγουμενου εδοξεν τωι δημωι] τα εν δημοσιωι (δημωι *corrected to* δημοσιι) αποκειμενα ταλαν
7. [τα — — — — — πε]ντακισχειλια κατα την Αριστηι
8. [δου ταξιν συνηγμενα αναλίσκ]ειν εις την πολιν (or τον πολεμον, *v. infra*) μετ εκεινο χινο
9. [μενου και δογματος εκαστωι ε]τει την βουλην των παλαιων τριη
10. [ρων εκατον εξαίρετους παραδ]ιδοναι καίνας δ επιναυπηγειν εκασ
11. [τοτε (?δια τους τριηροποιους) δ]εκα

In the Archonship of Euthydemos, on the motion of Perikles, the Demos resolved to spend on the State (or on the war) the [. . . 5000 . . . talents . . .] which lay available, collected in accordance with the assessment of Aristides: it being next also resolved that each year the Boule should hand over 100 triremes picked out of the old ships, and always build (using the Trieropoioi as executive) ten new Triremes. [I have slightly modified Wilcken's line 9 (και *vice* ετερου), and very slightly line 6 (εδοξεν *vice* εδοξε): chiefly to get a more uniform length: in line 11 I have incorporated Wilcken's own suggestion.]

Εν δημοσιωι should not, Wilcken says, be taken as εν τωι δημοσιωι, 'in the City's Treasury': not only because this was no place for an accumulation of Phoros, but also because εν δημοσιωι is a current Roman-Egyptian phrase for 'in an official place' (p. 397, note 1): I have therefore translated it 'available.' Either way, it seems clear that *Anonymus* is not using exact Attic terms: this perhaps meets Bannier's contention (*Rh. Mus.* 75, p. 187) that την πολιν in line 8 should mean 'the Akropolis,' and we must supply [ανενεγκ]ειν, not [αναλίσκ]ειν. 'Την πολιν' is not indeed exact for 'the Akropolis,' which is normally 'πολιν' or 'την ακροπολιν.'⁸⁷—Wilcken suggests that πολιν is the copyist's false expansion of the normal contraction for πολεμον.

Bannier quotes Isokrates 8. 126, who says of Perikles, εις δε την ακροπολιν ανηνεγκεν οκτακισχιλια ταλанта χωρισ των ιερων; and he makes up the 8000 out of these 5000 and the 3000 mentioned by Kallias. Kallias' Decree would therefore fall in Perikles' lifetime, and the date 422 is excluded.—The thesis involves some difficulties, and Bannier's development of it (*l.c.* 196-198) does not convince me. We may say with as near certainty as we ever get in this financial history, that Perikles' review of the situation before the invasion of 431 (Thuc. 2. 13. 3-5), *i.e.* in the year 432/1, precludes the possibility that anything approaching 5000 Talents of accumulated Phoros was moved to the Akropolis in the following year: I have in mind especially the words υπαρχοντων εν τη ακροπολει. Nor will any light juggling with Thucydides' facts make it more possible. If it is a question of placing large sums of Phoros on the Akropolis, the year must be, not 431/0, but 450/49⁸⁸; and in that case the Decree does not much concern us.

⁸⁶ First published by Keil in 1902, and later shown by Wilcken, *Hermes*, 42 (1907), pp. 374 sqq. to be extracts from a commentary on Demosthenes' *Androtion*. See also Cavaignac, *Trésor d'Athènes*, lxxiv; Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* 75 (1926), pp. 187, 196-198; Beloch, *Gr. Ges.*² II 2, pp. 328 sq.

⁸⁷ *E.g.* Aristoph. *Lysist.* 245, 338, 487, 912, *cum scholus*, Thuc. 2. 15. 6, and the inscriptions *passim*. I am not clear whether [κα]τα την πολιν in *I.G.* I², 4, line 3, and [κατα] τινεν πολιν, *ib.* 44, lines 1-2, refer to the Akropolis.

⁸⁸ Beloch has argued for this date, *Gr. Ges.*² II 2, pp. 328 sq. I find it hard to believe that the reserve was

kept elsewhere than on the Akropolis between 454 and 450: I would prefer to read (even for this date) [αναλίσκ]ειν εις την πολιν, *i.e.* the Decree sanctions the expenditure of Phoros on the Akropolis temples: it would stand in some sort of relation to the decree recorded in Plut. *Perikles*, 17. On this view, *οτι* is wrongly supplied in line 5: Perikles' motion is part of the same excerpt as lines 3 and 4 which speak of the building of the Parthenon. The Archon of 450/49 was Euthynos (*I.G.* I², 22, line 75), but Diodoros calls him Euthydemos (12. 3) and the *Anonymus* may have done the same. What then of lines 9-11?

On Wilcken's view, we have in lines 5-11 excerpts from the same legislation as Thucydides records 2. 24. I am not sure how well lines 9-11 correspond with Thuc. 2. 24. 2: it depends on the supplement in 10, and this is not cogent. Lines 9-11 are 'clearly' from a comment on Dem. *Androt.* 8 or 11, the shipbuilding duties of the Boule: I have wondered if a new excerpt may not begin at the end of line 8. Wilcken reads μετ' ἐκείνο γινῶ, but of the γι (of which I see nothing in Keil's photograph) he mentions only the vertical of the *iota* and the horizontal of the *gamma* (p. 388): ought we to read Ὅτι νοί[μοσ] ἢν Ἀθηνησιν ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἐ]τ[ε]ι, or something similar? This leaves an unintelligible μετεκεῖν which I cannot explain: μετε νεγ κειν seems to me in every way unacceptable.

There remains the gap in line 7. Επιχωρίου νομισματος (cf. νομισματος ἡμεδαπο. *I.G.* I², 91, line 4) would fill it; but Cavaignac's τριακοσίων αποδεοντα is exceedingly plausible. Cavaignac believes the figure for the Treasure in Thuc. 2. 13. 3 is 5700 Talents (τα πλείστα τριακοσίων αποδεοντα περιεγενετο, according to the Ravennas scholiast on Ar. *Plutus* 1193): after 1000 have been set aside (Thuc. 2. 24. 1) there remain 4700 available.

If we take the MS. reading, that the Treasure in Thuc. 2. 13. 3 is 6000 Talents, it might yet be down to c. 5700 by the time of the Decree, for much of the expenditure recorded in *I.G.* I², 296 comes between the financial review of Thuc. 2. 13 (before the invasion) and the legislation of Thuc. 2. 24 (after the invasion). Possibly the occurrence of the figures 4700 + 1000 in Perikles' Decree may account for (and so discredit) that variant reading in Thuc. 2. 13 which Cavaignac accepts.

There is, of course, no connection at all with the 4748 Talents borrowed from Athena Polias according to *I.G.* I², 324 (the Logistai's report). That sum includes large loans contracted in 433.2 and 432.1, and so tells nothing of the size of the Treasure in 431.0. We may note that, even if nothing was added to the Treasure from 431 onwards, the loans did not drain it: the available Treasure in 431.0 was at least 4700 Talents, and the loans thenceforward were 4748 Talents *minus* the large items of 433.2 and 432.1.⁸⁹

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⁸⁹ Some hundreds of talents: cf. *I.G.* I², 296, line 17, and Thuc. 2. 70. 2.

BOREAS AND OREITHYIA ON AN APULIAN VASE

[PLATE IV.]

THE vase which is the subject of Plate IV was recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. John Tulk of Chertsey, in whose possession it had been for many years. Mr. Tulk states that it was formerly in the possession of Earl Cadogan, and was disposed of at the sale of his antiquities at Christie's in 1865. On the rim of the vase is an impression in red wax of a seal with coat-of-arms. Enough remains of the surrounding inscription (DO · I . . . RE · SICIL) to show that it is the seal of Ferdinando I, King of the Two Sicilies 1815-25, with the arms of the Kingdom. Either the vase was originally in the possession of this personage, or else it is merely a confirmation of leave to export the vase from Italy. But I can glean no further information about its previous history, and it appears to have remained entirely unknown to archaeologists. It is, however, as will be seen, one of more than usual interest.

The vase is a krater, undoubtedly of Apulian fabric, standing 26½ in. (68 cm.) high, and is in remarkably good condition, practically free from the restorations which so often ruin vases of this class from the older collections, and almost undamaged. A general view is given in Figs. 1, 2. It will be seen that the handles are very elaborately modelled in scroll form, ending in swans' heads on the neck, as in the British Museum examples E 468-469 and F 276-277. Round the lip is the usual egg-pattern, and below on the front of the neck, an ivy-wreath with berries and a band of rosettes; on the back, inverted wave-pattern and a laurel-wreath. Below these again we have in front two gryphons confronted, with a tall flower between; on the back, a pattern of three large palmettes (the middle one inverted) interspersed with rosettes.

The two main designs, above each of which is a broad band of tongue-pattern, are divided by the usual elaborate pattern of palmettes under each handle (see Fig. 1). The principal scene on the front of the vase was formerly interpreted as the rape of Persephone by Hades. To this there are three obvious and vital objections. In the first place, Hades is not represented as winged; secondly, the scene clearly takes place in a temple, as shown by the altar and the temple key lying on the ground, and not in the flower-bespangled meadows of Sicily; thirdly, the actual rape of Persephone, as Tillyard has pointed out,¹ is never represented on vases. Where such scenes occur, the obviously amicable nature of the whole proceeding, and the calm demeanour of the two goddesses, show that no sheik-like behaviour on the part of the god is intended; he is merely conveying his spouse away for her annual sojourn in the realms below the earth.

¹ *Hope Vases*, p. 123.

The correct interpretation of the scene is not hard to find. Inasmuch as there is only one winged and bearded deity who is represented in Greek art in the act of violently carrying off a maiden, and that is the wind-god Boreas, it is clear that the subject is his rape of Oreithyia. It is a common



FIG. 1.

theme on vases of the red-figure and later periods, and Wernicke in his article on Boreas in Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopädie* (Halbbd. V., p. 727) enumerates no less than 34 examples. The subject is not always treated in the same way, as we should expect from the different versions of the myth.² In some cases Boreas is in Thracian or otherwise Oriental costume; in

² See Roscher, *Lexikon*, iii. s.v. Oreithyia, col. 951.

others his northern origin is indicated by his wild hair and generally formidable aspect. The scene also usually takes place in the open country, though most of the mythographers locate it in or near Athens. I have only noted one other example of its taking place at an altar besides the present instance, viz. a R.F. hydria in the Vatican.³

But to proceed with a more detailed description of the scene before us. In the centre is a low rectangular altar with vertical end-pieces of a type often seen on South Italian vases,⁴ painted white and marked with three splotches of yellowish-brown, which are perhaps intended for splashes of blood. Oreithyia, wearing a chaplet with vertical tufts over the forehead, a long chiton with a broad embroidered band down the front, and a mantle with embroidered border wrapped round her arms, flies towards the altar in a vain attempt to escape from Boreas, who grasps her in his arms. He is nude, and has a short beard and wild hair, and large erect wings. In the field above is suspended a chaplet, and on the ground on the right lies a temple-key. On the right of the scene an elderly priestess with long white hair, wearing a long chiton, retreats in surprise, dropping a libation-bowl in her confusion. Below the altar on the same side a girl runs away in alarm, holding out her right hand and drawing forward her veil with her left. On the left of the scene is a large laver, beside which a woman is seated, holding a libation-bowl in her right hand, and looking round at the central scene with an air of mild interest.⁵ She wears an embroidered chiton, and her hair is gathered up in a coif with a radiated frontlet. Below this figure is a Seilenos, bald, with white hair and beard, and white hair indicated down the front of the body, who moves away with a gesture which suggests malicious enjoyment of the scene. He is evidently quite an inappropriate figure in the present instance, but is probably a stock type from the painter's repertory inserted to fill in a space. The same may be said of the seated figure above him, who seems to be an echo of the inactive *Nebenpersonen* so often to be found on the vases of the Kertch style.

The chief feature of interest in the scene thus depicted is the locality in which it is placed. I have already shown that it must be a temple. Now we learn from Acusilaus, a somewhat obscure commentator on the *Odyssey*,⁶ that Oreithyia was a daughter of Erechtheus, and that she acted as *καθηφόρος* in his shrine on the Acropolis at Athens. We have therefore, not indeed a representation of the old Erechtheion, but at any rate a scene closely associated with the site. The temple-key may be regarded as one of Oreithyia's *insignia* of office.

The scene on the reverse of the vase (Fig. 2) is of comparatively little interest, though artistically superior to the general run of such scenes on South Italian vases. The composition consists of three figures: a young man wearing a chlamys and holding a torch, facing whom is another seated, holding out a dish of fruit and carrying a palm-branch in his left arm. On

³ Helbig, *Führer*, No. 101; Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 78.

⁴ E.g. B.M. F 66, F 159; Naples 3223 (*Mon. dell' Inst.* ii. 43); Jatta 239 (*Ann. dell' Inst.* 1868, Pl. E). See Buschor in *Furtw.-Reichh.* iii. p. 168.

⁵ Prof. P. Gardner suggests that a similar figure on the Oxford Boreas vase (*J.H.S.* xviii, Pl. 6) may be either Gaia or Praxithea, the wife of Erechtheus.

⁶ Roscher, *Lexikon*, iii. col. 951.

the right is a woman holding out a pet bird. The scene can hardly be mythological; it is rather in the category of the designs on Dresden or Watteau china, a 'conversation-piece' of the type so thoroughly characteristic of the period, and especially of Apulian vases.

It remains to say a few words on this vase from the point of view of style



FIG. 2.

and fabric. It belongs to a class consisting almost entirely of large kraters with handles in the form of scrolls or volutes (sometimes ornamented with Gorgon's heads), which appear to have been made in Apulia in the latter half of the fourth century. They would correspond with Macchioro's third Ruvo period,⁷ and at all events, like most of the finer Apulian vases,

⁷ *Rom. Mitt.* 1912, p. 168

stand midway between the earlier group dealt with by Miss Moon and Watzinger in recent articles ⁸ and the general unpleasing ruck of mediocre late Apulian output, which, as Tillyard ⁹ rightly complains, 'make so many museums horrible.' I seem to trace in the features of Boreas, with his thick untidy hair and large staring eyes, a close resemblance to the faces on the calyx-krater in the British Museum (F 271) with the madness of Lycurgos. Both in style, structure and ornamentation this vase also approximates closely to the following:

Brit. Mus. F 159 (volute-krater; sacrifice of Iphigeneia).

F 160 (volute-krater; Iliupersis).

Louvre krater, *Papers of Brit. Sch. of Rome*, xi. Pls. 15-16, p. 47; Agamemnon and Chryses?

Naples krater, Heydemann 3223; *Mon. dell' Inst.* ii. Pl. 43 (Furtwaengler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenm.* iii. Pl. 148, p. 168, text by Buschor); Orestes in Tauris.

Whether we have sufficient grounds for grouping together these six vases and attributing them to a 'Boreas master' is a matter for further study than it has yet been possible to give to the subject, but the attempt seems to be worth making.

I have hardly thought it desirable to repeat here the full list of Boreas and Oreithyia vases given in Pauly-Wissowa's article, as it scarcely admits of any further additions; but it may be worth noting that in the British Museum the subject only occurs on two red-figured vases, E 480 and E 512 ¹⁰; we may also add to the list the fine example at Oxford to which reference has already been made.

H. B. WALTERS.

⁸ *Papers of the B. S.R.*, xi. p. 30 ff.: *Jahreshefte*, xvi, p. 141 ff.

⁹ *Hope Vases*, p. 13.

¹⁰ Nos. 4 and 8 in Wernicke's list.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF GREEK MUSIC IN CAIRO¹

[PLATE V.]

THE papyrus numbered 59533 in the *Catalogue Général* of the Cairo Museum is a mere scrap (13 cm. × 12 cm.), on one side of which is written a fragmentary text with suprascript musical signs:

Λ Π Λ Μ Υ Π Μ Υ Μ
]COI TA ΔΕ TA ΡΩ ΝΙ ΚΕ ΤΙΝΑΥ[

? Π Τ Ψ ΛΜ Ο Ι Κ
]?Ι ΓΟ ΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΠΟ[

N̄
]ΔΩΝ

The writing is along the fibres, that is to say, on the recto if the scrap originally formed part of a roll; the verso is blank; and the papyrus has been folded horizontally. The right-hand and the top seem to be the original edges of a sheet or roll; the left-hand is clearly defective, and though the bottom edge may be the original edge of a sheet, it is not the bottom of a roll. The writing is carried to the extreme right-hand edge, without a margin. Below the text there is some scribbling which seems to have no particular significance and is probably to be taken as a *probatio pennae* rather than as a signature. The musical signs are written either directly over the vowels or spread over a vowel and the preceding consonant, except in the second line, where the sign T is placed over an N instead of over the succeeding A, and in the third line, where the musical sign appears over the final consonant. The various scratches and dots which are to be seen on the photographic facsimile (see Plate V) are not ink, but defects of the papyrus; every ink mark which can be read is included in the transcription given above.

Provenance and Date.—The scrap was acquired by the Museum along with a number of Zenon papyri, and is presumed to have come from the

¹ This article owes much to Mr. C. C. Edgar, formerly Director of the Museum at Cairo. He not only brought the papyrus to my notice and obtained permission for its publication, but he has also placed his wide knowledge of papyri unreservedly at my disposal. Thanks to his kind offices, many details

of the papyrus were carefully examined in Cairo by the present Assistant Keeper, Mr. Battiscombe Gunn, and by Professor W. Schubart. Principal Stuart Jones and Mr. J. U. Powell have also given me the benefit of their criticisms and suggestions.

same find. This *prima facie* evidence of origin is in favour of a date about 250 B.C. According to the opinion of Mr. Edgar, the general character of the script and the form of the individual letters also tend to confirm this date. The fragment consequently assumes a special interest as the oldest Greek musical document extant: for the Delphic Hymns were inscribed in the later half of the second century B.C.²; no earlier date than the second century B.C. has been suggested for the Aidin epitaph of Sicilus (Σείκιλος)³; the Rainer papyrus which contains a fragment of the *Orestes* of Euripides is judged by Wessely to belong to the time of Augustus⁴; the Berlin fragments are copied on the verso of a Latin military document of 156 A.D.; the Christian Hymn from Oxyrhynchus is on a papyrus dated in the third century A.D.; and the Hymns attributed to Mesomedes are preserved only in mediaeval MSS. from the twelfth century onwards. Nor is the date of the mere document the only matter of importance. So far as the date of the composition of the music is concerned, our new fragment is probably junior to the *Orestes* piece alone: in the case of the Delphic Hymns and the Aidin epitaph there is no reason to distinguish between the date of composition and the date of inscription; the Berlin fragments and the Christian Hymn, even though they may be much older than the documents which preserve them, present no evidence of having been composed as early as the third century B.C.; and the hymns of 'Mesomedes' are almost certainly the work of Imperial Rome. Both the age of the papyrus and the comparatively early date of the piece of music written on it are such that we might reasonably expect new and valuable light to be thrown on some of the problems of the Greek musical system.

Since papyrus rolls in Zenon's time were more than thirty centimetres high and our scrap is only thirteen, either a great deal is missing at the bottom or the scribe has used an odd strip of papyrus; such a strip may of course have been cut from a roll. The suggestion that our scrap was a casual sheet of papyrus and no longer part of a roll at the time when the text and music were written is confirmed to some extent by the fact that no care has been taken to leave a margin at the right-hand edge and by the scribbles below. It is unwise therefore to assume that the text was written in columns; the complete document may have been merely two and a half rather long lines. We may perhaps have here a famous passage copied out by some citharode or music student or dilettante for his own purposes; or perhaps this is a draft of some new song in the handwriting of the composer. In any case, the fragment was presumably filed among the Zenon papyri by some mistake; unless, indeed, this piece of music is

² For the evidence, see *New Chapters in Greek Literature* (Second Series), pp. 149-50.

³ Sir W. M. Ramsay, who discovered the inscription, writes in a letter: 'As to date, the form of letters offers no evidence. It might be of almost any time after the second century B.C. was at end; the terminus ante quem cannot be stated. It was not done in a period of universal deterioration except by some very distinct personality, standing apart and alone. . . . As you say, the date first century A.D. is a mere guess;

there is no reason why the stone should not be of that date, and no reason why it should not be 60 B.C. or 150 A.D. or later. There is something about the spirit of this epitaph that smacks of the first century in Rome, but such a person as Seikilos is quite elusive, and apart from his time and surroundings.'

⁴ See K. Wessely, *Mittel. aus der Samml. der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Vol. V (1892), p. 67: Die prächtige Schrift des Orestesfragment erlaubt gewiss es in die Zeit des Augustus zu setzen.

in some way connected with Heracleotes the harper, who in two other papyri appeals to Zenon for the restitution of his instrument.⁵

Text and Authorship.—I have not been able to trace the fragments of text in extant Greek literature; and complete ignorance of the original length of the lines makes reconstruction hazardous.

Line 1. The words τάδε τᾶρ ὦν ἰκέτιν seem to be tolerably certain, and ἰκέτιν in particular affords a clue to the general nature of the context; for the mention of supplication immediately suggests that we are dealing with a fragment from some tragedy. It would, of course, be possible to divide the letters as τᾶδ' ἐτάρων; but on such a basis I can think of no supplement which, without τῶν or ἐμῶν, would be good Greek, and there is no possibility of introducing any such word here in a position which would be normal. Furthermore, the form ἔταρος seems not to be used in tragedy except once by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 989).

At the beginning of the line, σοι is open to several interpretations.

(a) It may be the dative of σύ; but in this context I doubt whether it could depend on such a verb as φράζω or εἶπον without some suspicion of tautology. (b) A future optative is very unlikely indeed, but either an aorist like πέσοι or a present like πράσσοι would probably make good sense. (c) Perhaps we may have the last syllable of an adjective, as πόνοι δις σοί, or of a noun, as φρενῶν νό σοι, which formed the culmination of a catalogue of grievances or woe.

At the end of the line, αυ- is shown by the musical notation to be a diphthong, and αὐδάν seems a likely conjecture.

Line 2. γονάτων ἐπι admits of no doubt, and κατασπορ- points with all probability to some part of κατασποδέω. A division of the letters into κατ' ἄσπο- is not likely to afford any improvement.

At the beginning of the line the only fact which is really definite is that we have traces of a letter which consisted of, or ended with, a vertical stroke.⁶

Line 3. No certain restoration is possible here.

When we turn our attention to the metre of the fragment it is clear that the text was written continuously without regard to stichometry. All other fragments of Greek music, except the Delphic Hymns, have metrical signs written above the musical signs; in many cases, and especially in the Aidin epitaph, these indications are vital to the rhythmical interpretation of the fragments. In this new piece we have no such guidance. Some of the long syllables may perhaps have been protracted; but in default of definite evidence to the contrary, it will be wise to assume that the metre is sufficiently indicated here, as it is in the Delphic Hymns, by the normal quantities of the syllables. The first line (with the reading τᾶρ ὦν) gives the sequence: -υυ--υυυ-, and the second line gives: υυ-υυυ-. If one were dealing with a passage of Plautus it would be easy enough to fit such a sequence of quantities into iambic or trochaic lines and still remain faithful

⁵ For Heracleotes see H. I. Bell, 'A Musical Competition in the 3rd Cent. B.C.', in *Raccolta di Scritti in onore di Giacomo Lombroso* (1925), pp. 13-22.

⁶ Professor Schubart writes: Die Spuren deuten auf ῥ̣ darüber Rest eines Bst., vielleicht Δ. ὩΝ (συνγρον) ist zur Not möglich.

to the author's prosodical canons. But, even though τάρ is a combination of particles better suited to dialogue than to a lyric, one hesitates before allowing so many metrical liberties and irrational feet to a Greek poet. Dactyls and anapaests are precluded in each line by the three successive shorts embedded between two longs. Paeonics would be possible if we could read τὰδ' ἐτάρων in the first line; the suggested αὐδάν would not need revision; and in the second line, as Principal Stuart Jones suggests, κατασποδηθεῖσα would be an easy supplement.⁷ The dochmius is a Proteus among metres and it is just possible that a little manipulation would reveal a dochmiac element in these lines.⁸ Another solution, and one which avoids the difficult ἐτάρων, is to class these lines with the metres which a changing fashion calls logaoedic or Aeolic. The ordinary forms of the Glyconic or Pherecratean are obviously impossible; but the metrical data of our fragment are fully satisfied by the application of the following colon: -υ-υ-υ-υ-. Though such lines are not among the most common in Greek tragedy, Euripides nevertheless frequently introduces them in twos and threes among other lines of a Glyconic type, and sometimes uses them in sequences, as in *Iphig. in Aul.* 546-553.

It is impossible to ascribe this tragic fragment to any particular author. The word ἰκέτις, it is true, appears only twice in the seven plays of Aeschylus and only once in the seven plays of Sophocles, whereas it is found eleven times in the nineteen plays of Euripides. If we make allowance for the greater bulk of work extant, Euripides is either more fond of this word or finds more opportunities for using it than the other two tragic writers; but on such a slender foundation no sort of conclusion can be based.⁹

The Musical Notation.—Since there are no metrical signs, our only concern is with the interpretation of the signs for pitch. It is not possible to equate a Greek musical sign immediately with a note in our modern notation; for within certain limits the interpretation of the Greek signs depends upon the key (τόνος) which the composer used, and upon the subtler distinctions of the *genus*, whether enharmonic, chromatic, or diatonic, in which the melody is set. A late writer, Alypius, has preserved tables of the notation of the various Greek τόνοι in all three *genera*. For most of the

⁷ It ἐτάρων and its rhythmical implications were accepted, we should note the curious coincidence that all the musical fragments—this new one and the Delphic Hymns—which have no metrical symbols in their notations would be paeonic.

⁹ Our fragment is too mutilated for any restoration to be proposed with confidence. However, the following reconstruction, based on the rhythmical

ἄδικα δ' ἂν πρᾶσσῃ τάδε τάρ
 ὧν ἰκέτιν αὐδάν προφέρω,
 ἔδην προσεύχου, ἰ γούατων
 ἐπὶ κατασποδουμένα.

This might be translated as: . . . he would act unjustly. These then are the things for which in supplica-

⁸ As parts of two dochmii, we might interpret the first line as: υ υ — υ υ || υ — < — υ — >, or as: < υ — — > υ υ || υ — υ υ —; and the second line as: υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — < — υ — >. It would, however, be difficult to continue the second line on this basis.

parallel of Euripides (with catalexis in the fourth line), may indicate the sort of context from which the fragment came:

υ υ υ — — | — υ υ —
 — υ υ υ — | — υ υ —
 — υ — υ | — υ υ —
 υ υ υ — υ | — υ —

tion I raise my voice . . . whom I address in prayer, as I am forced to my knees in the dust.

extant fragments of Greek music these tables have proved a very satisfactory clue, and to them we naturally turn for the elucidation of this new piece. The notes which can be read distinctly on the papyrus are $\Lambda \Pi \text{M} \Upsilon \tau \times \text{OIK}$ ¹⁰; but among the tables of Alypius there is no single $\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ which includes all these signs and we must adopt a somewhat circuitous route before we can arrive at a solution of the problem. Of the definite signs, M occurs four times, Λ and Π occur three times each, and Υ occurs twice; these surely must form the starting point of any sound musical interpretation of the fragment. The only $\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota$ which contain all four of these signs are the Phrygian, the Hyperphrygian, and the Hypodorian. The other notes $\tau \times \text{OIK}$ occur once each; but the sequence OIK at the end of the second line raises a number of special problems and must be put aside for a time. The signs τ and \times both occur in the Phrygian and the Hyperphrygian; but τ alone is in the Hypodorian and this $\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ can therefore be eliminated from our discussions. In the three *genera* the six notes we have mentioned have the following approximate values in ascending order of pitch:¹¹

	Υ	τ	Π	M	Λ	\times
enharmonic	G	A \flat		C	C	a \flat
chromatic	A \flat	B $\flat\flat$		C	D \flat	b $\flat\flat$
diatonic	A \flat		B \flat	C	D \flat	(a \flat)

It will be seen at once that no single *genus* contains all these notes, and we must agree that the fragment presents a mixture of *genera*. The musical theorists do not tell us much about the mixtures of *genera*; but the important chapter in Ptolemy's *Harmonica* (II. 15) with its accompanying tables seems to envisage scales in which an octave consists of two disjunct tetrachords of different *genera* and each tetrachord contains three intervals only. The mixture, however, which appears in this fragment is not of that nature; for within the Perfect Fourth Υ to Λ there are four intervals and the mixture of *genera* is intratetrachordal. In the chromatic sections of the first of the Delphic Hymns, however, there is a very close parallel to this melodic feature of the new fragment; and it is interesting to find now another example of a sequence of semitones within a tetrachord which is in violation of the melodic principles laid down in the works of Aristoxenus.¹² But what is the exact mingling of *genera* adopted in this fragment? Is it a mixture of enharmonic with diatonic, or of chromatic with diatonic? The notation alone will not help us, since enharmonic and chromatic notes within the same $\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ have the same musical sign. From the remarks of Aristoxenus¹³ it is clear that in the later half of the fourth century the enharmonic was falling into disuse in favour of the sweeter chromatic; it is unlikely, therefore, that we have an admixture of the enharmonic unless this fragment is the work of a composer of the fourth century. An inter-

¹⁰ The sign τ in the second line was examined by Professor Schubart, who agreed to the reading, but added the note: auch ν möglich.

¹¹ The sign \times is conventionally used to indicate

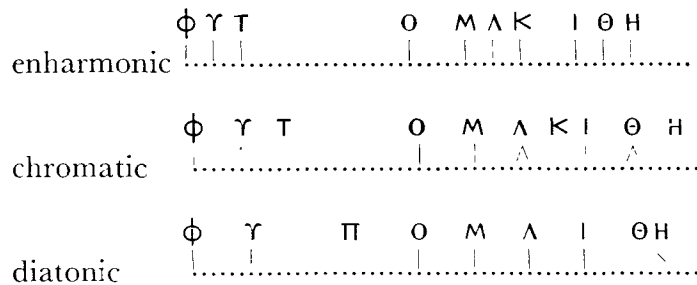
the raising of a note by a quarter of a tone. \times is not a diatonic note in the Phrygian.

¹² *Ham.* p. 63 M.

¹³ *Ham.* p. 23 M.

pretation on the basis of the enharmonic is only practicable if we restrict the diatonic genus to the note π ; certainly it would be absurd to take γ as diatonic since it is identical in pitch with enharmonic τ , and such a complication in notation is highly improbable.¹⁴ Regarding π then as the only distinctively diatonic note, we find that the melodic sequence of the first line, if we take a whole tone as the unit, is: $1\frac{1}{4}$ $1\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $2\frac{1}{4}$ $1\frac{1}{4}$ 1 $2\frac{1}{4}$ $2\frac{1}{4}$. Now we have an example of pure enharmonic sequences in the *Orestes* fragment; there indeed we find a leap of $1\frac{1}{4}$ tones between $\theta\omicron\alpha\varsigma$ and $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\varsigma$ and a leap of $2\frac{1}{4}$ tones between $\delta\lambda\epsilon\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. But the melodic progression is in the main by contiguous quartertone intervals. The succession of very awkward leaps in this new fragment is surprising; and on musical grounds alone the enharmonic interpretation would be very difficult to accept.

If we are to investigate the possible mixtures of chromatic and diatonic *genera* we must first distinguish between the various subdivisions ($\chi\rho\acute{o}\alpha\iota$) of the chromatic and diatonic. In a chromatic $\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ the constituent tetrachords, bounded by fixed notes ($\phi\theta\acute{o}\gamma\gamma\omicron\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$), were so divided that the two smaller intervals were not less than a third of a tone each, nor more than a semitone each, while the remaining interval completed the Perfect Fourth. In a diatonic scale the smallest interval of the tetrachord was a semitone and the other two varied between three quarters of a tone and a tone and a quarter. Now of the notes we are discussing, only μ in the Phrygian and the Hyperphrygian is fixed. How the others varied may be seen from the following diagram, in which I have included another fixed note ϕ and certain others which will enter later into our discussion:¹⁵



If we take as chromatic every note which can conceivably be so interpreted, we shall be compelled to dismiss any collocation of *genera* which makes π and τ difficult to distinguish; that is to say, the tonic ($\tau\omicron\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\nu$) chromatic with a comparatively high pitched τ would not easily be compatible with the flat ($\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) diatonic with a comparatively low pitched π . If, on the other hand, we take as diatonic every note which admits such an interpretation, γ and τ must not be too close together; consequently the diatonic γ would not be compatible with the soft ($\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) chromatic in which τ is comparatively low pitched. Indeed it would seem rational to assume that, when diatonic and chromatic *genera* were thus mixed *within*

¹⁴ Similarly, if the sign κ at the end of line 2 is to be interpreted as a Phrygian enharmonic note, it will be identical with diatonic λ ; and consequently we should have no option but to take λ itself as en-

harmonic to avoid an otiose duplication of signs.

¹⁵ In the diagram the space between the dots represents one twelfth of a tone.

a single tetrachord, the smaller chromatic intervals would be of the same size as the small diatonic intervals, that is to say, half a tone. Such a combination would consist of the sharp (σύντονον) diatonic and the tonic (τονισίον) chromatic; and this is the mixture I believe to be intended in our fragment.

We can now discuss the notes ο ι κ; and it will be most convenient to take them in the order in which they appear in the papyrus.

The sign ο is not found in either the Phrygian or the Hyperphrygian τόνος. Such a sign, however, is found in a number of other scales, often as one of the fixed notes of a tetrachord with the value B₂, half a tone below Phrygian μ; and we might suppose that the composer has adopted a sign from an alien τόνος in order to secure a note for which the Phrygian and Hyperphrygian made no provision. In that case the Perfect Fourth from γ to λ (A₂ to D₃) would be divided into five semitones and the chromaticism of the fragment exaggerated. It is easy also to suggest that the sign should properly be read as θ, or at least emended to θ; for such a sign appears in the Phrygian τόνος, though not in the Hyperphrygian. In the chromatic and diatonic *genera* θ has approximately the value of E₂.¹⁶ But although the sign is not absolutely clear in the papyrus¹⁷ it has a little tail at the right-hand side such as can be seen in the ο of γονάτων. Consequently nothing short of musical necessity would justify us in emending the note to θ; and whether there is such a musical justification depends to a large extent upon the succeeding notes.

The sign ι is not found in the Hyperphrygian; but it is one of the fixed notes in the Phrygian with the value D₂, a whole tone above μ.

The sign κ is found both in the Hyperphrygian and in the Phrygian. In the tonic chromatic it is identical in pitch (D₂) with the Phrygian note ι.¹⁸ Now as I suggested above, if this fragment is to be interpreted as a mixture of diatonic and chromatic, the only chromatic which would make such a mixture of *genera* within a tetrachord intelligible is this very tonic chromatic. Why then should the composer have used both ι and κ if they are identical in pitch? If the question at bottom is a legitimate one, the proper answer should be that ι and κ have different functions. Both notes are in the Phrygian τόνος; ι is the fixed note Paramese, and κ the Paranete of the tetrachord τῶν συνημμένων. The chief function of this latter tetrachord was to make modulation between related τόνοι easy. The Phrygian tetrachord τῶν συνημμένων is identical in pitch at every point with the tetrachord τῶν μέσων of the Hyperphrygian and forms a smooth transition between the one τόνος and the other. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the group ι κ we should expect to find a fairly definite indication of such a modulation, *if* we are right in interpreting the signs ι and κ as Phrygian. Is there then a modulation from the Phrygian to the Hyperphrygian τόνος? All the notes as far as μ in the second line may fairly be regarded as Phrygian; but the note λ, so far as it is Phrygian, is, like

¹⁶ In the enharmonic *genus* Θ has the value D₂, one and a quarter tones above M. In the diatonic it is identical in pitch (E₂) with the Phrygian note, H.

¹⁷ Professor Schubart suggested εϋ instead of ο.

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but of that he was very doubtful, and on musical grounds such a reading seems out of the question.

¹⁸ In the enharmonic *genus* K has the value D₂, and is not identical in pitch with the note ι.

κ, a note of the transitional tetrachord τῶν συνημμένων. The modulation, then, if such there be, is a hesitant one; it is indicated in the first note of the fragment, but never consummated. Yet this movement towards the Hyperphrygian is counteracted immediately before κ by the distinctly Phrygian ι and, it may be, by the definitely Phrygian θ. Or are we to look for the reverse: a modulation from the Hyperphrygian to the Phrygian? Again, as far as μ in the second line, we can regard the fragment as being Hyperphrygian with no hint of the Phrygian except that which is supplied by λ. The next two notes (if we read θ ι) would be distinctly Phrygian, and the function of the following κ would be to indicate a hasty return to the Hyperphrygian. In short, the interpretation of ι and κ as notes having identical pitch but different function seems pointless in this particular musical context. A still more important feature is that they do not provide any strong musical justification for reading the sign ο as θ.

Some other solution is necessary which shall account for ο ι κ. These three signs are found together in four τόνοι: the Hyperaeolian, Aeolian, Ionian, and Hypoionian. In all four ο has the value of B₂ (but in the two Aeolian τόνοι appears only in the diatonic *genus*), and κ the value of C₂ (in all three *genera*). ι is a chromatic or diatonic note with the value D₂.¹⁹ Owing to the lack of context we cannot decide between these four τόνοι; but it is tolerably certain that there is a bold modulation at ο from the Phrygian or Hyperphrygian to one or other of the four.

Some other details remain to be discussed. At the beginning of the second line there is some trace of a horizontal stroke which can be interpreted in various ways. (a) The sign — appears in the Phrygian as a fixed note, the Proslambanomenos, but since it has a value C₂ almost two octaves below the sign *, and a seventh below the sign π which immediately follows it, we cannot, on musical grounds, accept such an interpretation. (b) The stroke might be the bottom of a Δ; but such a sign does not appear in the Phrygian or Hyperphrygian τόνος, and since there is no reason at this point for suspecting another τόνος, we must reject this reading of the sign. (c) The sign η appears in the Phrygian and Hyperphrygian diatonic with the approximate value of E₂ and in the Phrygian chromatic with the value of F₂. On musical grounds there is no reason to reject the interpretation, but since there is no trace of either vertical stroke, I am not convinced that palaeographical considerations will permit it. (d) The sign ⊥ is a fixed note in the Hyperphrygian and a diatonic note in the Phrygian, with the value B₂, exactly an octave above the note π which immediately follows. So far as the traces on the papyrus are concerned, this is a satisfactory reading. Musically it involves a leap of an octave between ⊥ and π; and this leap is followed by another octave leap between τ and *.²⁰ Elsewhere

¹⁹ In all four τόνοι the sign ι also has an enharmonic value, one quarter of a tone above C₂.

²⁰ This second leap is beyond suspicion: for * is written very clearly and there would be insuperable difficulties in emending it to x (an *instrumental*

note = C, which does not appear in the Phrygian or Hyperphrygian and would in any case be an otiose duplicate of the sign M) or to ψ (which appears only in Dorian τόνοι = G₂) or to Υ (which the scribe had already written twice without faltering).

the melody of the fragment is rather circumscribed and the succession of two octave leaps is unexpected; but a singer could perform the progression without discomfort or risk, and we shall probably have interpreted the papyrus aright if we accept \perp as the true reading.

The note in the third line presents a number of peculiarities. It is written over the consonant at the right of the vowel, whereas the other notes are either over a vowel or to the left of it. The form of the sign bears no clear relation to any Greek musical note. Apparently the writer made some sort of a slip which he has corrected; perhaps he was influenced by the N of the text. I cannot divine his intention and have no interpretation to offer.²¹

Below I give two renderings of the fragment in our own musical notation; but it should be understood that the intervals of a modern pianoforte merely approximate to the Greek intervals. The first transcription is based on the assumption that the composer used a mixture of the diatonic and chromatic *genera*; and there can be little doubt, I think, that musical and historical probabilities are all in favour of such an interpretation. The second transcription involves a mixture of enharmonic and diatonic; but since there is no parallel for such a mixture, either in the other fragments of Greek music or in the musical theorists, no great confidence should be placed in the rendering.

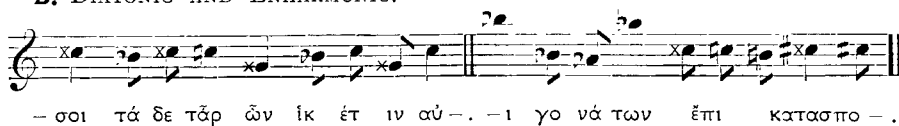
A. DIATONIC AND CHROMATIC

A. DIATONIC AND CHROMATIC.



B. DIATONIC AND ENHARMONIC

B. DIATONIC AND ENHARMONIC.



The melody is too circumscribed for the most part for any deductions to be made about the mode in which the piece is written. Nor is there

²¹ Mr. Battiscombe Gunn's careful copy of the sign shows that the bar extended to the left-hand vertical stroke and beyond the right-hand stroke of the N and that there was a little circle in the top left-hand corner of the letter. The sign N is found in some τόνοι as an instrumental note (= F), in others as a vocal note (= D η). Among the latter τόνοι is the Ionian, which is one of the four involved in the modulation I suggest at OIK. Perhaps that modulation was a permanent one and the piece continued in the Ionian τόνος to the end. The bar at the top can scarcely be the diseme mark. It is also unlikely

that the sign is a combination of Λ and T , or that it was intended to be π .

Since this article was in type, Mr. Edgar has written to me as follows: "When I was staying in Cairo this winter, I re-examined the musical papyrus and made the following notes: *l. 2*: The vestiges of the first two letters suggest ϵ , but the reading is very doubtful. The last letter seems to be either a rather large \circ or an ϵ . *l. 3*: The first letter is uncertain, but δ seems quite possible. So I do not think your transcript requires alteration."

any point in the text of the fragment which would call for an appropriate musical cadence. Furthermore, the mixture of *genera* within a tetrachord, which this piece exhibits, tends to obliterate the distinctions of mode, since the Perfect Fourth is broken up into more than three intervals and its fundamental structure is thereby obscured. The general impression which this fragment makes is that it was composed, not in the fifth or early fourth century B.C., but in a period of decadence.

In most of our fragments of Greek music, the rise and fall of the melody bear a close relationship to the accents of the words. In this new piece the music agrees with the acute accent in *ικέτιν*; but it is against the acute in *τάδε* and *γονάτων*. Although the first syllable of *ἐπι* is set higher than the second, the preceding barytone is still higher. The circumflex accents of *τᾶρ* and *ῶν* are not indicated in the melody. So far as attention to the word accents is concerned, this fragment is nearer to the *Orestes* fragment and to the Ajax piece in the Berlin papyrus than it is to the Delphic Hymns, the Aidin epitaph, and the Berlin Paean.

Frankly, this new piece of ancient music is something of a disappointment. Though it affords another interesting example of a mixture of *genera*, it is too short to be of great musical interest. So far as it goes, it does not confirm the principles which have been deduced from other fragments for the relation of melody to accent; and no new evidence is here provided to settle the problems of prosody raised by the *στιγμαί* and the *λεῖμμα* in the Berlin fragments and the Aidin epitaph. Perhaps we ought to feel relieved that a study of the fragment has revealed no new complications or difficulties in the cumbersome notation of the Greek musical system.

J. F. MOUNTFORD.

THE IRISH KING OF GREECE

AMONG the gems of history still hidden away in the Public Record Office, in London, is a manuscript account of a transaction in British foreign politics of the year 1829-30 which at least three countries might claim as one of their greatest national jokes. The documents which tell the story have recently been unearthed for the first time. Had they been discovered before, during the century which has elapsed since they were filed and forgotten, they would most certainly have been made public long since—for their story is incredibly funny.

The volume containing them is catalogued baldly as 'F.O.32/16, Miscellaneous Domestic, 1830.' It is a leather-bound folio volume of Foreign Office correspondence, comprising sundry reports from British consuls in Greece sent home during that year, and complaints from British subjects anxious to trace missing relatives in Greece. Some of these letters are interesting enough in themselves; but there is one particular section of the volume, about half-an-inch in thickness, which is supremely comic. It deals with the claim of one Nicholas Macdonald Sarsfield Cod'd to the throne of Greece. This section is a musty wad of faded blue pages, edged with gold and filled completely with close handwriting, interlarded with seals and footnotes. To read through it all from beginning to end would occupy many hours: though there would not be a dull moment. The whole transaction is a passage-at-arms between an obscure middle-aged Irishman, Nicholas Macdonald Sarsfield Cod'd, and Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston; in which the Irishman ingenuously lays claim to the throne of the Kingdom of Greece—at a moment when even European rulers of rare political acumen are declining to accept that throne on account of the grave personal dangers which it involves.

The situation in which Sarsfield emerges was unusually complicated, even for a Balkan situation. Before the independence of Greece was recognised in a protocol signed in London on February 3, 1830, efforts had been made by Great Britain, France and Russia, the three Powers most directly concerned with the future of the Near East, to select from among the ruling families of Europe a young and vigorous prince capable of guiding the new state to maturity. After six months of discussions, during which many rejections and resignations occurred, the choice fell upon Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (the future King of the Belgians). Leopold accepted the Greek throne on February 1830; but in the following May he suddenly resigned. Greece was in a turbulent and exhausted condition after her ten years' war of independence against the Turks, and the Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister in England was unwilling to grant the sum which Leopold desired to put the finances of Greece on a stable basis.

Leopold's resignation threw the whole question of a sovereign open once more, and fresh candidatures and nominations had to be examined.

It is here that we come upon Sarsfield, preserved for all time in the Foreign Office records; though, for all that can be ascertained to the contrary, he was quite unknown outside his own private circle while alive. Sarsfield claims the vacant throne. He does so twice: first in a letter to Lord Aberdeen on May 29, and again, after Aberdeen had resigned the Foreign Office, in a second letter to Lord Palmerston on December 24. His letters and their enclosures are all that we have on which to form an estimate of his character and station. They are all written in his own hand—even the enclosure copies, which are voluminous; a large, round, youthful hand, with capitals inserted quite at random and punctuation very sparingly. His knowledge of punctuation does not appear to have extended beyond commas; and these he uses quite indiscriminately. They crop up in astonishing and unexpected places. But never a semi-colon or a full-stop. As his business is to press an hereditary claim, he dresses it in what legal phraseology he can command or imagine. This is most delightful. And when he occasionally lapses into simple straightforward language the contrast is overwhelming. He addresses himself 'humbly' to Lord Aberdeen, and 'affectionately' to the people of Greece.

The following is his first letter:—

'The humble petition of Nicholas Macdonald Sarsfield Cod'd the Comte de Sarsfield of the Order of Fidelity Heir and Representative to His Royal Ancestors Constantines last Reigning Emperors of Greece subdued in Constantinople by the Turks.

'TO His Excellency the Right Honourable Earl of Aberdeen Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Petitioner Showeth the confidence Petitioner place in your Excellency's justice and honour, and the British Government and Sovereigns induces Petitioner to Forward the enclosed to your Excellency's care for the Grecian Government in Public assembled for their most Gracious Consideration and just decision Petitioner showeth that the Enclosed Contains the Genuine Authentic Copy Pedigree of the Royal Family of Constantines last Reigning Christian Emperors of Greece with their spreading branches down to the Present time the enclosed clearly proves that Petitioner, by the Female line is the Legitimate Heir and Representative of his Royal Ancestors Constantines last Reigning Christian Emperors of Greece Petitioner showeth he leave the inclosed open and Pray your Excellency will be most Graciously Pleased to Examine the Contents of the inclosed, and all others whom your Excellency please that the inclosed may concern, after your Excellency have examined the Contents of the Enclosed Petitioner Pray your Excellency will be most Graciously Pleased to do Petitioner the honour to forward the enclosed to the Grecian Government in Publick assembled for their most Gracious Consideration and just decision and in consideration of Petitioner's Ancestors Constantines Christian Emperors of Greece the justice of Petitioner and the enclosed documents clearly proves said Claims for the Honor of the British Government and Allied

Sovereigns, with respect to the Settlement of Greece Pray your Excellency will be most graciously Pleased to use your Excellency Kind Influence with the Allied Sovereigns and my well-beloved Grecian People to restore to Petitioner the Title Crown and Dominions that formerly belonged to Petitioner's Royal Ancestors Constantines Christian Emperors of Greece, Petitioner Pray your Excellency will be so good as to write to Petitioner and acknowledge the receipt of this letter and the enclosed.

'Petitioner has the honor to be with Every Sentiment of respect and the most Distinguished Consideration your Excellency's humble and obedient servant,

Le Comte de Sarsfield,
Duke Street Wexford Ireland.'

The enclosures are numerous. First comes a 'Proclamation to the Government and People of Greece,' to the same effect and with the same characteristics as his letter to Aberdeen. This important document concludes 'Your most affectionate le Comte de Sarsfield Duke Street Wexford Ireland.' It is followed by thirty-six pages of pedigree very closely written, tracing his descent from Dermot on the one side and the Paleologi on the other. It abounds in references to various 'Peerages of Ireland,' whose authenticity he swears by. He appends his seal. The proclamation is headed 'The under neath and anexed documents for the earliest publication.'

What follows is very delicious: a collection of testimonials. One from certain leading men of Wexford, one from each of the parish priests of apparently all the places in which he was known, and several shorter and more perfunctory recommendations. The testimonial from the men of his own town is an ancient one—it is dated 1814—but he evidently considered it recent enough to be still of use. This is the sort of weapon with which he essays to fight his way to a throne:—'We the undersigned gentlemen, of the town and county of Wexford, do certify we know the bearer hereof Nicholas Macdonald Sarsfield Cod'd. He is a native of this Place and a young Man of unexceptionable Character, having always Conducted himself with the greatest Propriety we believe he is descended from three of the most ancient Illustrious and Noble Families of Ireland, viz. the Macdonalds of Antrim, the Sarsfields of Lucan in the County of Dublin, and the Cod'ds of Castletown in the County of Wexford, that from the regularity and Propriety of his Conduct since his birth we confidently hope he will be found to discharge the duty of any Situation he may be Placed in faithfully and Honestly, given under our hand this day—10th of October 1814.'

The signatories include the Mayor of Wexford, the parish minister, two bailiffs, four Justices of the Peace, and several independent gentlemen. He wants to be a king—and *they hope he will discharge the duties of any situation he may be placed in.* . . . His own parish priest writes for him separately; to the effect that he had known the young man since infancy and had always found him a 'dutiful son and a good Christian.'

There follow copies of letters of favour from various important persons abroad, including Lord Stuart de Rothesay, the British ambassador in

Paris. Sarsfield had apparently lived in France at some time prior to 1820. Among Lord Stuart's paragraphs we come at last upon something touching our hero's appearance: his official description. We learn that he was thirty-eight years of age in 1816, when his personal peculiarities were recorded. At that time he had chestnut hair and eyebrows, a 'middling forehead,' blue eyes, regular nose, middling mouth, chestnut beard, round chin, oval visage, high complexion. According to this document he would be fifty-two in 1830. Appended is a note to the effect that he is carrying his claim before Charles X of France, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia and the Pope.

We next learn that this is not the first time that he has approached the Government. The last enclosure is a copy of a letter written to him by Hobhouse, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, on May 18, 1823, seven years previously. It is a reply to a former claim of his to certain 'titles and dominions' in Ireland, and an attempt to choke him off. Mr. Secretary Peel is declared to be convinced that he is not entitled to the peerages he claims.

So much for the first attack. Nothing happens, of course. The letter and its enclosures are summarised on the backs at the Foreign Office, and filed. Sarsfield receives no reply. By the time of his second emergence on Christmas Eve, therefore, he has had over six months in which to await the call which does not come and to lash himself into a fury. This accounts for the petulant and sometimes ominous tone of his second letter to the Foreign Office, enclosing a threatening epistle to no less a person than the King himself, written alternately in the first and third persons. Maybe there was also a hope that the change of Government consequent on the fall of the Duke of Wellington on November 16 might hold a better augury for him.

Fresh hopes and exhausted patience provoke this second appeal to Lord Palmerston. The plea is the same as in May, and couched in almost identical terms. The chief difference is that this time he is determined to get something for his pains. Will Lord Palmerston do him the honour to '*acknowledge the receipt of this letter by return of Post.*' Incidentally we learn that he has meanwhile approached the Duke of Wellington privately. The Duke had acknowledged the letter, but has incontinently sent it back with the acknowledgment.

The cream of the episode, however, is the letter to William IV. By good fortune—perhaps the Foreign Office binder had a sense of humour—the wrapper is preserved. It is addressed in large letters to 'His Most Gracious Majesty King Wilim IV King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain Ireland Hanover Faith Defender &c. &c. &c. White Hall London or Else Where.' The letter itself is fairly long. It reiterates his claim, with ponderous repetition of the formula 'Constantines last Reigning Christian Emperors of Greece subdued in Constantinople by the Turks'; summarises the pedigree, and moralises on the impropriety of the Allied Sovereigns forcing on the Greeks a usurper. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg is commended for having shown a very proper spirit in resigning a throne which had been offered to him 'to the exclusion of Petitioner.' 'To do away with legiti-

mate *writes*,' says Sarsfield in a moment of inspiration, 'would leave the world in a sea of Blood and Desolation.' He appeals to William IV to pause before he condones the iniquity of saddling 'my beloved Grecian People' with an upstart sovereign while the real heir is alive and articulate. He says this twice. Finally he offers a bargain. Let the King have him sent to Greece, and he will rule his beloved Grecian People as a 'faithful ally' of Great Britain.

If ingenuousness and simplicity had been the deciding factors, the King could hardly have done otherwise than mail him a crown and blessing by return. As it was he got nothing. The volume contains no draft reply: nor is there a note to say that his plea was ever acknowledged. Nicholas Macdonald Sarsfield Cod'd the Comte de Sarsfield Duke Street Wexford Ireland was not destined to become Nicholas I of Greece. Apart from his petition we know only that he was fifty-two and chestnut, probably not well-off (he wrote all his enclosures himself), and full of confidence (since he claimed the highest earthly dignity on a basis of heredity and testimonials). It is part of his tragedy that, now at last discovered, he will be to-day only what he probably was at the time among the Foreign Office clerks—a huge joke.

A. C. F. BEALES.

A GREEK INSCRIPTION AT PETWORTH

THE slab of dark grey tufa bearing the text copied below was found last summer in the grounds of Petworth House; its origin and history, except as deducible from the stone itself, are unknown; for leave to publish it I am grateful to Lord and Lady Leconfield. The inscription is here drawn from a photograph kindly communicated by Mr. D. O. Malcolm and from notes and squeezes which Mr. S. E. Winbolt was good enough to take; Professor J. G. C. Anderson did me the favour to verify the reading.

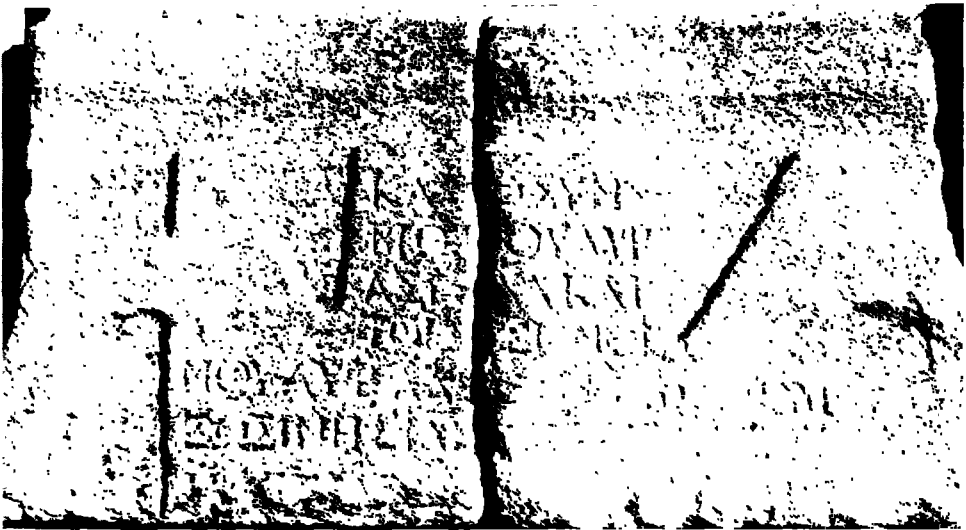


FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION AT PETWORTH.

The stone is broken on three sides, the top alone being undamaged; the rear surface, which is fairly smooth, seems also to have its ancient finish; height 0·56 m., width 1·04, thickness 0·12 to 0·155, height of the letters 0·03 to 0·35; width of the inscribed tablet 0·73. A vertical cleft has destroyed one or two letters in the middle of each line. The cutting away of the front surface to a depth of 0·015 m. has reserved a border 0·10 m. high along the upper edge, and a tablet (*tabula ansata*) having on each side bits of arcading. On this tablet, of which the base is missing, the latter half of the original text is engraved, and its beginning must have occupied a similar tablet situated to the left of ours. This fact, in connexion with the shape and size of the slab, shows it to be a fragment from one of the long faces of a sarcophagus; the lower sketch (Fig. 2) suggests how this unbroken face, probably about 2·40 m. wide, must have looked, the dimensions

here indicated and parts of the detail being, of course, conjectural. The sarcophagus, of a type common in the third and fourth centuries, may possibly have stood, as similar ones stand to this day at Hierapolis, on the roof of an oblong stone tomb-chamber. In my copy of the text letters or parts of letters erased are shown in dotted outline; enough traces of lettering remain to make the reading certain. The inscription doubtless began on the missing tablet somewhat as follows: 'This tomb I, Aurelia N,

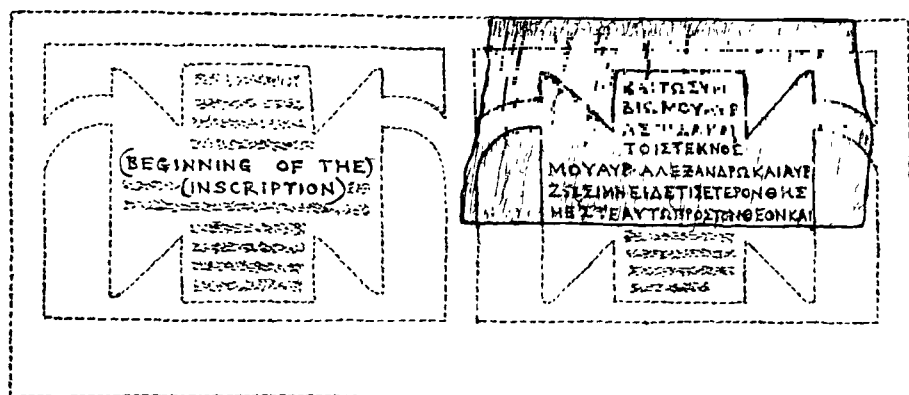
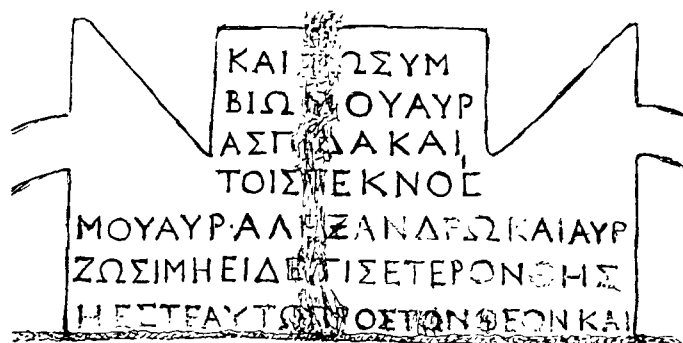


FIG. 2.—INSCRIPTION AND RESTORATION.

erected at my own expense for myself and for my parents'; it continues on the surviving tablet thus:

καὶ [τ]ῷ συμ-
βίῳ [μ]ου Αὐρ(ηλίῳ)
Ἀσπ[ί]δα καὶ
τοῖς [τ]έκνοις
5 μου Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Ἀλ[ε]ξάνδρῳ καὶ Αὐρ(ηλία)
Ζωσίμῃ· εἰ δ[έ] τις ἕτερον θήσ-
ῃ, ἔστω αὐτῷ [πρ]ὸς τ[ὸ]ν [Θ]εὸν καὶ
[θήσει εἰς το - - δηνάρια -]

(Translation)
'and for my husband Aurelius
Aspidas and for my children
Aurelius Alexander and Aurelia
Zosime; if any man puts in an
outsider, he shall answer to God
and [shall pay to . . . denarii].'

The names give no clue to the origin of the stone; that of *Aspidas* occurs frequently in Egyptian papyri (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*); *Alexandros* and *Zosime* were common. The solemn warning to violators (l. 7) seems to have been followed by the threat of a fine, probably of 1500 or more denarii, payable εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον or εἰς τὸν φύσκον; cf. *J.R.S.* xvi., 1926, pp. 58, 59, 70, nos. 177, 179, 194. The formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν is found on no other monument in this country, and even in Asia Minor is rare except in parts of Phrygia. This striking phrase—with the variants πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν, πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν Θεόν, πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοῦ Θεοῦ—was first recognised as Christian in 1883 by L. Duchesne (*Rev. d. quest. hist.* xxxiv., 1883, p. 31) and by W. M. Ramsay (*J.H.S.* iv., 1883, p. 401; *Rev. d. ét. gr.* ii., 1889, p. 25), while its cryptic character, full of menace to the initiated yet inoffensive to pagan readers, was first pointed out by F. Cumont (*Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* xv., 1895, pp. 252–55). From its occurrence in dated epitaphs Cumont showed that the formula was in use only from about 215 to about 280, and since our text is thus datable in that period, it must be one of the earliest Christian documents preserved in Great Britain.¹ Where this slab came from is a problem less simple than that of its date; perhaps its tufa may ultimately be recognised as having been used in some definite region, but till then its *provenance* will probably remain obscure. Our crypto-Christian threat is found on sepulchral monuments not only in Asia Minor but also in Thrace (Cumont, *loc. cit.*, p. 253, note 3); the same is true of the alternative formulae: δώσει λόγον τῷ Θεῷ and ἔξει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν (cf. *J.R.S.* xiv., 1924, pp. 37, 85 f.); therefore we cannot at present tell from which side of the Aegean this Petworth fragment was imported.²

W. H. BUCKLER.

¹ In reply to a question as to the dates of the early Christian objects in this country, Mr. R. G. Collingwood has kindly sent me the following note:

'(1) Foreign objects brought from abroad in recent times (as this Petworth fragment no doubt was): This class of object, though very numerous, is one of which nobody has yet made a systematic study, and my own information on it is scrappy.

(2) British objects proper: There is not one single Christian object or inscription whose date is certain to within narrow limits. The Silchester church had no dating evidence: people vaguely, and admittedly without definite grounds, call it fourth century. The Caerwent church (*Archaeologia*, lxxx, 235) was built well after the part of the town where it stood had fallen into decay; it must have been quite late, perhaps even post-Roman. There is a very obscure probably Christian tombstone at Risingham (*C.I.L.* vii., 1021) which Haverfield dated 300–350 by its style (*Archaeol. Aeliana*, ser. 3, xv., 9). Another probably Christian tombstone from Carlisle (*Eph. epigr.*

ix., 1222) he dated to the fourth century (*Arch. Ael. cit.* p. 13). I do not think anyone would judge these dates too late for the objects. A fragment of a third similar stone at Brougham does not seem to me much earlier (*Eph. epigr.* iii., 91): it might conceivably be late third century, but I should think it is more likely fourth. None of these are *explicitly* Christian, and they are the only inscriptions of Roman date—I exclude post-Roman things—that are generally regarded as Christian. I think, therefore, it would be safe to say that the Petworth stone is earlier than any of the extant monuments of Romano-British Christianity. Whether there are in Great Britain earlier Christian monuments which have been brought from abroad by modern collectors I cannot say.'

² If guessing were permissible, a likely spot for the export of this as of so many other antique marbles would be Cyzicus; two examples of the cryptic formula have been found there: *Inscr. gr. chrét. d'A.M.* 7, 8. It occurs also as far east as Philomelium; *J.H.S.* xviii., 1898, p. 113, 344.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Palace of Minos. By SIR ARTHUR EVANS. Volume III: The great Transitional Age in the northern and eastern Sections of the Palace: the most brilliant Records of Minoan Art and the evidences of an advanced Religion. Pp. xxiv + 325: 367 figures in the text, Plans, 13 coloured and 11 supplementary Plates. (Section of the 'Grand Staircase' and Plans and perspective drawing of the 'Domestic Quarter' in pocket at the end of the Volume.) Macmillan & Co., London, 1930. £5 5s.

The final part of the preceding volume of *The Palace of Minos* was devoted to a description of the West Wing of the Palace as it was in the Third Middle Minoan Period, which Sir Arthur Evans calls the great transitional age. This volume deals with the remaining parts of the Palace in this same period. But between the sections on the actual architecture we have, as in previous volumes, a series of what are almost separate treatises on various aspects of Minoan life and art, inserted as they arise naturally from each successive part of the elaborate description of the Palace, which forms the backbone and central thread of the whole work. It is these dissertations which give the book its distinctive character. It ceases to be merely an account of any one excavation, however important, and is transformed, by the use of the most varied archaeological evidence from every possible source, into a very full and rich description of every aspect of Minoan civilisation.

In the limits of this notice it is hardly possible to do more than mention the more important of the topics dealt with in this substantial volume, as fully packed with matter as its two predecessors. On the question of the restoration of the building itself and of the frescoes much might be said. To anyone acquainted with the Minoan method of building and the climate of Crete, the former requires in principle no defence at all: it is a choice between rebuilding and the total disappearance of the remains in any coherent form. And as to the precise form of any piece of restoration, we think that the most critical may feel it best to rely upon the judgment of the excavator and his architects. And, if left to themselves, without the skilful piecing together and additions effected by Evans and his assistant artists, the frescoes would be hardly more signi-

ficant than the ruins. Everyone who thinks on the matter must be grateful for the years of devoted labour which have brought so much that is valuable and beautiful out of the broken scraps which alone time has spared to us.

To turn to the book itself: in §§ 69-72 we have for the first time a full account of the Miniature Frescoes: the Temple Fresco, the picture of the Sacred Grove and Dance, and thirdly, the fragments of siege scenes, illustrated by the silver rhyton from the fourth shaft-grave at Mycenae. This vessel is now for the first time adequately published from new drawings. On pp. 101 to 106 Egyptian parallels are adduced, and Evans shows reason for believing that the scene on the rhyton actually represents 'some critical episode of Minoan colonial history.' Three coloured plates (XVI-XVIII) illustrate these sections. Plates XVI and XVIII, the former showing the Pillar Shrine and the second the Sacred Grove and Dance, are of especial interest, as showing how the Minoan artist could successfully deal with one of the most difficult problems of wall-decoration involving masses of detail. From close all this detail must be clearly shown, and from a distance, where the detail is hardly visible, the whole effect must be made attractive. This the artist has solved by dividing the whole surface into broad masses of striking and contrasting colours, and on these masses he has set his finer details. Thus in Plate XVIII the crowd of men is a mass of red, the women show as white, and the trees are bold shapes of blue, upon which little leaves are painted, and these main masses make in themselves a pleasant and attractive design, quite independent of the actual subject represented. Something of the same solution is to be seen on some of the painted stuccoes of the Alhambra, and we may add on some good modern wall-papers. In this same section, on pp. 77, 78, we are given a most interesting comparison between the Minoan fondness for gesticulation as shown in these frescoes and the practice in modern Naples: both are contrasted with the apparently quieter postures seen in ancient Greek art, possibly the result of some artistic tradition of greater reserve. In § 71, in connexion with the picture of the Sacred Grove and Dance, the author discusses the 'dancing-place of Ariadne,' and illustrates the whole subject by an account of the present

traditional dances of the Cretan peasants. Two remarks may here be permitted. The μα(ν)τινάδες mentioned on p. 78 are more or less isolated rhymed couplets, half traditional and half impromptu, in which case one singer will declaim the first line, and the rhyme be capped, as Evans says, by a second singer.¹ Also one couplet commonly suggests the subject for the next. On p. 80 we have a drawing of the little fiddle (λύρα) used at these dances, and its bow. Though hawking is no longer practised in Crete, the little brass bells on the bow are still called hawk-bells, γερακοκούδουνα.

The next section, § 73, is mainly devoted to the engraved designs in gold and silver on the blades of daggers. The author begins with an account of a painting of a bull's head with incredible minuteness and delicacy on the back of a plaque of crystal. The very fortunate preservation of a piece of rope above the bull's head makes it possible to reconstruct the picture of which this is a fragment, as that of a bull checked in his course by a stretched rope and then thrown down by a cowboy. For this reconstruction recourse is made to a scene on one of the Vapheio cups: an example of the author's strength in applying the whole of the extant material to the solution of a problem. The inlaid daggers from the shaft-graves at Mycenae next come up, with a fresh account of the technique by which these pictures on and in metal were produced. A blade from Vapheio, at first supposed to be plain, but since shown by Marinatos to be decorated with swimming men, is discussed and illustrated; then, with full comparative material, the flying fish on yet another Vapheio dagger. The references to modern life are here particularly charming and interesting.² All these works are shown to be M.M. III.

In § 74 we come to the great Ring of Nestor. The author first demonstrates the resemblance of the designs on all these gold signet-rings to the miniature frescoes on the walls of the Palace, and this is brought out by a coloured translation of the design on this Ring of Nestor into a painting of this class (Plate XX A). The peculiar form of these rings and the smallness of the hoop, often so small as to be unwearable, is explained

by their derivation from a 'tubular bead with a signet-plate set on it longitudinally,' so that they were not originally intended to be worn on the finger at all, but rather to be suspended, perhaps from the neck (p. 139). The exposition of this development compares with the author's equally convincing derivation of a whole series of Cretan rhytons from the ostrich egg, which we had in the second volume (pp. 221-27), from the early M.M. II. ovoid examples down to the elongated pear-shaped rhytons of L.M. I.b. The Ring of Nestor itself is then described and figured. The author, making use of a wealth of learning, interprets (p. 145) the scenes upon it as 'the solitary glimpse that we possess of the Minoan underworld and of the admission of the departed into the realms of bliss.' In this and in the connexion of the rings with wall-paintings we may feel that we are to some extent entering into a region of conjecture, but conjectures which result from a combination of learning and sympathy are of no small value. And on p. 156 Evans goes even further. Such a wall-picture of the Abode of the Blessed may well, he feels, be an illustration of some earlier poetic version, 'much as the celebrated painting of Odysseus in Hades by Polygnotos reflects in the main the Homeric Nekyia.' And the section ends with a hint of 'Epic treatment long preceding the Homeric Nekyia,' of, as it were, Minoan Homers, precursors of Demodokos, inspiring earlier painters than Polygnotos to paint their designs upon the walls of the Palace of Minos, and so in their turn to provide themes for the Cretan jewellers and workers in the precious metals.

The Porticoes in the North Entrance Passage were adorned with painted reliefs of scenes of bulls being hunted among olive trees, similar to those on the Vapheio cups. This brings us to a long discussion of sixty pages (pp. 172-232) on the art of catching wild bulls as practised by the Minoans, and then on the sports of the bull-ring. All the evidence is marshalled for a feat which, however extraordinary, seems to have been the characteristic performance of the Cretan sport: a man would throw a complete somersault over the back of a bull, which approached him charging with lowered head. The man seized the horns of the bull, was thrown over the beast's back and landed on the ground behind. Differing entirely from the Spanish *taurumakhia*, the Cretan sport seems to have been always an athletic *taurokathapsia*. When we have the actual death of the bull, we have clearly to deal with a sacrifice, as on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, not the inevitable end of the sport of the arena. It seems likely that the lower part of the Temple fresco depicted some such bull-

¹ A great number of these couplets have been published, for the most part from the islands. For Crete there is a rich collection in Anton Jeannarakis ('Jannaris') *Ἀϊσματῶν κρητικῶν*.

² The word for a *flying fish* is not *χελιδονοψαρί* but *χελιδονόψαρο*. We note here also that the erratum slip which corrects a phrase on p. 97, note 2, is itself wrong. What Marinatos actually wrote was on p. 81 *βυθιζομένων πλοίων*, and on p. 82, *βυθιζόμενα πλοία*, *foundering ships*.

grappling scenes (p. 61). That the bulls were caught in the country appears from the olive trees associated with them, and the author shows the delicacy with which the Minoan artist distinguished the seasonal variation in the foliage. But it cannot, we think, be said that the alternation of red and white in the olive twigs on the M.M. II.b fragment in Fig. 112 represents this variation in tint. The red and white are here in no way representational; they are merely an example of the common device on Middle Minoan pottery of repeating the same motive in red and white alternatively. Many examples of this were found at Palaikastro.¹

We are next brought back to the architectural analysis of the building itself, and pass to the description of a fresco found in a *loggia* opening on the Grand Staircase on the eastern side of the Great Court. The main design of this was a row of figure-of-eight shields in front of a horizontal band of spirals. A similar piece of work on a smaller scale at Tiryns is attributed to a Minoan craftsman trained in the Palace School of Knossos. The fresco belongs to the close of L.M. I.a: such a warlike decoration at precisely this period the author is inclined to connect with the then 'great reinforcement of Minoan influences on the Mainland and Aegaeon side,' and to suggest the possibility of aggressive enterprises in several directions at this time of the 'overweening power of the Lords of Knossos.' He points out that this was a time when many Cretan cities outside Knossos were destroyed; Palaikastro, Gournia and even Phaistos (pp. 307, 308). These shields were painted on the walls: in the Hall of the Double Axes below we learn (p. 343) that actual shields were probably suspended on the walls. Of this Hall we are given a finely coloured reconstructed view, with a noble Minoan youth seated and an attendant kneeling by the brazier. On pp. 314-17 we have a note on the 'Religious Aspect of the Minoan Shield.'

The next section, § 84, deals with the Queen's Megaron. First the domestic quarters at Knossos and Tiryns are compared. The author's views on these difficult questions are well known. They appear in the notable sentence on p. 351: 'There is, indeed, a much greater fundamental community between the Mycenaean and the Minoan plans than archaeologists—affected by a kind of "Helladic" mirage—have hitherto been willing to admit.' Here came to light some probably M.M. II.a fresco painting: yellow

spottings on a dark ground, aptly compared with a Victorian wall-paper, carried out, it seems, certainly by dabbing the paint on with a small sponge; a kind of nature-printing. This may be connected with the beginnings of the 'marine style' in M.M. I: here, as throughout, Evans is able to bring wall and vase painting into the closest and most instructive connexion. Frescoes and bathrooms are then discussed, and finally some slabs with cup-shaped holes in a circle: they seem to have been used for some kind of pavement game. The finest of these cupped tables was found by the French at Mallia: it is figured on p. 393. The French incline to regard these objects as tables of offerings: in support of his own view Evans adduces a delightful little fragment of fresco (Plate XXV), which shows us a group of boys, who can hardly be doing anything else but playing some sort of game on the pavement. In contrast to the University of Cambridge in a later age, we must suppose the 'playing marbles on the senate-house steps' was not forbidden in the Palace of Knossos.

The Queen's Megaron and its dependencies surround, 'wrap round, as it were,' on both floors a windowless space used for stores and treasure: the objects found here are described in §§ 85 and 86. Space fails even to mention most of these. Some steatite objects were among them, which have been most interestingly identified as the hair and side-locks of a sphinx of some considerable size. The clue to this was afforded by the small steatite sphinx from Hagia Triada, an imported object of Anatolian fabric. Further comparison with a Chaldaean stone inkstand in the form of a dog makes it plain that the Hagia Triada sphinx, which has a cylindrical hollow in the back, served for this purpose. As Evans points out, if the Knossos object served as a receptacle, it must have been one of much greater capacity. Finally, he cites and illustrates a similar sphinx from Tyllissos with two hollows on the back, and hints (p. 426) at a double inkstand for red and black ink. The section closes with the beautiful ivory figure of a leaping youth.

The next section, § 87, is devoted to the Boston Goddess and the Boy-God, both probably from these same treasuries. Evans connects them together, and interprets the group (p. 456) as 'the Divine Child adoring the Mother Goddess.' Of the bronze figures of youths in an attitude of adoration he then publishes (p. 459) a magnificent example now in the Museum at Athens. A full and important discussion of the religious import of these figures follows.

In § 88 the Great 'East Hall' is resuscitated. But we must hasten on to the last section in the

¹ For examples see *B.S.A., Supplementary Papers*, p. 12, and Plates VIII, B, D; *k, l*; XI, A; all of M.M. I vases.

book. Here the author, keeping the best wine to the last, produces the discovery which, though next to nothing is to be seen by the eye, is the one of all the others which may most kindle the imagination. What has hitherto been lacking to Minoan art is any evidence of statuary of full size in the round. The nearest things we have had are the coloured reliefs to which this section of the book is largely devoted. But on p. 522 we get far beyond this in a discovery modestly headed 'Bronze Locks of Great Wooden Statue.' Of the same Middle Minoan III.b date as the reliefs from the 'East Hall,' and near the boundary of this same hall, the excavator came upon a mass of carbonised wood, and with it four curling locks of hair in bronze, which clearly came from the forehead and temples of a female head. The mass of charcoal leads to the conclusion that these locks belonged to a great wooden statue of more than life-size, perhaps as much as nine feet high, a giant statue of the Minoan Goddess herself. The volume ends with a vision of what this statue must have been to the worshippers. We may not here steal more of Sir Arthur Evans' thunder, but we cannot refrain from closing this notice with the last words of his book, in which he describes the statue as 'a radiant vision of divinity, as if descended from on high.'

R. M. D.

Haus und Hof im Altertum : Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des antiken Wohnbaus. I. Band: **Die Grundformen des Hausbaus.** By FRANZ OELMANN. Pp. vii + 132; 85 illustrations, one map. Berlin and Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1927. 40 m.

This important volume is designed as the foundation of a detailed study of ancient dwelling-houses in Egypt, the Near East, Greece, Italy, and the Roman provinces of northern Europe. Dr. Oelmann draws upon a vast literature, covering the whole inhabited world, but he presents his conclusions so clearly and simply that it is easy to forget the vast learning which supports them. He deals here almost exclusively with existing or recent types, reserving for later sections the reconstruction of ancient remains.

A book so packed with matter cannot be adequately summarised. It must be enough to say that Oelmann begins with a very clear classification of climatic zones, illustrated by a large map, and that this classification is of fundamental importance for his later arguments. He then deals successively with round, rectangular, and mixed ground-plans, single and multiplied. Very clear small drawings make the definitions

easy to follow, and great trouble is taken to furnish the student with an adequate equipment of technical terms, based on features of real importance.

Many familiar theories are decisively rejected, such as the great importance of cave-dwellings, and the derivation of the *zikkurat* from the natural hill (a derivation still maintained by Andrae in *Das Gotteshaus*). Oelmann claims most novelty for his derivation of the true flat-roofed house from the drying-platform raised on four posts. In general he regards rainfall as far more decisive than heat and cold in determining the all-important matter of the method of roofing.

The countless generalisations of such a pioneer work inevitably vary in cogency, and later discovery will doubtless refute many points of detail, but the foundations are well laid, and the later parts of the book will be eagerly awaited by all students of ancient architecture.

Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient. By W. ANDRAE. Pp. x + 96; 98 illustrations, 4 plates. (*Studien zur Bauforschung herausgegeben von der Koldewey-Gesellschaft*: Heft 2.) Berlin: H. Schoetz, 1930.

This book is an elaborate study of the temple-types of ancient Mesopotamia. The author begins by sharply distinguishing the raised *zikkurat*, as the god's dwelling-place, from the 'Erscheinungstempel' on the ground-level: he adds the Assyrian temple as a third distinct form with northern affinities. The second main division of the book deals with details of temple structure (pavement, doors, supports, roof, and the like), and the third attempts a comprehensive answer to the many questions of origin and significance raised in the earlier sections. Reed-construction, earth-construction, and brick-construction are explained as successive stages in evolution. The book is packed with matter and extremely interesting, and it is lit up from beginning to end by the writer's burning determination to penetrate the thoughts and motives of the ancient builders. The same spirit inspires a brief Appendix designed to vindicate Koldewey's personality from Erman's recent criticisms.

D. S. R.

Der Dorische Tempel, dargestellt am Poseidon-tempel zu Paestum. By MAX RAPHAEL. Pp. 112: 6 line block-plates and 24 photographic plates, and 2 line blocks in text. Augsburg: Dr. B. Filser, 1930. 12s. /

This is yet another book on the vexed question of Greek temple design. Admittedly the Doric order is much the best for the purposes of the

theorist. The difficulties inseparable from the setting out of its triglyphs and metopes suggest that some method must have been adopted, but, as usual, Herr Raphael is too complicated. A careful examination of his diagrams fails to convince that many of the lines he inserts have any real meaning. Some of them (but only a very few) are valuable, and these we can be glad of.

The buildings selected for particular examination are the Poseidon Temple at Paestum, the Concord Temple at Agrigentum, the Segesta Temple, and three of the temples at Selinus. There are plans and frontal diagrams of four of these, and cross and part longitudinal sectional diagrams of the Paestum example. If the accuracy of the frontal diagrams can be depended on, it is interesting to compare them for general effects of proportion. The Paestum Temple and the Concord Temple are both similar in ratio of height to width and yet they are obviously radically different. It is also hard to believe that the entablature of the Concord Temple is actually higher in relation to the column height than in the Paestum Temple. These things are really instructive.

We are, in fact, waiting for a simpler and more constructive work: and now that so many theorists have had their say, it is overdue. In general *setting-out*, Greek temple design must have been simple: and the dissimilarities and refinements would naturally arise from the *working out*, the true architectural method. Starting from these premises we could get much help from the diagrams in this book. Thus, in the Paestum Temple, the plan width to length on the top step of the stylobate is as 1 to 2½: for temple D (Selinus) and the Concord Temple it is 1 to about 2½. In the Parthenon it is 1 to 2¼. In both Poseidon (Paestum) and Concord fronts the ratio of half the width to the height from top of stylobate to top of frieze is as 1 to 1. In the plans also the main diagonals shown by Herr Raphael seem to suggest some simple method for arriving at cella length and width.

T. F.

Topographie von Athen. By WALTHER JUDEICH. Pp. xii + 473: 24 plates, 56 figs. in the text, 4 plans (in pocket at end). (Second edition, entirely revised: I. von Mueller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, III. 2, ii.) Munich: Beck, 1931. 33 m. (sewn), 38 m. (cloth).

The laborious task of bringing out a new, and in many respects enlarged, edition of Iwan von Mueller's *Handbuch*, with Professor Otto of Munich as general editor, is one for which we cannot be sufficiently grateful to the publisher

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and to the many scholars concerned. Judeich's *Topographie von Athen* was admittedly one of the very best contributions to the original series, on its appearance in 1905; and his new edition, issued in January 1931, is now before us. Comparing it with the first edition, we see that it contains 473 as against 420 pages, and 56 as against 48 text-figures: a fourth plan is added to the original three, showing, on a small scale, the various city-walls from primitive to Turkish times; and a welcome innovation is the insertion of twenty-seven photographs, on twenty-four plates, most of which are reproduced from Hege's illustrated work on the Acropolis (reviewed recently in this *Journal* (Vol. L., 1930, pp. 341 ff.). The general arrangement of the book is unaltered, but it is made more attractive to read, without loss of convenience as a work of reference, by the abolition of the numbered paragraphs of the old edition, and by the relegation to the footnotes of all the references to authorities: even now the notes are not of repellent length. And it is an immense advantage to have Attic inscriptions cited, wherever possible, by their numbers in the *Editio Minor*.

It must be admitted with regret that the printing is not up to the standard of accuracy which we are entitled to expect in this series. We note errors in the references to the text-figures (p. 222, where 26 should be 23, 24; and p. 243¹, where 28 should be 27). There are many mistakes in the printing of Greek (e.g. pp. 162², 165, 177, 419⁶, 420 f³, and 466, Index, s.v. Ὑβ(ρ)εας), the worst example being on p. 236, where, in transcribing the two versions of the epigram from the votive quadriga of 506 B.C., there are no less than seven inaccuracies—one letter omitted, and four brackets and two accents wrongly placed. Proper names and initials are not always given correctly: e.g. 'Frikenhaus' (pp. 75¹, 341²); 'C.' H. Hill (p. 250); 'D.' M. Paton (p. 270²); Welter for Weller (p. 417³); Pickard for Pickard-Cambridge (p. 310¹); and on the general title-page Muncheh appears for München. Bruckner's work on the Eridanos-Cemetery is once given an incorrect title (p. 411²), and in two notes on p. 401 is dated once as 1901 and once (correctly) 1909; *Jahreshefte* II (1906) should be IX (1906) on p. 345¹. In the description of the site of the Athena Promachos (p. 234) some confusion seems to have produced the baffling phrase 'zwischen Propyläen und Propyläen von Norden aus gesehen,' and an unfortunate misprint of ξ for ζ (p. 235¹) stultifies the argument about the date of the inscription in which Dinsmoor recognises the building-record of the Promachos itself. Such errors in small details will not obscure the real value of the new edi-

tion, which consists, as might be expected, in the author's presentation of the vast mass of material which has accumulated during the last twenty-five years. As he says in his Introduction, although few great new discoveries have been made, there has been no cessation of activity. In fact, we may say without exaggeration that all the principal monuments of Athens have been studied again and again during this period: in some cases by means of supplementary excavation, or in connexion with works of conservation or restoration, or, again, in the light of detailed architectural analysis, or of improved texts of the building-inscriptions concerning them. Moreover, the excavations at the Dipylon and Kerameikos, at the Odeion of Perikles, and at the cemetery recently found beneath the old Royal stables on Stadion St., to say nothing of minor researches in many regions of the city, have resulted in substantial additions to our knowledge of Athenian topography. None of this activity has escaped the vigilant eye of Professor Judeich, who has incorporated the essential results in his text, and has given us references to all the pertinent literature. We note only one omission: he has not seen W. A. Sisson's valuable study of the Library of Hadrian in *Papers of the B.S.R.*, xi., pp. 50 ff., although he has included references to other publications dated 1930. In dealing with this vast accession of material, which has involved the rewriting of many pages, and the insertion of fresh *data* on almost every one, the author manages to keep his descriptions terse and admirably clear, and maintains a just proportion between the essential and the secondary. No serious contribution is condemned unheard, while rash speculations meet with summary justice.

On some controversial points the author frankly admits to having changed his mind. For example, he is now a thoroughgoing adherent of Dörpfeld, not only in the Enneakrounos problem but also in regard to the 'Old Athena Temple,' as he foreshadowed by his article in *Hermes*, lxi. (1929). The Opisthodomos is, accordingly, to be identified with the western compartment of the 'Old Temple' (which, on his view, as rebuilt without its peristyle after 480, and again after the fire of 406, stood till Roman times), and not, as he had previously held, with a separate building (the Chalkotheke) west of the Parthenon. His last word on the question will be found on p. 459, under *Nachträge und Berichtigungen*, where he deals with objections raised by Professor W. Kolbe (who has since elaborated his position in reviewing Walter's *Akropolis-Führer*, in *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1931, 71 ff., 101 ff.). We must resist the temptation to

linger over this famous problem, but may briefly notice the author's attitude on a few other disputed points. In regard to the original plan of the Erechtheion, he suspends judgment as between Dörpfeld and his critics, and does not believe that the building was injured in the fire of 406; and likewise he leaves open the question as to whether there was a temple in the precinct of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis. On the other hand, he decides firmly against Buschor's 'Ur-Parthenon,' and against Heberdey's early Propylon with poros-sculptures in its pediment. Regarding the route of the Panathenaic procession, he has altered his opinion, being now convinced that the market-gateway of Athena Archegetis cannot have been a 'Festtor' and that the location of the Eleusinion below the north-east angle of the Acropolis rests on insufficient evidence. He is convinced that the 'Theseion' is the temple of Hephaistos, but hesitates over the exact site of the Heliæia and the derivation of the name. He would locate it near the foot either of the N.-E. slope of the Areiopagos or of the N.-W. slope of the Acropolis; and inclines towards Wachsmuth's suggestion that its name comes from—or is connected with—ἥλις, in the sense of 'low-lying,' rather than from ἥλιος or ἀλιάζεσθαι, adding that the name in its original form seems not to have been aspirated.

These samples must suffice us, and it is scarcely necessary to add that the book in its revised form will deservedly rank for many years to come as the standard work on Athenian topography. Whilst we share the author's regret that the excavation of the Hellenic Agora had not begun before his new edition was ready, we may assure him that the excavators of that region will be deeply grateful to him for the invaluable assistance which this book will afford them at every stage of their undertaking.

A. M. W.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part II: Architecture and Sculpture. By DAVID M. ROBINSON. Pp. 155 + xxii; 307 figs., 3 coloured plates, 1 large folding plate. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930.

In these days when the standard of excavation is already high, and the technique becoming yearly more perfect, there is no excuse for an ill-conducted excavation. Archaeologists make it a matter of principle not to employ large numbers of workmen without the most expert and careful supervision, or to confuse evidence by overhasty search for results. Nor do the Archaeological Schools usually entrust a site, whether large or small, to anyone who has not

had adequate training. The methods adopted at Olynthus were, therefore, a shock to those who saw or heard of them, nor will their reputation be retrieved by the volume under discussion.

This consists of an account of the actual excavation and descriptions of architecture, sculpture, lamps and loom-weights, that of the loom-weights being by Miss Lillian Wilson. Small finds of artistic merit—masks, vases, bronzes and coins—are reserved for another volume. As is already known, the most interesting feature of the site is the presence of large, handsome houses of the *impluvium* type, all of which must be earlier than 348 B.C.

The description of these houses is the least confusing part of a remarkably ill-arranged book. Elsewhere, one is alienated by accounts of rapidly deepening trenches which are hard to locate, by the inclusion in the text of unnecessary measurements suitable for footnotes, and by unconvincing deduction. For instance, on p. 5 we read 'In many of the rooms fragments of pithoi, of neolithic black polished ware, many celts, many sub-Mycenaean potsherds, knob-handles and "wishing-bone handles," several plain rough black kitchen pots of terra-cotta, a few Corinthian vase fragments, several black-figured potsherds, pieces of red-figured and even black-stamped ware and terra-cottas were found without any stratification. It would seem that these houses had been inhabited from at least 600 B.C. down to the destruction in 348 B.C.' Progress is impeded by groups of plates inserted at intervals in the text, and difficulties exaggerated by the fact that the survey of the area is not divided into squares nor lettered to correspond with the text. The reader has, therefore, to work hard, and results do not repay him.

I have never seen a worse collection of photographs. Those of walls, trenches and objects *in situ* are more often than not out of focus; the most disgraceful examples are Figs. 34, 52, 109, and 135. If the correct focus has been attained, the result is spoilt by the fact that the walls have not been cleaned, or by the groups of gratified workmen who play so large a part. The 'finds' fare no better: one of the least satisfactory is perhaps the marble statuette of a woman described as follows: 'She is décolleté (*sic*) but wears an outer garment falling in curves over the upper body.'

With pictures like this, contrast the excellent photographs of the dig-house and the refuge quarter which brighten the preface: also the extravagant panoramic views. Most surprising of all are certain photographs which reveal the digging actually in progress: of these Fig. 233 should certainly have been suppressed, since it

gives the impression, no doubt wrongly, that the workmen are indulging in the unfortunate process known as 'breaking down from the top.'

W. L.

Corinth. Vol. III, Part I: Results of the Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1926. By CARL WILLIAM BLEGEN, OSCAR BRONEER, RICHARD STILLWELL, and ALFRED R. BELLINGER. Pp. ix + 75; 8 plates, 60 figs.

This prompt and business-like publication deserves a warm welcome. Most travellers and many archaeologists have had but a vague knowledge of Upper Peirene, and no knowledge at all of the classical remains on the Acrocorinth. The latter are so meagre that Dr. Blegen's examination of them must have been depressing work: his careful publication and his success in making the most of them deserves all the greater praise. One is impressed that an expert in prehistoric pottery should prove to be so sound an architect.

The most interesting part of the book is the discussion of Upper Peirene by Richard Stillwell. This is admirably written and beautifully planned. Another excellent plan is the survey of the whole Acrocorinth by Major Yannakopoulos. The inscriptions, by Dr. Broneer, have an importance of their own, since they use a formula known from Plutarch, and illustrated by certain other groups of inscriptions: ἐμνήσθη ὁ δαίμων τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶ.

Nearly eight pages are devoted to the coins, but if they deserve the careful treatment Mr. Bellinger has given them, they deserve also a plate or a figure to illustrate them. Apart from this, the book is an example as to how the excavators of the less attractive and sensational sites should fulfil their obligations to science.

W. L.

Corinth V: The Roman Villa. By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR. Pp. 26, with 11 plates. Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1930. 10s.

A mistaken conviction that it was desirable to publish the mosaic head of Dionysos life-size has led to the production of a portfolio nearly three feet long and over two feet wide, weighing 14 pounds and costing £2. The printing and coloured collotype are naturally impeccable; but we may be permitted to wonder whether the material justifies this overwhelmingly sumptuous treatment.

The most interesting features of the villa are the mosaics, and the most curious fact about the

mosaics is that they fit very badly into the rooms which contain them. As Mr. Shear points out, they are evidently earlier than the existing remains of the walls: and as fragments of pottery and 12 coins of the pre-Mummiian period have been found in and about the villa, he considers that the mosaics belong to a house of the Hellenistic age. It is unlikely that an important house would have been erected and decorated in the century of Corinth's abandonment, between 146 and 46: and the pavements are therefore Hellenistic work of the first half of the second century B.C. or Roman of the second half of the first century B.C. or later. Twenty-four Roman coins of various dates between Domitian and Constantine III. as well as medieval and modern coins, testify to the inhabitation of the site at all the periods under discussion. The chief evidence for dating is the evidence of the mosaics themselves.

Mr. Shear is decidedly in favour of the earlier dating. He remarks that undoubted pavements of the fourth century exist in Greece, so that the old view that no Hellenistic mosaics survive [cf. Blanchet, *La Mosaïque*, p. 34] must be abandoned: and he quotes parallels from the house of the consul Attalus at Pergamon, Delos, and the *Thermae* by the *Kladeos* at Olympia. But the Corinth mosaics do not show the characteristic marks of early work. A very large number of tints is employed in the figure subjects, some of them in tessellae of coloured glass: this is exceptional before the first century A.D. The figure panels are executed in tessellae of the same size as those used for the geometrical patterns, and not as separate emblemata in a minuter style: this again is rare before the Roman period, and indeed not common until the second century A.D. The drawing and colouring are of the bold effective type characteristic of Roman imperial work, not finicky and too closely subservient on the painted model, as usually in panels of the Hellenistic style. Therefore, unless the party walls can be proved early, it seems safer to take our cue from the Roman coin-series and to date the floors in the second half of the first century A.D. Though this robs them of their rarity, they remain important specimens of ancient mosaic, which the late Mrs. Shear's admirable drawings have made fully accessible.

R. H.

Churches at Jerash. By J. W. CROWFOOT. Pp. 48, with 13 plates and 1 plan. London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem [Supplementary Papers 3], 1931.

This preliminary report of the Yale-British School excavations at Jerash in 1928-30 is

devoted to the remains of churches on six distinct sites: the fountain complex and the propylaea area in the centre of the town; the synagogue to the N.W.; a group of four in the W. quarter; a group of two to the S.W.; and two on the E. bank. These date from the fourth century to the beginning of the seventh. The earliest are those of the fountain complex; W. of this was the church of St. Theodore [494-6]. At the N.E. end of the town the church of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs had been built in 464-5. The greatest church-building activity, however, took place in the second quarter of the sixth century: in 526 a church was built to the S.E.; in 529-33 a group of three were completed to the W. of St. Theodore's; in 530-1 one was built on the site of the synagogue. Shortly after, Bishop Anastasius dedicated a large church to SS. Peter and Paul: and about the middle of the century the largest basilica in the town was erected in a forecourt to the E. of the propylaea leading to the temple of Artemis. The latest church which has hitherto been excavated is that of Bishop Genesius, built near the W. gate in 611.

The importance of Jerash in late antiquity and the fortunate circumstance that many of its chief buildings are exactly dated make it a real *point d'appui* for the history of early Christian architecture and decorative art. The results of Mr. Crowfoot's excavations enrich our knowledge of Syrian church-building in several respects and enable us to correct hasty generalisations by earlier writers. For example, Butler's contention that stone ambos were not used in Syria [*Early Churches in Syria*, p. 216] is disproved by the remains of ten in Jerash alone. Mr. Crowfoot, comparing the buildings at Jerash with those in Jerusalem and descriptions of others in Eusebius and Choricus, concludes that the local differences, on which Butler laid so much stress, are small compared with the general congruity of the Syrian tradition.

If the architectural evidence is significant, that of the decoration is even more so. The churches of Jerash bear out the testimony of Choricus to the splendours of the churches at Gaza: all have mosaic floors which are not only masterpieces in themselves, but which add greatly to our understanding of late antique art. The most striking are the representations of Alexandria and Memphis in the churches of St. John the Baptist [A.D. 531] and SS. Peter and Paul [c. 530-40]; though conventionalised, these townscapes seem to contain symbolic views of the most notable buildings in the two chief cities of Egypt, and their topographical importance is real. The method of representing architecture may be compared with that used on fourth and fifth century works

such as the Lateran sarcophagus with the denial of St. Peter, the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, and the wooden doors of S. Sabina, for all of which a Syrian origin has been claimed: the contemporary views of Ravenna in S. Apollinare Nuovo are more realistic and seem to belong to a purer Hellenistic tradition, like that of the apse of S. Pudenziana.

Almost all traces of human beings have been obliterated, either by orthodox iconoclasts or fanatical Mohammedans; and where they are preserved, as in the nave of SS. Cosmas and Damian, they are conspicuously less successful than the purely decorative elements. Mr. Crowfoot gives a useful diagram of characteristic scroll-borders. These differ considerably from the sharp-toothed types preferred by Coptic carvers and N. African mosaicists; on the other hand, they are close to the type found in the Dome of the Rock and at Samarra. The purely geometric pavements resemble those in the palace of Theodoric at Ravenna, and others at Samos, Salona, and Epidauros; the *asaroton* type, so popular in N. Africa, occurs at Jerash only in the Alexandrian landscapes and the awkward animal-pavement in the synagogue. It looks as though Syrian decorators preferred to cover their floors with the logical geometric patterns popularised by Roman taste, whereas the Alexandrian and N. African mosaicists liked to transfer to the floor the all-over landscape more appropriate to a wall.

R. H.

Die Antiken in Budapest : I. Abteilung : Die Skulpturen. By ANTON HEKLER. Pp. 179, with numerous text-figures. Vienna: Krystallverlag, 1929.

Professor Hekler has done a valuable work in publishing the antique sculpture at Budapest in one convenient volume with excellent illustrations and descriptions in a generally intelligible tongue: many important pieces, hitherto provided with a Magyar commentary alone, now enter the world of international archaeology. His material is derived from the National Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts, and the three private collections of Count Julius Andrassy, N. Baumgarten, and Edm. Faragó.

The most significant pieces in the Museum of Fine Arts are: [7] a copy of a youth's head, after an Argive work of the Olympia period, with characteristic long hair. [8] a small Argive head [c. 470] of a man in a pointed felt hat, which has stylistic affinities with Locrian terra-cottas. [10] a fragmentary marble head, of excellent quality, after a Peloponnesian bronze [c. 460-50], of which there are replicas in the Terme, the

Barracco collection, and Athens. [13] a youth's torso from an original by a sculptor related to the master of the Apollo on the Omphalos. [16] a fragmentary figure of a moving woman: Attic, c. 440. [20] a fragmentary stele with a lekythos in relief: the style of the horsemen dates it to the Dexileos period, c. 394. [24] a girl's head of the Praxitelean school [c. 350] which H. compares with the Tarentum head (*Jahrb.*, 1923-4, p. 261, fig. 131. [26] a male torso: last quarter of fourth century. [59] a striking Hellenistic male portrait [second century]. [76] a Hellenistic statuette with a twisted pose resembling that of terra-cottas. [81] a Pergamene relief with Bellerophon subduing Pegasus. [86] an incised decorative slab: according to H., of porphyry, though neither the photograph nor the alleged date [second half of third century B.C.] appear to confirm this. [92] a relief fragment with fighting Gauls from Lecce which H. associates with the battle of Telamon [225]. [107] a Roman relief perhaps referring to the battle of Actium, but of Julio-Claudian date. [121] a Flavio-Trajanian bust, interesting for the design of the base. [125] an important Antonine relief-portrait: H.'s dating 160-70 seems on the early side.

The much smaller collection in the National Museum contains a torso from Perinthos of the first half of the sixth century [151] overlooked by Langlotz, a curious Etrusco-Roman head [161], and a little known bust of Philippus Arabs [166]. The Andrassy coll. contributes an indifferent replica of the Apollo on the Omphalos [173]: the Baumgarten coll., a notable Hellenistic portrait-fragment [174]: and the Faragó coll., an important Antonine philosopher-bust [176].

Prof. Hekler's descriptions and bibliographical apparatus are as exemplary as we should expect.

R. H.

Die Melischen Reliefs. By PAUL JACOBSTHAL. Pp. 219, with 77 figures in the text and 77 collotype plates. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1931.

What does a student seek in the corpus of a distinct class of monuments like the terra-cotta reliefs called Melian? He wants all the examples collected, scrutinised, illustrated. He wants especially to be satisfied that the compiler has studied each piece carefully and that he records all there is to record about it, including its condition and the technical evidences. Finally, he wants to know the conclusions to which such study leads: to what use the reliefs were put, what was the place of manufacture, what the date: and a general treatise on their immediate artistic connections will not come amiss. All these requirements are amply satisfied by

Jacobsthal's admirable catalogue. His name is a guarantee of the most conscientious personal study of every piece. The collection is comprehensive, the scrutiny vigilant, the illustrations of the highest standard. The reliefs are arranged in sequence of style, there is an accurate description of each, and a discussion of the scene represented. Conclusions, therefore, seem to come as of necessity. The method of manufacture is deduced from the evidence of the reliefs themselves: the record of surviving traces of colour allows us to imagine the original appearance. What evidence is there for the factory at Melos? The clay gives no clue to an exact origin, though it proves that all the reliefs save five are of the same fabric. Nor are the statistics of the widely distributed finds conclusive. What then of the style? After the mid-fifth century it has, like so many things of the time, an Attic flavour, but before that it is an Ionic-island *koine*—there are connexions with Naxos, Paros, Chios and the N. Greek mainland—and Melos, not in itself a probable source, has the greatest number of attested finds. The hypothesis of a Melian origin is nicely corroborated by a coin (the only Melian document available for comparison) which bears the type of a young man's head in a pointed helmet, and is certainly very like some of the reliefs.

Purpose: one relief seems to have been a votive offering, since it was found in a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Cos: some may have been simple grave-gifts. But they are pierced with holes (not at the point of balance and therefore not for suspension), and thus were made to be nailed to a backing of wood or the like, to caskets, perhaps to coffins, for which some of the subjects are suitable: set in metope-like frames, they formed a substitute for more expensive materials—gold, ivory; and methods—inlay, repoussé. Possibly the caskets were exported complete with decoration: otherwise it is hard to explain the finding of these foreign reliefs at Locri, which had its own factory. But they are good judges of coal at Newcastle.

B. A.

Le Trésor de Tarente. By P. WUILLEUMIER.
Pp. xi + 139, with 16 plates. Paris:
Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1930.

In this elaborate study of the Tarentum treasure, now in the collection of the Baron Edmond de Rothschild, M. Willeumier attacks and solves many of the problems connected with Hellenistic silver-plate: its chronology, its geographical sources, its relations with ceramics and glass. His book is therefore much more than a simple catalogue; it must count as an impor-

tant contribution to the study of Hellenistic art as a whole, and deserves to be read attentively by all historians.

After a brief account of the somewhat melodramatic events which followed the discovery of the treasure in 1896, M. Willeumier maintains that the various objects, so far from varying in date, as Mayer maintained, between the fourth century and the capture of Tarentum in the second Punic War [207], are more or less contemporary and all date from the first quarter of the third century. He proves this by the seven Tarentine coins found when M. de Rothschild had the pyxis opened: they date between 315 and 272. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace a stylistic development from the pyxis, with its strictly classical form, through the cups, with their anticipations of Hellenistic taste, to the fully Hellenistic form and ornamentation of the thymiaterion. So rapid a change may well cause surprise: and it may be doubted whether M. Willeumier succeeds in establishing the homogeneity of all the objects in the treasure.

The pyxis bears the signature of the artist Nikon: such a signature on a piece of plate is hitherto unparalleled at this date. The precious stone set in the lid is also an early example of such a practice [see Marshall, *Cat. of Anc. Jewellery in the B.M.*, p. lviii]. M. Willeumier compares the acanthus rosette on the under side of the lid with those on a pair of silver bowls from Civita Castellana in Naples, which also have inset stones, and two glass bowls with gold foil decoration from Canosa in the British Museum, which he dates c. 250. The Canosa bowls were found in a tomb with millefiori glass, and are generally dated in the first century, and ascribed to Alexandria: M. Willeumier's parallels make it credible that they should be two centuries earlier, though it must be remembered that glass frequently imitates metallic forms of a much older period [see Morin-Jean, *La verrerie en Gaule*, p. 6]. His second contention, that they were made in S. Italy, is readily acceptable: we thoroughly sympathise with his condemnation of certain archaeologists who, 'éblouis par le nom magique de l'Alexandrie, font de cette civilisation la légataire universelle de l'Attique.' M. Willeumier argues that the acanthus-rosette is not an Alexandrian motive: he thinks it possible that in this form it may have originated in S. Italy, as he knows no example earlier than this.

In describing the two cups with Dionysiac reliefs, M. Willeumier discusses the origin of the emblema, and decides in favour of Corinth as against Courby, who prefers Athens. He considers it likely that the emblema was a development of the relief on the mirror-case; a considerable

series of such cases in the B.M. found in Corinth and dating from the fourth century, confirms his theory. It is possible, however, that these compositions in very high relief, which are not really suited to the decoration of a cup, were suggested by furniture-appliqués; in the Waddesdon Bequest at the B.M. are two pairs of bronze medallions from the handles of a litter which were found in a tomb near Trebizond dated c. 280 B.C., and which resemble in style the emblema in the Jameson coll. [W., Pl. XI].

The cantharus was dated by Mayer and Courby late in the third century, which seems natural on the analogy of pottery shapes and on account of the garland, which would be exceptional before 275. M. Willeumier can only adduce the doubtful testimony of the puteal from the Marmaria at Delphi in support of his early date [but cf. van Essen in *B.C.H.* 1928, p. 242 f.]. The thymiatērion, likewise, seems fully Hellenistic; it is again difficult to find parallels for the bucranium-motive early in the third century.

The analogous works cited by M. Willeumier as coming from Tarentum include a rhyton at Trieste [early fourth century], the Jameson emblema, and one in the B.M. [Walters, *Cat. Silver Plate*, No. 71], the style of which is clearly Roman. Other similar pieces, but of unknown provenance, are a silver egg-dish at Ancona, a centaur in Vienna from Civita Castellana, and the two bowls from the same place, mentioned above.

M. Willeumier also discusses at some length various examples of Apulian toreutic and imitations of it in Calenian relief-ware and the silvered pottery of Bolsena.

Even if we are not fully convinced by M. Willeumier's argument that the treasure is uniform in date and of the early third century, we are certainly grateful to him for all the material he has assembled and arranged and for the excellent plates which illustrate his text.

R. H.

Aktaions Tod. By PAUL JACOBSTHAL. *Münchener Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1930. Funfter Band. Pp. 23; 32 figs. in text.

Long ago there was a period when students of vase painting confined their attention to subject and took no thought of style. Very dull their writings used to be. Then came the stage when style received the attention it deserved, but this brought a reaction against the study of subject. Now we are beginning to realise how attractive and repaying the latter can become in skilful hands: but I at least had never appreciated its possibilities till I read Prof. Jacobsthal's monograph.

Aktaions Tod is a model of how such a theme

should be treated. It is beautifully written: admirably illustrated: archaeology, mythology and literature are mixed in the right proportions. There are no points for a reviewer to criticise, unless he goes out of his way to complain that references to one or two pictures caused him a brief inconvenience by eluding him in the text and being ultimately discovered in the footnotes. Certain salient features, however, are important enough to bear repetition or comment here: the interest of the archaic representations of the myth, so different from the Roman ones which influenced later art: the curious fact that three Attic vase painters each painted Aktaion twice: the part played by the Melian reliefs. Concerning this branch of art too little has been written in past times; and Professor Jacobsthal's few paragraphs here are a welcome supplement to his paper in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.

W. L.

New Aspects of the Menon Painter. By

H. R. W. SMITH. (*University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, i.) Pp. 64; 6 plates and 9 figures in the text. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1929.

The Menon painter is so called from a fine red-figured amphora in Philadelphia, which is inscribed ΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΤΙΟΙΕΣΕΥ. Round this vase a good many others, black-figured as well as red, have already been grouped: but Prof. Smith's is the first reasoned study of the painter that has been published. It is a very good study: it shows not only great patience and precise knowledge, but also a rare feeling for distinctions and delicacies of style: moreover, in spite of all its curious detail, it reads easily, and amusingly, and excitingly: for Mr. Smith is one of the not very many English-speaking archaeologists who can write, and are not content to exude or secrete.

The vases principally dealt with are three red-figured—the pretty cup in Munich put together and drawn by Hauser (*Jahrbuch*, 10, Pl. 4), the lost aryballos once in Bologna (Pellegrini, *I.P.U.*, p. 56), a New York cup provisionally published by Miss Richter, and four black-figured plates, two in London, two in Berlin. Some of these, though not all, had already been connected with the painter by others, but Mr. Smith, by a hundred just comparisons and contrasts, has *proved* as far as such things are capable of proof, first that they belong together, and stand away from other contemporary vases; and secondly, that they are by the same hand as the Menon vase. He has pored over every line in them, not once but many times: and that is the only way: far-view must be supplemented by close-view:

the two ultimately blend, and become familiarity with the vase, knowledge of the vase, understanding of the vase.

The general chronology is certain: the Menon painter was one of the first to use red-figure. But how late does he go? how do his black-figure vases stand to his red-figure in time, and his red-figure to one another? The aryballos is certainly early; and even earlier, perhaps, an unpublished eye-cup in Leipsic, with a black floral design inside, and outside an athlete and a trainer in red-figure; which Rumpf has connected with Hauser's cup in Munich. The New York cup, on the other hand, seems later to me than to Mr. Smith: it recalls, and must be contemporary with, latish or late Memnon cups by Olto. Hauser's cup is strangely reminiscent of the Siphnian frieze, and cannot be far removed in time: I should be inclined to put it earlier than the cup in New York.

The chronological discussion concludes with an ingenious flight of fancy: the author seeking to show that Epiktetos and his companions were partisans of the tyrants, while the 'Andocideans,' as he calls them, were pro-Alcmaeonid. Here Mr. Smith is on treacherous ground; and the antithesis Epictetan-Andocidean, although prepared in earlier chapters, seems exaggerated, and the description of the 'Andocideans' on p. 17 questionable. Psiax, on the other hand, still appears to me very like the Menon painter: I wish Mr. Smith would undertake a study of the four signed Psiax vases, starting with the cup in New York.

The last page sums up, and gives an extraordinarily apt and charming characterisation of the Menon painter, which I should like to quote in full. A sentence or two only:—'This style is above all determined by a singular deliberateness of temperament, expressed in the toilsome minuteness of the execution, the brooding regularity and watchful tact of the line. . . His defects as well as his qualities proceed from this deliberateness, which robs his line of flow and paralyses his figures and his composition. His best painting is that of his latest period, when he has learned his limitations and is free to obey them.'

Two corrections. P. 33: the Compiègne cup was not connected with the Menon painter in my American book, but merely cited for a technical correspondence. P. 35: the restorations in the London plate are more extensive than the picture indicates: both legs are modern, with most of the feet.

Once more, a very good little book, which should be read not only by those who want to know about the Menon painter, but by all

those who want to know how to look at Greek vases.
J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, fasc. 1 = Great Britain, fasc. 6. By WINIFRED LAMB. 46 plates. Oxford, University Press, 1930. 18s.

This is a singularly excellent chunk of Corpus. Photography, make-up, reproduction of plates: matter, arrangement, printing, of the text: all deserve praise and might serve as a model. Other good features are the absence of pseudo-classical ornaments, and of colour-plates.

This instalment gives the Greek and Etruscan vases (except the fragments from Naucratis): a second instalment will contain, I understand, the Egyptian, Cypriot, Gallo-Roman, Saxon, and other delights.

The Cambridge collection, though not very large, is various, and includes choice pieces: such are the black-figured neck-amphora with Dionysos and Ariadne entertained by a troupe of satyrs (Pl. 10, 1), the black-figured cup painted by Sakonides (Pl. 17, 1), the fragment of a big vase by the Villa Giulia painter (Pl. 38).

Pl. 15, 3 is very like the work of the Acheloos painter and may be from his own hand.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Lecce, Museo Provinciale, fasc. 2 = Italia, fasc. 6.

By P. ROMANELLI. 52 plates. Milan and Rome: Bestetti and Tuminelli, 1930.

This is an austere but uncommonly useful instalment of the Corpus, devoted to South Italian vases. Most of them are Apulian of the Darius class, but other classes, mostly earlier, are also represented. Thus Pl. 10, 1 goes with the Dolon krater in London (F.-R. Pl. 110, 4) and the Creusa krater in the Louvre (Séchan, *Tragédie* Pl. 7): see *J.H.S.*, 48, p. 271. Another group consists of Pl. 12, 4, Pl. 14, 1, Pl. 14, 4, Pl. 15, 4, Pl. 15, 5: add the bell-krater Oxford 434: connected, Pl. 11, 5, Pl. 12, 8, Pl. 14, 5, Pl. 16, 1, Pl. 24, 5. As to the Darius Apulian, we are provided with an admirable repertory of its shapes and types, such as exists nowhere else. The reproductions are clear.

One or two Attic vases have crept in among the South Italian: Pl. 9, 4-5 is Attic. So is Pl. 9, 1 and 3 and Pl. 11, 2 (by the Nikias painter).

Pl. 11, 4 is Paestan.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Madrid,

Musée Archéologique National, fasc. 1 = Espagne, fasc. 1. By J. R. MÉLIDA.

49 Plates. Madrid: Ruiz, 1930. 24s.

The photographs are good, and large, and reproduced clearly—not blurred by double-

printing as in many fascicules of the Corpus: so the first Spanish instalment is a boon instead of a tantalization. The contents are some Egyptian, some Cypriot, and Greek down to the end of black-figure.

The bibliography takes no notice of anything written later than 1912, the year of Leroux's catalogue, which is apparently deemed to have said the last word on the collection: and not all Leroux's mistakes are corrected. Thus of the vases classed as Corinthian (III c), Pl. 2, 11 is Attic ('Polos' style); Pl. 4, 2 Boeotian; Pl. 1, 16, Pl. 2, 1-2, Pl. 3, 1-3, Italo-Corinthian. The Chalcidian vases are not recognised as such, but put among the Attic:—the lid III Hd. Pl. 1, 2: the cup III Hc. Pl. 2, 5: both are in Rumpf. III Hd.: the troublesome term 'Attico-Corinthian' is applied to all sorts of pure Attic vases, but that is normal in the Corpus. Pl. 1, 3 and 4 are amphora-lids. III He. Pl. 1, 1, Σωκράτης is the name. The fine dinos Pls. 4-7 was found at Girgenti and was published by Politi (*Descrizione di una dinos*), reproduced in *Rev. arch.*, Pl. 8, 1, Pfuhl, fig. 243: I assigned it to the Affecter in *J.H.S.* 47, p. 142, and *Attic Black-figure*, p. 37. Pl. 8, 2, see Wrede in *A. M.* 41, p. 359. Pl. 8, 3, Leagros group (*Attic Black-figure*, p. 45, No. 35). Pl. 8, 5, by the Madrid painter (*B.S.R.* 11, p. 7). Pl. 14, 1, Peleus and Thetis, as Leroux, rather than Hades and Persephone. Pl. 21, 3, ΚΙΤΟ = Κισσώ (Pfuhl). Pl. 23, the well-known amphora with the signature of Andokides, by the Menon painter: Buschor, *G.V.* p. 152: *Vases in America*, p. 6: *Att. V.* p. 9: *J.H.S.* 47, p. 92: *B.S.R.* 11, p. 10: H. R. W. Smith, *Menon Painter*. The restorations should have been noted. Pl. 27, 1, Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades painter (*B.S.R.* 11, p. 13). The other Panathenaic amphora, Pl. 27, 2, I have not seen close, but I mistrust the inscription on the obverse and much of the drawing on the reverse. Pl. 29, 3: 'restored' is mild. Pl. 29, 4, a scene from ordinary life, as Leroux, without funereal import.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Athènes, Musée National, fasc. 1 = Grèce, fasc. 1.
By K. A. RHOMAIOS, with the collaboration of Miss S. PAPASPYRIDI. 50 Plates. Paris: Champion, 1930. 17s. 6d.

Dr. Rhomaïos devotes a good proportion of his plates to certain important groups: the very early Geometric vases from the N.W. slope of the Acropolis: the Geometric vases from the Tomb of Isis at Eleusis: and the finds in the Tumulus at Marathon. The Marathon photographs are poor—a pity, for the big neck-amphora, Pl. 13, 1

has never been decently published. We miss a reference to Langlotz's detailed study of the red-figured cup from Marathon (*Zeitbestimmung*, p. 38). The rest of Dr. Rhomaïos' plates are given to vases found in Attica. Payne has pointed out, and I have checked his observation, that the fragment Pl. 1, 2 does not belong to the same vase as the fragment signed by Sophilos (see my *Attic Black-figure*, p. 14).

The red-figured vases, and the white lekythoi, come out better in the reproductions than the black-figure. The text, by Miss Papaspyridi, is careful and accurate. Pl. 1, 1 has been published by Poulsen (*Vases grecs*, figs. 31-2). Pl. 1, 3, I see no resemblance to Euergetidean work. For the interpretation, Miss Papaspyridi accepts Robert's view, which I am sure is wrong:—the woman is spinning: therefore she is respectable: if she were not respectable, she might spin in her spare moments, but she could not be *represented* spinning. Brueckner is right: it is husband and wife. Pl. 2, 1, the diameter misprinted: Pl. 2, 2, the inscription. Pl. 7, 1, not by the Pan painter: I thought of the Deepdene painter. Pl. 10, 1, the lekythoi are not attributed to Douris in *Att. V.* p. 210, but said to be related to his works. Pl. 2, 2, Pl. 3, 1, Pl. 3, 2 seem to me earlier than 490. White lekythoi: a good selection. It is not always made clear who is responsible for the attributions: Buschor's name should have been mentioned oftener: and Luce's for the early works of the Achilles painter. Pl. 2, 1, Μελανωπου. Pl. 3, 3, by the same hand as Brussels A 1020 C.V. Brussels, III. Jb. Pl. 2, 4) and the repainted Oxford 267. Pl. 7, 3, *J.H.S.* 34, p. 221, No. 25 and *Att. V.* p. 378, No. 26: Pl. 9, 1, *Att. V.* p. 266, 6 bis: Pl. 9, 3, *ibid.*, 6.

As this is the first scientific catalogue of the collection of vases in Athens, it is a pity that the authors do not give the 'bibliography' in full, instead of referring the reader, for earlier passages, to the catalogues of Collignon and Couve and Nicole.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: British Museum, fasc. 6 = Great Britain, fasc. 8.
By H. B. WALTERS. 48 plates. London: Humphrey Milford, 1931. 15s.

The sixth London fascicule, which follows hard on the fifth, is devoted to Attic hydriai:—such r.f. hydriai as were not published in the last fascicule: and the b.f. hydriai, with the omission (for some reason) of the earliest. The London collection is in remarkably good condition: there is comparatively little repainting, so that as a rule the photographs can be trusted, and we are not presented with row after row of

more or less tainted antiques. But exceptions should have been noted in the text: of the b.f. vases, Pl. 76, 2 (B 305), Pl. 75, 4 (B 307), Pl. 84, 4 (B 324), and Pl. 88, 3 (B 331) are considerably repainted. The photography is very good, and fortunately the scale is larger than in earlier instalments. Compare the plates of b.f. hydriai here with those of b.f. amphorae in the third fascicule: the improvement is enormous. A minor improvement is the addition of the museum-numbers to the plates. The photographs are nearly all taken from the right point of view, and the shape of the vase has not been spoilt by tipping-up for the sake of the heads.

The citations are usually accurate: but I must point out that, in the r.f. part, Pl. 86, 3 (E 190) is assigned, not to the Niobid painter, but to his school, in my *Att. I.* p. 341; and that Pl. 88, 5 (E 205), Pl. 89, 2 (E 210), and Pl. 89, 4 (E 212) are not said there (p. 435) to be by the Washing painter, but to be in his manner. Similarly, in the b.f. section, Pl. 90, 4 (B 336) has not been said to be in the style of the Antimenes painter (*J.H.S.* 1927, p. 90).

The graffiti have received special treatment. I reckon that twenty-five of the b.f. hydriai here figured have graffiti. Three of these twenty-five are recorded accurately: two are admittedly given incomplete (so-and-so 'and two other characters'); and twenty are quite wrong. This is a goodly proportion: and it ought to be possible in the next fascicule to achieve perfect uniformity by eliminating the twelve per cent.

No dates are given for the b.f. hydriai, but the r.f. are dated, a good many of them somewhat earlier, others somewhat later, than seems natural. Thus Pl. 83 (1921, 7-10.2) is not a 'r.f. hydria of the earlier period, about 480-460 B.C.': it cannot be earlier than 450 or 440. The two hydriai on Pl. 84 are said to belong to 'the later period (450-440 B.C.)': neither can be much earlier than 430; and if 450-440 is late, what are late fourth-century hydriai? Pl. 88, 1, by the Kleophrades painter, is said to be not later than 450, and from the heading it would seem to be no earlier: but it cannot be later than 470, and it has nothing in common with Pl. 88, 2 and 4 but the subject. In Pl. 90 we learn that Nos. 5-7 are 'larger and of later date' than Nos. 1-4, and that they belong to 'the end of the fifth century.' But No. 7 is by the painter of the Yale oinochoe (*Att. I.* p. 288, No. 14), and cannot be much later than 460; and Nos. 5 and 6 are not later than 430. The expression in the heading to Pl. 93, 'the free and florid type usually associated with the Cyrenaica and Black Sea colonies,' seems to be a synonym of 'Kerch style': but No. 1 is not in the Kerch style, it is

sub-Meidian. Pl. 99 is headed 'late fourth century'; but most of the vases on it are no later than those dated 400-350 in the preceding plates: and some of them are early fourth century. Pl. 100, 3 is called 'late fine style,' which is all right if one can stomach the ambiguous term 'fine': but Pl. 102, 2 is also called 'late fine,' and it is much earlier—late fifth century.

B.f.: Pl. 76, 4 (B 307); Leagros group (*Attic Black-figure: a Sketch*, p. 43, No. 12). Pl. 84, 3 (B 323): as I pointed out in *A.J.A.*, 1929, p. 363, the second inscription cannot be expanded to Κρίτιος and does not read ΚΡΙΤΙ. I also pointed out, *ibid.*, p. 362, that in B 330 (Pl. 88, 2), the last name is not Eresilla but Hegesilla. Pl. 87, 3 (B 331): ΧΟΡΩΙΚΕ. Pl. 88, 1: ΡΟΘΩΠΙΣ. Pl. 90, 1 (B 330): the name is Anthyle, not Anthylle. Pl. 90, 2 (B 334): Leagros group (*A.B.S.*, p. 45, No. 54). Pl. 96, 1 (B 341), red paint as well as white.

R.f.: Pl. 83 (1921, 7-10.2), by Polygnotos or very close to him. Pl. 84, 1 (E 166), very bad work by the painter of Munich 2335. Pl. 84, 2 (E 183): there is a fragment by the same hand in Tübingen (Watzinger, Pl. 31, E 110). Pl. 86, 2: the inscriptions are καλος twice. Pl. 86, 4 (E 200): for the style compare a hydria in Berlin, 2392. Pl. 87, 1 (E 192): by the painter of London E 489, like a hydria in Jena (355). Pl. 87, 3 (E 195): the graffito is wrong, see text to *C.I.* Oxford, Pl. 28, 3. Pl. 88, 8 (E 208) and Pl. 89, 1 (E 209): see *B.S.R.* 11, pp. 25-6. Pl. 89, 6: Tithonos, not Kephalos. Pl. 90, 5: Peitho holds, not a phiale and an alabastron, but an alabastron attached to its thong; Eros not a sword, perhaps a mirror. Pl. 93, 1: the inscriptions are καλή. Pl. 94, 4: on the object, not a kylix, held by the woman, see *J.H.S.* 47, p. 230. Pl. 100, 1 (E 248) is not of 'late Attic style' but of typical Italiote style: Pl. 101, 2 (F 90), on the other hand, is not of Campanian fabric, but purest Attic, of the worst period, the beginning of the fourth century. The dinos, Pl. 103, is singled out as 'one of the finest examples of the later r.f. or "free" style in existence,' which is pitching it rather high: the drawing is quite dead. Pl. 104, 2, the psykter is not in the style of 'the Euthymides painter' (or, as he might be called, Euthymides), but by an inferior artist. The inscription reads not χαρχων but χαρχον. There was just possibly a letter or two in front of this, but the word cannot have been Νιχαρχων or Νικαρχων, for that is not a possible Greek name. As for Δικαιος, it has been taken as a proper name, and no doubt rightly (Pottier, *C.I.* III, Ic, Pl. 30, 3).

A word about the graffito of the r.f. hydria

Pl. 83. It reads $\nabla\Delta\text{I}\Delta\text{PAX}\Pi\text{O}\text{I}$ A/, and is given correctly, except that the monogram should be at a distance from the rest. The author translates 'a hydria for 5 drachmae 1 obol,' and refers to Hackl, pp. 51 and 71. Hackl's vase is a hydria of the same class as ours, in Petrograd (757, St. 1206): it is inscribed $\nabla\Delta\text{TPI}\Delta\text{PAX}\Pi\text{O}\text{I}$ AV. I take this to be $\acute{\upsilon}\delta(\rho\iota\alpha\iota)$ $\tau\rho\iota\delta\rho\alpha\chi(\mu\omicron\iota)$ $\pi\omicron\iota(\kappa\iota\lambda\alpha\iota)$, and our graffito to be $\acute{\upsilon}\delta(\rho\iota\alpha\iota)$ $\delta\iota\delta\rho\alpha\chi(\mu\omicron\iota)$ $\pi\omicron\iota(\kappa\iota\lambda\alpha\iota)$? For the $\pi\omicron\iota$ compare the Nolan amphora by the Phiale painter in the Louvre (G 436, Pottier. *Album*, Pl. 144)— $\text{K}\Lambda\text{P}\text{O}\text{I}$ (=κα(δισκοί) $\pi\omicron\iota(\kappa\iota\lambda\omicron\iota)$)?

I don't know why the information placed on the back of the binding by the publishers is partly in French: or what language 'U.S. of America' may be.

J. D. B.

Bilder Griechischer Vasen, edited by J. D.

BEAZLEY and PAUL JACOBSTHAL. Pt. 2:

Der Berliner Maler. By J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. 22; 32 plates. 32 m. Pt. 3: **Kertscher Vasen**. By KARL SCHEFOLD. Pp.

22; 24 plates. 25 m. Berlin-Wilmersdorf: H. Keller, 1930.

Good reproductions which put the grace and delicacy of Greek vase drawings into our hands are a joy, and those of this series, of which Parts 2 and 3 are before us, give the best of which copyist and photographer are capable. Perhaps in the case of the Kerch vases too great a proportion is given to the camera. Both photograph and out-spread drawing must distend, but when the curved surface is crowded with figures as is the case with most of the Kerch vases, the distortion of the lens seems the greater evil. It is such that the intimate relation of the figures to the curve of the vase is not really illustrated, while the individual figures suffer, e.g. Plates 6 and 7 (Part 3). The text presupposes some knowledge, and indeed makes no pretence of introducing the subject to the reader. Yet it is hardly suited to the student. A detailed technical exposition could not be expected in the space available, but something might have been given. Professor Beazley puts forth his conclusions with all the authority to which his expert connoisseurship entitles him, but an explanation of why he classes both pictures on Plate 9 (Part 2) as roughly contemporary, and that on Plate 21 contemporary with that on Plate 24, 2, or that on Plate 17, 2 as of the painter's middle period and bad, compared with that on Plate 14, would have been welcome. We feel that he is 'just telling us.'

And, though the three periods of the Kerch vases are differentiated for us, we would gladly exchange some of Dr. Schefold's descriptions of

the scenes, pleasantly imaginative though these are, for an explanation of why, for instance, the vase on Plate 19 (Part 3) is to be thought just fifteen years later than that on Plate 13.

But these are the carping criticisms of one who finds that his knowledge and his eye are not equal to the demands made on them. In any case the illustrations are the thing, and these make the series indispensable to the student of vases.

J. P. D.

Histoire Universelle des Arts, des temps primitifs jusqu'à nos jours, publiée sous la direction de LOUIS RÉAN. VOL. I. **L'art Antique: Orient, Grèce, Rome**. By G. CONTENAU and V. CHAPOT. Pp. 424; 314 illustrations. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1930. 60 fr.

This pleasant book provides an excellent introduction to ancient art. It is written with that lucidity, characteristically French, which knows how to blaze a clear trail for the beginner through the thickets of controversial problems. Particularly useful is the arrangement by which the art of Egypt and that of Western Asia are treated side by side to bring out early links and gradual divergences, and good, too, so far as they go are the six pages summarising the characteristics of Greek Art in general, though attention might have been drawn to the peculiarly Greek discovery of the possibility of representing objects on a flat surface not as the mind knows they are but as the eye sees them. We note that Cyrenaic vases, as one experts in a French work, are still Cyrenaic, and that the pose of the Venus of Milo is still a mystery, but such minor points do not impair the usefulness of the book.

The illustrations are on the small side, but excellently reproduced in half-tone. It is a pity that an old photograph still shows the Lion Gate at Mycenae encumbered with stones, and that the only picture of the Ægina sculptures shows part of a pediment in the pre-Furtwangler arrangement. But these again are small blemishes in a very well-chosen set of illustrations.

J. P. D.

Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps

II. By FRITZ GEYER. (*Beiheft 19 of the Historische Zeitschrift*.) Pp. vii — 148. Munich and Berlin: Oldenbourg, 1930. 7.80 m.

This book fills a gap, for there is no recent account of early Macedonian history treated for itself and not as an incident in the story of Greece. The history proper and chronology are

well and carefully done, and the main lines brought out: the long struggle to avoid becoming a vassal of Athens, and how Macedonia synoecised Olynthus as a counterpoise and nearly fell a victim to her own creation. All this part is full and helpful: but some detailed questions require notice. Geyer follows Beloch in supposing that Thuc. II, 100, 2 means that Archelaos formed a heavy infantry, which is not in the Greek: Perdikkas II already had hoplites, and Thucydides only says Archelaos provided *material* things—roads, horses, weapons. On the other hand, he rightly refuses in the Anaximenes fragment *F. Gr. Hist.* 72, F 41 to alter Alexander to Philip, as do Kaerst and others, but spoils it by making Alexander I create the cavalry alone, since he has already assigned the infantry to Archelaos. The creation of a modern army, cavalry and hoplites both (not, of course, the phalanx), was really the work of Alexander I, a natural reaction after the temporary subjection to Persia for τοὺς πλείστους καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς read τοὺς πλείστους τοὺς πεζοὺς)—Archelaos may have divided lower Macedonia into *Bezirke*, but I think not *Stadtbezirke*: places like Pella can hardly have been *poleis* in the fifth century, whatever they were in the third.—Geyer, in a book of this kind, perhaps rightly, refuses to re-discuss the ethnology, and assumes Macedonians were backward Greeks, taking 'Greek' as something given. Long ago I pointed out that the bare question 'Were the Macedonians Greeks?' had little meaning unless we first knew what a Greek was: I imagine that Professor Myers' *Who were the Greeks?* which Geyer could not use, has rubbed that matter well in.—But the weak point in the book is the scanty attention given to the 'quasi-constitution': for, after all, Macedonia was the only country of antiquity which possessed the germ of something which, given time and fortune, might have developed into constitutional monarchy. I had hoped for a full discussion of the relation of Macedonian customs to the heroic monarchy and of the origin of the rights of the people under arms, and was disappointed. I think Geyer believes, with Kaerst (it is not clear to me), that it was all a creation of the kings: but it is difficult to credit this. For instance, he thinks that the nobility, but not the people, had a voice in choosing the new king: whereas in history we find the nobility with no voice at all, and the crown, on a king's death, in the hands of the people: how did it get there?—Still, it is a useful book, and one to be welcomed.

W. W. T.

Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments. By W. W. TARN. Pp. 170. Cambridge University Press, 1930. 6s.

Mr. Tarn has in this volume republished with amplifications and notes his Lees-Knowles Lectures for 1929–30 delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge. The use of these lectures for the exposition of classical military history is, as far as I am aware, new, and it is a precedent which may be followed with advantage, for I have long been convinced that many of the problems of ancient military history can be resolved or, at the least, their solution can be helped, if their technical military features are more closely examined than has in most cases yet been done.

Mr. Tarn begins by showing us that the military tactical ideas of the Greeks of the fifth century B.C., the Greeks of Marathon, Thermopylae and Plataea were rudimentary, while of strategy they had no conception. The military strength of the Greeks of that period lay in the physical fitness and equipment of their men and in their skill in the use of that equipment, acquired by training begun in early youth. The Olympic games constituted the autumn manœuvres of the Greeks. But their one idea of battle was the delivery of a direct frontal attack. Manœuvre as a prelude to battle had no place in their conception of the military art, neither did manœuvre during battle, but their system did provide an essential feature which the Persian system lacked, a solid infantry basis on which manœuvre in battle could be developed.

As Mr. Tarn points out, if this building up of a solid infantry core was the Greek contribution to the development of the art of war, 'the history of cavalry at this time belongs primarily to Asia.' In other words, it was in Asia with its wider spaces and its nomad tribes, accustomed to use the horse and the camel, that the conception of the use of mobility and manœuvre in war was born. Xerxes confronted by the pass of Thermopylae at once thought of a turning movement, at first by sea, an attempt which failed mainly owing to bad weather, then by land. Leonidas' arrangements for guarding his flank, not at all a difficult task in that country, were inadequate, mainly, I suggest, because the idea of a turning movement did not occur to him. The position of the Phocians indicates an attempt to block the road to Doris, rather than the provision of a guard for Leonidas' flank.

Alexander saw the advantages and defects both of the Greek and of the Persian systems, and by uniting to the phalanx, which developed naturally from the hoplite, the Persian use of cavalry and light troops he created as

perfect a military instrument as was possible in his time. He first of Europeans conceived it to be the prime task of the commander 'to teach the doubtful battle where to wage,' rather than to lead himself the first attack. I am inclined to think that he got this idea also from the Persians. The person of the Great King was too sacred to admit of his leading a charge in person: he directed battle from the rear, a method of warfare which the contemporary Greek leader probably regarded with contempt. It is at least certain that in Alexander's wars we find the first combination of a solid power of attack and of defence with mobility and manœuvre.

After Alexander's death, as Mr. Tarn says, the Successors ignored or forgot his principles, and later we find the Romans going through a very similar military evolution. The early Roman leaders, like the early Greek leaders, thought only of frontal attack, the legion was the phalanx in another form. The Romans, like the Greeks, usually won their battles because their equipment, physical condition and training were superior, but they did not learn to manœuvre until they met Hannibal, who taught Scipio Africanus. Again, it was the East which inspired the West. It was, I imagine, because of these facts that Napoleon put Alexander and Hannibal first amongst the commanders, whose campaigns he told his officers to read and re-read. I am too much of a land-lubber to be able to examine critically Mr. Tarn's study of naval warfare, but his study of the technical conditions of classical warfare on land is so just and scholarly that I cheerfully assume his seamanship to be of like quality.

F. MAURICE.

Le monde méditerranéen jusqu'au IV^e siècle avant J.-C. By E. CAVAIGNAC. Pp. 706; 2 maps. Paris: de Boccard, 1929. 50 frs.

This is a scrap-book dealing with more or less detached episodes in the history of the Mediterranean peoples, among whom the Greeks are assigned a subordinate part. The author, however, points out that it should be read in connexion with Vol. II of his *Histoire de l'Antiquité*.

In Book I (down to 1150 B.C.) there is little to attract the Hellenic student except a chapter on Greek origins, which discusses the fusion of the Minoan and the Indo-European religions. The blending of these worships is here ascribed to the *ἐποὶ λόγοι* of the oldest sanctuaries rather than to Homer and Hesiod.

In Book II (1150-550 B.C.) there are chapters on the Homeric poems (of which only a nucleus is allowed to be Homeric in the strict sense), on

Greek colonisation, on early Greek coinage, and on the tyrants. Prof. Cavaignac credits the tyrants with nothing less than the revival of the idea of the state, which had been lost under the previous aristocratic rule. This seems unduly hard upon the early nobles, who maintained if they did not effect *συννοικισμοί*, and exercised a corporate power in councils of state. He dates Cypselus down to 600 B.C. without further discussion: but he devotes an appendix to a new theory that the Olympian games were inaugurated in 635, and were held annually until c. 588. There is much to commend the view that the early meetings were not penteteric: but since a Messenian winner appears as late as Ol. 11, Prof. Cavaignac's chronology forces the Second Messenian War down to the end of the seventh century. It may be suggested that the Olympic festivals began by being trieteric, in which case Ol. 1 dates back to c. 680 B.C.

Book III (450-330 B.C.) contains chapters on Sparta, Athens, Olympia, and the Persian Wars. In the Spartan chapter, which deals mainly with military matters, it is suggested that the Perioeci were under the Lysurgian system of training. This seems an unnecessary assumption. In all probability the Perioeci served as inside men in each file, and required no more than a little follow-my-leader drill. In the chapters on Athens Prof. Cavaignac gives useful statistical details on Attic local administration, on military organisation and economic life. On constitutional history he is brief and bold. He suggests that the Boule was pre-Solonian, and consisted of 8-48 heads of naucraries — 1-12 trittarchs — 1-4 phylobasileis; and on the analogy of the early government of Chios he denies that Solonian Athens possessed an Ecclesia. Apart from the violence which these views do to Attic tradition, they overlook the fact that the Boule of Chios consisted of fifty nominees from each tribe, which confirms the ordinary view that the Athenian Boule had one hundred members each from the four tribes, and that to our knowledge the Chian council was merely judicial, and therefore not a complete substitute for an Ecclesia.

Prof. Cavaignac's statistical abilities show to good advantage in his account of the Persian Wars. He reduces Xerxes' field force to some 180,000—a similar total to that which Gen. Sir F. D. Maurice has recently arrived at by a different method (in the previous number of this *Journal*). He limits the Persian fleet to some 400 triremes (together with an indefinite number of penteconters): a theory well worth further discussion. It is more difficult to accept his view that the campaign of 480 was fought in

autumn, and that Thermopylae synchronised with the eclipse of October 2nd. There is no need to assume that the bridging of the Hellespont required many weeks: Caesar's bridge over the Rhine, which involved pile-driving, was completed in ten days. The wind that destroyed the Persian ships off C. Sepias may be perfectly well explained as the summer north-easter blowing up to a gale—a not unusual phenomenon off that coast. Further, on Prof. Cavaignac's theory, why were the Olympian games, which proved such a counter-attraction to Thermopylae, held in October rather than in August?

In sum, the present book is hardly suitable as an introduction to Greek History: but the practised hand will find it instructive and stimulating.

M. C.

Petit Atlas pratique d'histoire grecque et romaine. By L. LAURAND. Pp. 205, 8vo.; 48 illustrations. Paris: A. Picard, 1930.

This handy little atlas is a companion to the same author's *Manuel des études grecques et latines*. Its distinctive feature is that each map is intended to illustrate a single political situation or military campaign, and contains no names or geographical features except the bare minimum required in each case. Twenty-three of these sketch maps illustrate Greek History from the Trojan War to the Galatian Invasion. The atlas will be valuable to elementary students working against time.

On map 16 Epaminondas is taken directly from Sparta to Messene (370–69 B.C.); but from Sparta he first returned to Arcadia. On map 20 the Athenians are sent to Thermopylae by land (352 B.C.): but the Boeotians barred the way: the expedition must therefore have gone by sea.

Les procès d'impiété intentés aux philosophes à Athènes au V^{ème} et au IV^{ème} siècles avant J.-C. By E. DERENNE. Pp. 271. Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, and Paris: Champion, 1930. 50 fr.

This volume passes under review the various Athenian attacks upon free thought from the time of Anaxagoras to that of Theophrastus and Theodorus. Its object is not so much to put forward new theories as to adjudicate between the many opinions which are already before the public. Dr. Derenne discusses the rival modern views fully and frankly, and always makes it quite plain on what grounds he bases his own conclusions. On the case of Socrates, to which he devotes more than one hundred pages, he takes the evidence of Plato in preference to that

of Xenophon. He accepts the prevalent view that the trial was essentially political, but he gives a patient hearing to alternative explanations.

The author's general conclusion is that the processes for impiety were always the outcome of a temporary political scare—precisely the same motive as is found to lurk behind the persecutions of the early Christians. As a partial excuse for these panics Dr. Derenne rightly points to the chronic insecurity of the city state governments. These certainly had more reason for being nervous about attacks upon state cults than had the Caesars; but it might be added that since 403 B.C. the Athenian democracy enjoyed an unusual degree of stability.

Dr. Derenne goes too far in saying that Alexander demanded divine worship of himself in Macedon as well as in Greece (p. 186). To his references on Hermias, the friend and alleged god of Aristotle, he might have added the Didymus papyrus, with its luscious extract from Theopompus.

M. C.

The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle. By ROBERT J. BONNER and GERTRUDE SMITH. Pp. viii + 390. The University of Chicago Press. Illinois, 1930. 18s.

The title of this book is a little misleading. After the three introductory chapters on the Heroic Age, the Unification of Attica and the Lawgivers, only Athens is discussed, and the reader finds, rather to his surprise, that the main subject is not legal procedure but the history of the courts. Even this theme is subjected to a rather uneven treatment. Thus there is an excellent chapter of sixty-four pages on the judicial reforms of Cleisthenes, which is of necessity mainly conjectural and argumentative, whereas the judicial system of the fourth century, about which a great deal more is known, takes up only thirty-three pages, and these, it must be added, are chiefly devoted to controversial matters. Some such criticism the authors no doubt anticipated, for they say in the preface that the choice of subjects has in some cases been more or less arbitrary, but their explanation—that they intend to deal with some of the omitted subjects in the near future—though welcome, hardly excuses the title.

In fact, the main part of the book consists of a number of separate discussions rather loosely strung together in historical order. Many of these are of great value, and one may mention perhaps especially that concerning the ephetae, whom the authors believe to have been a com-

mission of the Areopagus. As a derivation of the word they propose ἐφ' ἑσθαι, understood in a passive sense, so that it means 'men sent out as a commission from a larger body.' This they recognise as hazardous, but their other arguments are more convincing, and include a suggestion that Pollux' reference to the ephetae as ἀριστινῶν αἰρεθέντες is really due to a misunderstanding of Draco's law, which referred not to the choice of the ephetae but to the choice by them of phratry members to grant pardon to a man-slayer when the deceased left no relatives within the proper degrees. Fraenkel's view that in some circumstances 'all Athenians' is equivalent to six thousand, they are able to support by some new arguments drawn from Lysias, and, among many other matters, there is an interesting discussion on evidence at the ἀνάκρισις, and on the date and reason of the rule that evidence must be deposited in writing. The date they agree with Calhoun was probably 378-7.

Altogether there can be no doubt of the authors' competence in their special field. They are both distinguished members of the group of American scholars who interest themselves in Greek law, but the reader has sometimes an uneasy feeling that there has been too great specialisation. One cannot help noticing that the references to Roman law are extraordinarily few. In discussing the question whether magistrates under the Solonian system presided over appeals to the Heliaca from their own judgments, it is said that an obvious objection to the view that they did so lies in the undesirability of a judge's participating in a review of his own judgments. The authors, it is true, do not seem to be impressed by this objection, but it would have been quite simple to dispose of it by pointing out that at Rome this was precisely the ordinary practice. The argument is, in fact, a purely modern one which did not influence either the Greeks or the Romans. Generally, enough use does not seem to have been made of the comparative method. It is surprising, for instance, in a discussion of blood-money, to find nothing between the Greek examples and a quotation of Lord Campbell's Act. Again, in discussing the connexion between lynch law in developed communities and the judicial functions of a popular assembly in primitive times, the authors, though it would have helped their argument, do not advert to the very gradual growth in Germanic law of the rule that the decision of a body can be given by a majority vote as against the primitive requirement of such unanimity as is expressed by shouting. In the reviewer's opinion the trial scene on the shield of Achilles is probably best explained in some such way. The two talents

were to go to the elder who gave the best decision, and this view does not mean as some, including the authors, think, that a second trial would be needed to decide which decision was best: the shouts of the populace would have made that clear enough. The authors hold the view that the two talents were a stake to go to the winning party, and that the question at issue was that of fact, whether the blood-money had been paid or not. One objection to this view is that such a question could hardly be in dispute in a primitive community, where wealth consists almost exclusively in large objects, such as cattle, so that it would be very easy to ascertain whether a transfer had taken place or not. But it does not seem likely that there will ever be agreement on this or on the other points involved.
H. F. J.

The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World: a study in the Historical Background of Early Christianity. By S. ANGUS. Pp. xx—444. London: John Murray, 1929. 15s.

The main interest of Dr. Angus' work is evidently in the mystery-religions, and more specially in the various developments of Gnosticism: and he has gathered an imposing collection of quotations from and references to both ancient and modern writers. As an historical study, however, the book lacks arrangement: evidences concerning different periods and various forms of religion are piled together, without any attempt to correlate them; and there is little criticism of the comparative value of the authorities cited. The frequency with which errors in spelling of names occur does not encourage confidence: for instance, 'Paxis' and 'Palades' in a single line on p. 16. The volume may be useful as a storehouse for the student, but should be handled with discretion.

Eintritt des Christentums in die Welt. By WALTHER CLASSEN. Pp. 433. Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1930. 12 m.

This sketch of the rise of Christianity and its spread over the Graeco-Roman world is carried down to the Lombard invasion of Italy: it is brightly written, and the touches of local colour given to the descriptions of events, derived from the author's personal knowledge of the countries which were their scenes, add much to the interest of his story.

Les Mystères Paléens et le Mystère Chrétien. By ALFRED LOISY. Deuxième édition, revue et corrigée. Pp. 352. Paris: E. Nourry, 1930.

The author explains in a short preface that he had meant to rewrite this book, originally

published in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* for 1913 and 1914, and then as a separate work in 1919. Finding himself unable to do so, he has republished it with minor corrections only. The reviewer has not a copy of the first edition at hand, but judges that the revision has not been very thorough by the fact, among others, that the author still (p. 226, n. 1) cites the first edition of Reitzenstein's *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*. As it stands, the work is typical of its author's strong and weak points. It is not the product of original scholarship; the views of others have been adopted, not uncritically, and shaped to the author's ends. In discussing pagan mysteries, too much readiness is shown (for example, on p. 192) to explain everything by the formula 'myth is the result of ritual,' or (as in Chapter VI) to deduce the ritual itself from savage custom. In the second half of the book, which deals with the beginnings of Christianity, there is much which is both pleasant to read and full of good sense and moderation: but the complicated problems involved are far too much simplified, and, in particular, the antithesis which Loisy makes between the original teaching of Jesus and the theology of St. Paul seems to leave out of count the fact that the former of these two great figures, whatever else he may have been, was a religious genius of the first rank.

Magic in Greek and Latin Literature. By J. E. LOWE. Pp. viii + 136. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1929. 6s.

'This book,' the author says in his preface, 'does not attempt to deal with magic as an art; it merely aims at presenting in popular form the chief accounts of magical practices to be found recorded in the writings of ancient Greek and Roman authors.' The object is laudable, and a very interesting popular work could be produced by selecting, translating and briefly commenting upon a number of the most characteristic passages from Hesiod to Marcellus Empiricus. This indeed Mr. Lowe has tried to do; that he fails is due to a lamentable lack of accuracy and a scanty knowledge of the modern literature on the subject. He divides the work into five chapters, dealing respectively with Development of Magic, Magic in Practice, Necromancy, Deities invoked by Magicians, and Famous Exponents of Magic (these are Medea, Circe, Simaetha, Alpheisiboeus' sorceress—i.e. the love-lorn girl in Vergil, *Ecl.* VIII—Canidia, Erichtho, Pamphile, and 'other witches'). The citations from ancient authors are frequent, though it is hard to see why, in a confessedly popular book, some of them, and those not the easiest, are left

untranslated. But the book is so full of blunders and omissions, to say nothing of deplorably bad proof-reading (one Greek quotation, on p. 10, has seven misprinted letters or accents in sixteen words) that only those can use it without being misguided who already know more of the subject than it can tell them. I give a few examples, chosen from the first chapter only, where perhaps they are least thick.

On p. 3, a reference by Andrew Lang to Frazer's theory of magic and religion is so introduced that it reads as if the theory were Lang's own. On p. 4 we hear that 'official Greek and Roman religion paid worship to the gods of the heavens; magicians addressed their prayers to the nether gods.' Does the author imagine that the ritual, for instance, of Demeter and of Acca Laurentia was unofficial magic? On p. 5 the remark of St. Augustine, *ep.* 138, 19, *magicas artes non utique nisi pro felicitate terrena uel damnabili curiositate conquirunt* is paraphrased by 'it is the desire of knowing and experimenting in all directions that gives rise to the practice of magic.' P. 8 gives us a piece of history which will be new to most: 'The residence of Persians in Thessaly was of long duration.' On p. 10 there is another such: it was at a comparatively late period, it seems, that 'the separation of philosophy and religion' began. When were they identical, or closely connected? P. 11 speaks of 'the introduction of magic into Italy,' implying, it would seem, that there was no native magic there. On p. 12 it is stated that human sacrifice 'formed the central part of the magician's art,' the answer to which is simply that it did not. It seems unnecessary to quote further.

H. J. R.

Totenklage um Tiere in der Antiken Dichtung: mit einem Anhang byzantinischer, mittellateinischer und neuhochdeutscher Tierepikeden. By GERHARD HERRLINGER. (*Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, Heft VIII). Pp. x + 188. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930. 9 m.

This book, despite its somewhat ponderous title, is a really delightful little work, written with that combination of good scholarship and sympathetic insight which one might expect from a pupil of Otto Weinreich. The material is naturally for the most part epigrams, in and out of the Anthology, and a few Latin inscriptions, including the famous one on Myia, *C.I.L.* XIII, 488. Naturally also the second 'sparrow' poem of Catullus is included; Herrlinger more correctly calls the bird a *Blaudrossel*. He classes the whole genre as Hellenistic, correctly enough, and derives it from the preoccupation of that age

with little things; it is an extension of the interest in the less important members of society ('children and slaves'). I would add that here, as elsewhere, the all-pervading influence of Homer makes itself felt: for is not the death of the dog Argos at once the earliest and the noblest expression of such feeling? He also recognises justly the part played by the Hellenistic fondness for variations on a given theme: hence, for example, the numerous epitaphs on cicadae, once the fashion had been set by Anyte, many of them showing deliberate borrowing from predecessors, as in the cases of A. P. VII, 200 and 201 (Herrlinger's 6 and 7, in which the latter, by Pamphilos, closely follows the former, by Nikias of Miletos. Parody also, he points out, has a good deal to do with this sort of poem, many dolphin-epitaphs, for instance, being imitations of the familiar laments for shipwrecked travellers.

He arranges the selected texts under the headings of literary and epigraphic, the former being further divided into the 'ernst-sentimentale,' the 'parodistische' and the 'pointierte.' A short appendix adds two specimens from Egypt, and one which does not really, as he holds, relate to the death of a singing bird, as it seems at first sight to do, but to that of a cantatrice. Logically the arrangement might be bettered, but practically it is convenient enough. The texts have underneath them critical and short explanatory notes (the latter would not be lessened in value if a little more was said as to how the editor understands certain doubtful readings which he has retained from the MSS.), and are followed by good literary and critical appreciations, which also go into questions of date and indebtedness of one poem to another. The mediaeval and modern pieces are followed by a short essay on the history of this fashion since the Revival of Letters and on the differences of tone in ancient and modern work of this sort.

Against the large amount of sound learning and good taste shown in a book which gives so many opportunities for mistakes in literary history, false construing, and sickly sentiment, the reviewer has but one or two trifles to set, which might just be worth correcting in a second edition. On p. 4, note 16, it is not true that 'Cicero beklagt in ruhrenden Worten den Tod eines Hundchens' in *de duin.* I, 103; he merely says that Aemilius Paulus' little daughter Tertius was *tristula* because her pet dog Persa had died. Plutarch is more sentimental about it, for he says she had been crying hard (δεδραρυμένην). *Aemil. Paul.* 10. On *IG.* XIV, 1603, his No. 45, the epitaph on one of the Imperial horses, Herrmann says (p. 43) that the dialogue is 'in der jungeren Form, dass der Wanderer fragt, der

Stein antwortet.' The epigram is late enough, since it scans ερόμον as δρόμο; but is the form so very recent, when it appears already in the epigram from Halikarnassos, *Athen. Mtt.* XXXV, p. 157, *Class. Rev.* XXXVII, 162, which is early fifth century B.C.? It is true, however, that the latter is not a sepulchral inscription. The facts would be met by writing 'in der für Grabinschriften jungeren Form': see D. M. Robinson in *Anatolium Studies pres. to Ramsay*, p. 341.

H. J. R.

Stichometrische Untersuchungen. By KURT OHLY. Pp. x + 131. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1928. 14 m.

A most important investigation, with full marshalling of the evidence both from papyri and from manuscripts. The conclusions are not all new, but they have never before been so convincingly presented. Two important facts are established beyond peradventure: (1) the custom of recording the number of lines at the end of a work arose in the book-trade in connexion with copyists' wages, which were reckoned by the line; (2) the normal line for this purpose, called indifferently ἔπος, στίχος, or even ἀριθμός, was based on the epic hexameter of 15-16 syllables.

Papiri Greci delle Collezioni Italiane. By MEDEA Norsa. Pp. 13; 10 plates. Rome: Pubblicazioni della Scuola di Filologia Classica dell'Università di Roma, 1929.

The primary object of this publication is palaeographical and the letter-press is subsidiary to the excellent plates. The present instalment (fascicolo primo) illustrates documentary hands from 252 to 5 B.C., drawing on the Zeno papyri and others in Italian collections. Two further instalments will be devoted to documentary hands and a separate issue to literary hands.

Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik: I, Heft 2. By B. DATTA, O. NEUGEBAUER, and others. Pp. 113-244. Berlin: Springer, 1930. 17 m.

The studies in the history of mathematics contained in this series are naturally not confined to Greek mathematics. Four out of the seven articles in the present number would not, except incidentally, be of interest to students of Greek. Three of them (two by O. Neugebauer and one by H. S. Schuster) relate to ancient Babylonian mathematics. Neugebauer's first article is a further study by him of Babylonian cuneiform texts of about 2000 to 1800 B.C., which gives remarkable results. The Babylonians of that

date are shown to have summed the terms of an arithmetical progression and 'what is more extraordinary) to have solved simultaneous equations equivalent to quadratics in one unknown by steps corresponding exactly to our formulae for the solution, though no such formulae are stated and no symbols are used. In his second article Neugebauer shows that in their consistent sexagesimal notation the ancient Babylonians possessed what is practically a 'position-value' system (with base 60) many centuries earlier than the date of the first use by the Hindus of the present system with base 10. An article by Dr. B. Datta discusses the origin of the names for geometry in India, and in particular *Sulba* and *Rajju*, both of which words ordinarily signify 'rope' or 'cord,' indicating the practice of mensuration as the beginning of Indian geometry and reminding us of the so-called ἀρπεδονάπται ('rope-fasteners') of Egypt. Dr. Datta appears, however, to be not well-versed in Greek mathematics: he speaks, for instance, of 'the apparent dislike of Euclid for the term "geometry,"' because he 'did not call his celebrated treatise a geometry, but designated it by an earlier and more generic term "Stoicheia" or "Elements"'. The fact, of course, being that Euclid's *Elements* are not the *Elements* of geometry only, but include also the theory of numbers and of irrationals, to say nothing of solid geometry.

The articles relating to Greek literature are three. One is on 'A method of research in ancient science,' by Otto Regenbogen, who by a study of a group of the Hippocratean writings (three books, *περὶ γυνῆς*, *περὶ φύσιος παιδίου*, and a fourth, *περὶ νόσων*), seeks to show that by the fifth-fourth century B.C. the method of analogy had already become a definite method of proof as distinct from mere illustration, and that the methods of hypothesis verified by experiment and of induction took definite shape in Hippocrates' own work. Empedocles, it is maintained, was the first pioneer, and he was followed by Anaxagoras and Diogenes of Apollonia.

The last two articles, by H. Wieleitner and W. Stein respectively, are upon, or connected with, Archimedes. In the former Wieleitner shows how in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the 'infinitesimal' methods of Archimedes were used and extended by Francesco Maurolico, F. Commandino, Simon Stevin and others. In the latter, Stein gives a valuable study of the portions of the works of Archimedes which relate to the centre of gravity (the 'Method' and the treatises *On Plane Equilibria*, *The Quadrature of a Parabola*, and *On*

Floating Bodies). Stein shows that, just as Euclid in his *Elements* makes certain tacit assumptions not included in his preliminary matter (the *Definitions*, *Postulates* and *Common Notions*), similarly Archimedes, while laying down postulates and 'lemmas' some seventeen in number, makes certain tacit assumptions in addition. Stein examines the proofs given by Archimedes and states and classifies these assumptions, which he makes to be eight in number. Incidentally he points out some serious misrepresentations of Archimedes made by E. Mach in his *Science of Mechanics* ('*Die Mechanik in ihrer Entwicklung*').

T. L. H.

Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios.

By INGEMAR DURING. Pp. cvi + 147.

Göteborgs Hogskolas Arsskrift, xxxvi, 1930,

1. Göteborg: Elander, 1930. 10 kr.

The *Ἀρμονικά* of Ptolemy ranks with the *Ἀρμονικά Στοιχεῖα* of Aristoxenus, the *περὶ Μουσικῆς* of Aristides Quintilianus and the *περὶ Μουσικῆς* of Plutarch as one of the most important sources for our knowledge of the theory of ancient music; yet it has had to wait for Mr. During, while books of much less importance have received the attentions of a succession of editors. Hitherto the *Ἀρμονικά* could be read only in the seventeenth-century text of Wallis. For its day, Wallis's *editio princeps* was an admirable piece of work and many of his notes and emendations have a permanent value; unhappily he used very few MSS., and those which he did use were not representatives of the best tradition. There are between eighty and ninety MSS. of the *Ἀρμονικά* now known to exist, and Mr. During has set himself the enormous task of collecting and assessing the evidence of them all. In a long and valuable introduction he describes their contents and classifies them: the main body of his book contains a text and *apparatus criticus* which so fully satisfy modern standards that it is doubtful whether any future editor will be able to effect any far-reaching improvements. For those parts of the *Ἀρμονικά* which are largely mathematical, the construction of the text from the MSS. is almost automatic; but in the musical parts a wide knowledge of ancient theory is essential, and at many points it is clear that Mr. During is deeply versed in this special discipline. No praise of this excellent book would be complete without an expression of hope that the promised commentary and the projected edition of Porphyry's *Ὑπόμνημα* will not be long delayed.

Ἱστορία τῆς Σταφίδος. Τόμος Α' (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἸΕ' αἰῶνος π. Χ.—ἸΘ' αἰῶνος μ. Χ.). By DEM. L. ZOGRAPHOS. Pp. 320. Athens, 1930. 100 dr.

The historian of Greek agriculture¹ has now produced a monograph upon its most valuable product, the currant, based upon previous writers from Beaujour to Boursoules. He shows that the raisins cited by Suidas were not currants, of which he finds no mention in either classical or Byzantine authors. Thorold Rogers gives the prices of currants in England in 1334, Pegalotti in 1340 first mentions their export from Glarentza and Corinth, so that the Franks probably introduced them to Northern Europe. He thinks them indigenous to the Morea, perhaps owing to the volcanic and seismic nature of the soil along the shore of the Gulf of Corinth, whence they were introduced to Aitoliko, Argolis in 1848, Elis and the Ionian Islands, first to Zante (hence called 'golden') about 1516, then to Cephalonia (previously connected with *Melanconia*) in 1548, and later to Ithake, where they are found in 1622, and Leukas in 1828. After the Turkish conquest of the Morea, the currant trade there declined, with the brief interval of the Venetian occupation, but towards the end of the eighteenth century it revived. During the War of Independence the district of Aigion alone grew currants. In Zante and Cephalonia the Venetians, anxious about the corn supply, forbade further planting of currants and ordered the uprooting of the currant bushes in 1575, but then changed their policy for one of taxation, which caused much usury and smuggling, in which the English were active. This provoked the drastic decree of 1602, soon repealed, that all currants must be sent to Venice for sale. During the uneasy years of the two French occupations of the islands the disturbance to British Mediterranean trade and the internal situation depressed the currant industry.

W. M.

Ἡ Ἐπανάσταση τῆς Θεσσαλομαγνησίας, σὺν 1821. By GIANES K. KORDATOS. Pp. 164. Athens: Papageorgiades, 1930. 30 dr.

The Marxist historian avowedly writes from the standpoint of 'historic materialism': but his monograph on the abortive insurrection of 'the 24 hamlets of Pelion' (about which M. Tsopotis has lately written in the new periodical, *Thessalikā Chronikā*) is based upon interesting unpublished documents, such as a report of Kolettes and the archives of Dr. Antoniadēs, local traditions and folk-songs, taken down from the mouths of the people. The ancient,

medieval and Turkish history of 'the mountain of Zagora' is sketched. Enjoying autonomy since 1668, Pelion became a refuge for less fortunate Greeks; the modern summer resort of Portaria, the medieval Dryanouvaina, was the seat of a French commercial agent, who watched its silk manufactory; Zagora and Meliai had schools, at the latter of which taught Anthimos Gazes, the prime mover in the insurrection and president of the 'Chamber of Thessalomagnesia,' which met at Velesino. But the local primates had no sympathy with the insurrection, which speedily collapsed except at Trikkeri and two other places. The story ends with the abortive siege of Volo by Hastings in 1827. It is written in 'demotic' Greek.

W. M.

Ἀλληλογραφία Ἰ. Α. Καποδίστρια—Ι. Γ. Ἐϋνάρδου 1826-1831. (Τεύχος Β'). Edited by SPYRIDON M. THEOTOKES. Pp. 388. Athens: Sideris, 1930. 50 dr.

This second instalment² of Eynard's correspondence with Capo d'Istria extends from the beginning of 1829 to August 15, 1831, and deals with the London protocol of 1830 fixing the Greek frontiers, the candidature of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg for the Greek throne, and the financial difficulties of the new state. A warm admirer of Capo d'Istria, who had many detractors and whose brothers increased his unpopularity, the Genevan banker's ideal was the selection of a young foreign prince, during whose minority the President would act as Regent. Eynard saw the blunder of omitting Crete and Akarnania from the Greek state, foresaw that Crete, 'separated from Greece, will be a source of constant troubles,' and proposed, in a note to Charles X, that Greece should buy the island from the Sultan, raising a loan for the purpose. He elsewhere suggested the purchase of Akarnania and Samos. He severely criticised the withdrawal of Leopold, mentioned Polignac's praise of Prince William of Prussia (the future German Emperor) as a possible candidate, submitted a memorandum to Wellington on the way to deal with the Turks, who 'never yield except to force,' and sent a map of the Greek frontiers (as they should be) to Talleyrand. Unfavourable to Great Britain, whose Ambassador in Paris told him that 'the City was anti-Greek because our trade has suffered much from piracy,' he realised that Capo d'Istria had never, as a Corfiote, forgiven the cession of Parga. As a banker, he criticised the President's indifference to finance and sent him a foreign financial expert:

¹ *J.H.S.* xliii, 70; xlv, 117; xlv, 145.

² *J.H.S.* xlix, 297.

he realised the weak spot in Fabvier's character, that he was '*mauvais coucheur*,' and denounced the dilatory conduct of Polignac in money matters. The correspondence is a valuable source for historians and is accompanied by biographical notes.

W. M.

Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Γράμματα ἐν Κύπρῳ, κατὰ τὴν
περίοδον τῆς τουρκοκρατίας (1571-1878). Τόμος
Α By LOIZIS PHILIPPOS. Pp. iv + 385,
with half-tone plates. Levkosia, 1930. 3s.

This work was awarded the first prize in the first of the literary competitions founded by Archbishop Cyril III of Kyrenia. It gives a review of education in Cyprus during the period of Turkish domination. As a whole, it is a work of reference for use in Cyprus rather than for the general reader, since the bulk of it is occupied with details concerning the numerous small schools in Cyprus. A slight sketch of Greek education in the Byzantine period is given, and of such education as existed in Cyprus during this period and the periods of Frankish and Venetian occupation which followed. The impressions of travellers visiting the island in the Turkish period are recorded.

It may be said that up to the time of the Greek War of Independence such slight educational system as existed was due to the efforts of the Greek Church, and that Church played a prominent part in the improved educational conditions which ensued in the nineteenth century. Cypriot education during the period under review was one continual struggle against the handicap of poverty, and it is creditable that schools of some efficiency were in existence at Levkosia, Límassol and Larnaka, and that there were teachers of outstanding ability, such as Athanasios Sakkelarios at Larnaka. Byzantine traditions, however, exercised a great and, on the whole, retarding influence on general education in Cyprus.

The book is the outcome of considerable labour and research, and may be recommended to those desirous of gaining an idea of educational conditions in Cyprus before the English occupation.

Les nouveaux aspects de la question de Troie.

By C. VELLAY. Pp. 134, with a map.
Paris: Association G. Budé, 1930.

A vigorous and detailed criticism of certain recent theories on Homeric topography. Of late years a school in Germany, represented by Colonel von Diest, Bruckner, and Mey, has argued for the location of the camp of the Greeks at Besika Bay; and this view, which carries with

it the implication that for Homer Ἑλλήσποντος included the north Aegean, has recently gained the whole-hearted adhesion of Doerpfeld, who now fully admits the impossibility of reconciling a Troy at Hissarlik with a Greek camp at Sigeum,—after sixty years during which first Schliemann, then Doerpfeld himself, denied the possibility of incompatibility. M. Vellay boldly reverses the argument: given the Greek camp at Sigeum, then Hissarlik can no longer pass as Ilion. He then reviews the evidence at length and pronounces definitely against Besika Bay (which Dörup has also denounced), against an Aegean Ἑλλήσποντος, and in favour of the traditional site of the Greek camp. His presentation of the case is so logical and so overwhelming that he carries us far with him in his counter-offensive. *L'hypothèse d'Ilion-Hissarlik a définitivement fait son temps*. He inclines towards Seyk's theory, that the ruins at Hissarlik are those of the Greek necropolis, in which we are less ready to follow him; the solid masonry of Troy VI does not support such an explanation, nor must we forget Mr. Forsdyke's dictum that the pottery shows 'prolonged but extraordinarily weak South Aegean contact.' But he recovers his best form in the following chapter, which pulverises Seyk's unlucky second hypothesis, that Ilion is to be found at Kara Your. The book is not only a very readable, but a very solid contribution to the literature of the Troad.

Tradition and Design in the Iliad. By C. M. BOWRA. Pp. viii + 278. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. 12s. 6d.

This book will be welcomed by all students of the classics. For most of us have often felt the need of a book in English concerning the *Iliad* and Homer which shall on the one hand not lose sight of its artistic excellence or disparage the work of the world's most famous poet, but which on the other shall state fairly what are the many peculiarities in the *Iliad* which have given rise to so much bitter dispute. This is not to decry the work of other recent writers on the *Iliad* and its unity, but merely to state that in the reviewer's opinion this book is one of the sanest and most convenient guides to the study of the poem. Still less does it mean that each and every question about the *Iliad* has now been satisfactorily answered: the author himself would be the last to claim finality for the solutions he offers to such problems as the Origin of Epic and the Historical Background of Homer.

Homeric criticism has of necessity shifted its ground since the last century. To demonstrate again the inadequacy of the various methods of study then in fashion is now happily unnecessary.

But by taking as starting-point the essential unity of the *Iliad*, Homeric criticism is faced with a new set of problems, to some of which its answers may be just as speculative as were the answers of the analysts to their problems. Instead of asking ourselves whether *K* is later than ω or *A*, we should rather ask what elements in the *Iliad* are traditional—the kind of stuff that might as well have been composed by some other poet who knew his saga and his epic technique—and what elements are especially due to the great poet who is as much the author of the *Iliad* as Shakespeare is of *Hamlet*. There is no sacrilege here, only the usual methods of literary criticism. Unfortunately in this case the entire loss of all previous literature which would have enabled us to trace the lines of development in story, method, versification, etc., renders the task seemingly impossible. There are, however, other methods of approach. (1) We may infer something about previous literature from allusions in the Homeric poems—such as Achilles' singing κλέϊ ἀνδρῶν outside his tent. (2) We may examine the poems themselves in the light of the facts (as opposed to the theories) which analysis of the poems has revealed. For example, Bowra infers that the *Catalogue*, the genealogies and σφερατισμοί are the kind of thing that appealed to an earlier generation and were part and parcel of the Epic tradition which Homer was bound to follow. If he had been a greater revolutionary he would have been a less successful poet. Another, less ancient, piece of epic tradition is the Similes, and of course the language. In the story, some acquaintance with which hearers are assumed to possess, Homer takes greater liberty with tradition, and Bowra shows how he uses the unexpected deliberately, altering a traditional version of a story for greater artistic or moral effect. (3) Lastly, there is the hazardous and not yet fully explored method of analogy, which, as Bowra says, is an inspiring but treacherous servant. Especially is this so in literature. What is a fair comparison with the *Iliad*? The *Mahabharata*? The *Kalevala*? The *Song of Roland*? The *Nibelungenlied*? It is just a possibility that these Epics, much of whose history is known, may cast some light on that of Greek Epic. But they differ so from each other in the manner of their literary development that we may well hesitate to draw conclusions for the *Iliad*. It was almost certainly not a 'snow-ball' growth like the *Mahabharata* or a learned collection like the *Kalevala*. But was it, like the *Song of Roland* in its latest form, a new version of an old poem, or, like the *Nibelungenlied*, an old story told anew? Bowra certainly seems right in preferring the latter alternative. But

most of us never had any doubt that the *Iliad* is an old story told anew, and the analogy neither proves nor disproves anything in this case. Still, where tools are so scarce we can afford to neglect none, and there are many examples in this book of useful and illustrative analogies drawn from other epic poetry.

It would have been easy in this review to give a summary of Mr. Bowra's answers to various familiar questions—use of writing, origin of the hexameter, Homer's time and place—but it would have been unfair to give his conclusions divorced from his arguments. Besides, it might have had the effect of making readers of this *Journal* swallow the summary and not the book itself; whereas the object of this review is cordially to recommend the book and to wager that its purchase will prove to be money well spent.

T. A. S.

Die Struktur des Eingangs in der Attischen Tragödie. By WALTER NESTLE. Pp. 133. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930. 9 m.

The theme of this careful and well-documented study can but be expressed in Dr. Nestle's own language. 'Originally, the Chorus entered led by an Exarchon. His πρόλογος, intended to prepare the audience, followed: it was introduced by his προκήρυγμα, a song beginning with an invocation to the deity. When the Exarchon acquired a certain individuality, a special Chorus leader was wanted who perhaps took over the προκήρυγμα. As the actor was more and more separated from the Chorus, the Exarchon was replaced by a πρόσωπον προτατικόν and the Chorus enters in silence, first accompanied by the Exarchon, afterwards alone. Thus simultaneity gives way to successivity: the "historicity" of the action is emphasised; the delayed entry of the hero gains in effectiveness.' At this point of development (reached by Phrynichus? Aeschylus took the theatre in hand. 'He made both the epic and the lyric part of the eisodos dramatic and charged the prologue with σμυνότης.'

This conclusion, arrived at by an induction from all the surviving plays, becomes the starting-point for an historic study of the development of the prologue in the three dramatists with special reference to the *Prometheus*. This part is unfortunately the shortest: it is certainly the most interesting. Dr. Nestle knows his texts and has thought about them, and he is not to be blamed for setting out his preliminary working. But the induction is not well arranged and contains much that might have been assumed as known. Editors of dramatic texts will do well to consult him: students of literature might wish

that he had been less profusely analytic and given freer play to his evidently keen sense of aesthetic development.

The Delphic Maxims in Literature. By ELIZA GREGORY WILKINS. Pp. vii + 271. University of Chicago Press, 1930. 3 \$.

Miss Wilkins has kept a notebook and recorded all the instances she has encountered of the appearance in ancient and modern literature of γυνῶσι σεαυτὸν and its fellows. The result is a browsing causerie, not very substantial, sometimes quite entertaining, and occasionally rather portentous. I was, for example, quite pleased to discover that 'The Last Straw' is a lineal descendant of μηδὲν ἄγαν by way of the emblemata of Joachim Camerarius. But the remark, 'it is to the experience of love that the precept seems to pertain in Chapter XI of Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown at Oxford*' seems to show a certain insensibility to the precept itself. In any case, in that connexion it only means 'to change the subject.' And 'passages from William Richardson and Anthony Grumbler emphasising the value of self-examination' may be worth collecting in one's private notebook, but as to publishing them, *quære*.

Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte. Edited by WERNER PECK. Pp. 159. Berlin: Weidmann, 1930. 9 m.

What excellent work Wilamowitz gets out of his pupils! I suppose because he puts such excellent work into them. This monograph bears traces of his hand from beginning to end, and it can be truly said to reflect equal honour on master and pupil. Between them they have reconstituted the best part of the Andrian Inscription: Peck has added a detailed and scholarly commentary, an analysis of the metre and vocabulary, and good texts with notes of the six other hymns (and the like) belonging to the same range of ideas. The result is a substantial addition to our knowledge of the Hellenistic age, its religious ideas and linguistic habits. I would mention particularly Peck's analysis of the language and his proof that the Andrian hymn belongs, stylistically, not to Alexandria but to Asia, and that its nearest analogue is the Greek in which Antiochus of Commagene recorded his own piety. It is the style characterised by Quintilian in the words: *ea quae proprie signari poterant, circūiter coeperunt enuntiare*: the style, in fact, in which the king is called His Majesty. Where it came from, and how it spread, is a topic which might still engage some historian of European ideas.

Of the related texts the Vatican hymn, attri-

buted by Wilamowitz, whom Mr. Powell, with some reserve, follows, to Mesomedes, is the most interesting, because of its apparent identification of Isis and Rhea. The Isis cult itself is a strange blending of Greek and Egyptian ideas: the Cymaeon inscription certainly looks like an attempt to reproduce an Egyptian liturgy in Greek terms: the Vatican text has a glimmer of something even more primitive. It is difficult to separate it either in conception or style from the *Hymnus Curetum* of Palaikastro, and the analogy opens up a field of speculation as to the survival of Minoan cult-ideas into Hellenistic times, into which the editor, wisely perhaps, refrains from entering.

Aristophanes: Cantica. Ed. O. SCHROEDER. Pp. 103. Leipzig: Teubner, 1930. 4.80 m.

This second edition is in the main an anastatic reprint of the first. References, however, are made to the literature of the subject subsequent to 1909, and there is a three-page appendix of *addenda et corrigenda*.

Démétrius Cydonès: Correspondance. Ed. and transl. into French by G. CAMMELLI. Pp. xlix + 216. Paris: Assocn. G. Budé, 1930. 40 fr.

The Budé 'Collection Byzantine' is now enriched by the correspondence of the fourteenth-century essayist and theologian, Cydonès—not indeed the whole correspondence, but a representative selection of 50 letters hitherto inedited. A complete critical edition is promised, but meanwhile Byzantinists will be grateful for this selection, which is preceded by a life of Cydonès and a description of the MSS., and followed by an index to the entire correspondence.

Platon: Oeuvres complètes. Tome XIII, 2^e partie: Dialogues suspects. 3^e partie: Dialogues apocryphes. Ed. and transl. into French by J. SOULHÉ. Pp. xiii + 190; 173. Paris: Assocn. G. Budé, 1930. 30 fr. each part.

The newest additions to the Budé Plato will be particularly welcome, inasmuch as the works they contain have been generally neglected by commentators and translators for the very reason that they were 'suspects et apocryphes': their importance for tracing the early history of Platonism is, however, by no means negligible. The former category comprises the *Second Alcibiades*, *Hipparchus*, *Minos*, *Rivals*, *Theages* and *Chitopho*; the latter the *De Justo*, *De Virtute*, *Demodocus*, *Sisyphus*, *Eryxias*, *Antiochus* and *De Junitions*.

Anonymi de arte metallica seu de metallorum conversione in aurum et argentum. Ed. C. O. ZURETTI. (*Cat. des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, vii.) Pp. lx + 466. Brussels: Lamertin, 1930.

This treatise in Greek by an unknown alchemist, probably of the early part of the fourteenth century, is elaborately edited with an introduction discussing MSS., sources and style, with a detailed *apparatus criticus* below the text and a Latin translation *en regard*, and with a full *index verborum*.

Anonymi Logica et Quadrivium. Ed. J. L. HEIBERG. Pp. xx + 144. Copenhagen: A. F. Høst, 1929. 9.50 m.

The scope of this treatise is indicated by the title; its value as a document upon Byzantine education is considerable. This edition has a melancholy interest in being the last work of a very distinguished scholar.

De Aelii Aristidis codice Varsoviensi. By A. TURYN. Pp. 78. Warsaw: Gebettner and Wolff, 1929. 6 złoty.

The author has been at great pains to describe fully the character and history of this Warsaw MS. He does not concern himself directly with its value for the recension of Aristides, but the materials are here for a future editor to judge for himself. Five facsimiles are appended.

The Use of the Optative Mood in the Works of Gregory of Nyssa. By G. W. P. HOEY. Pp. xviii + 127. **St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues:** a study of their rhetorical qualities and form. By Sister MARY A. BURNS. Pp. viii + 123. **St. Basil and Monasticism.** By Sister MARGARET G. MURPHY. Pp. xix + 112. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1930. \$3.50 each.

This series, under the editorship of Dr. Deferrari, has been widely acclaimed by students of Patristic Literature. It is impossible to do justice here to each contribution, but it may at once be said that the three named above evince the same scholarly character as their predecessors.

Plato: Timæus and Critias. Translated by A. E. TAYLOR. Pp. viii + 136. London: Methuen & Co., 1929. 6s.

This little book will be found a useful pendant to Professor Taylor's Commentary on the *Timæus*. With its brief notes and introduction, it is, however, complete in itself.

The Poetics of Aristotle in England. By M. T. HERRICK. Pp. 196. New Haven: Yale University Press; and London: Humphrey Milford, 1930. 8s.

The influence of the *Poetics* in England is traced from Roger Bacon, who is said to be the first Englishman to mention the book, to Archer and Mr. Bernard Shaw, and forms an important chapter in the history of aesthetic theory and its effect on literary practice.

The Ancient Explorers. By M. CLARY and E. H. WARMINGTON. Pp. x + 270. London: Methuen & Co., 1929. 12s. 6d.

'In the present work the authors have concerned themselves with the activities of ancient travellers rather than the speculations of ancient scholars; but they have also traced the growth of geographic knowledge which sprang from these activities, and have explained their importance as a prelude to the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.' After an introduction on objects of ancient exploration, equipment and historical materials, four chapters are devoted to sea-travel, and three to land-travel in Europe, Asia and Africa respectively. The work concludes with a discussion of the results of ancient exploration, and a brief account of imaginary discoveries. Full citations from authorities are given, and the volume is equipped with a good index.

Les Grands Courants de la Pensée Antique. By A. RIVAUD. Pp. 218. Paris: Armand Colin, 1929. 10 fr. 50 c.

The attempt to cover in some 200 small pages the whole course of Greek philosophy and science might well be expected to result either in a dull recital of names and facts or else in a narrative which sacrificed accuracy and proportion to lucidity and elegance of style. The more admirable, therefore, is M. Rivaud's success in producing a survey at once readable and scientific. None but a master of the subject could have characterised the philosophers in so stimulating and so just a manner in the limited space. Citation is apt to be misleading where the general level is so high, but in the three pages on Heraclitus (pp. 31-4) and those on the principles of Aristotelian logic (pp. 125-8) will be found striking examples of the author's power of concise exposition. Students of Greek philosophy will doubtless find interpretations with which they disagree, but if they leave this book to the general reader, for whom primarily it is intended, they will deny themselves illumination on many dark places in their studies.

Medallions, from Anyte, Meleager, the Anacreontea, and the Latin Poets of the Renaissance. Translated by RICHARD ALDINGTON. Pp. 117. London: Chatto and Windus, 1930. 3s. 6d.

The translations are in prose, a medium in which justice can never be done to such poetic gems as the epigrams of the Anthology, the charm of which depends so much on their exquisite form. What can be achieved in mere prose Mr. Aldington may be said in many, if not in most, cases to have succeeded in doing. The versions read pleasantly enough. They do not seem to render the meaning as accurately as their counterparts by Mr. Paton in the Loeb edition, but perhaps with more grace. The great complaint we have to make against the author is that he gives no references either to Jacobs or the Loeb edition, or to any other. This has involved a serious waste of time in looking out individual epigrams for the sake of comparison with the Greek. Nor are the separate poems numbered, or an index or table of contents given. These are noticeable drawbacks to a book for popular use.

Some points in the translation deserve attention. The very first word in the first poem, in which a warrior dedicates his spear to Athena, namely, ἐπταθί, is rendered 'Lie there.' Should it not be 'Stand there'? Again, in the poem headed 'A Bird,' presumably the Cock, the expression πικινούσις περὺγέσσιν ἐρέσσων, 'rowing with rapid beating of wings,' is translated 'with a flutter of thick wings,' which is surely no adequate version of the Greek. The epithet is from Sappho's great Ode to Aphrodite, and must mean, as there, 'quickly-moving.' And can δούχα mean 'finger'? Is it not rather the claw of some predatory creature? On p. 27 we have an epigram of Meleager, headed here 'A Learned Joke,' which runs:—

O Stranger, if you see Callistion naked, you will say the double letter of the Syracusians (sic) is no more, i.e. her beautiful body is no longer so.

The Greek simply says, 'The double letter of the Syracusians has been changed.' We suppose that Mr. Aldington by 'so' in his comment means 'beautiful.' But without further explanation the joke is too learned to be intelligible. The Loeb editor, on the other hand, tells us that χ, a letter invented by Epicharmus, who lived in Sicily, is meant here, and that what the poet implies is that Kallistion should be Kallischion, 'the girl with the lovely hips,' which is frigid enough, but still intelligible.

To take another instance, namely, Anyte's

epigram on a Persian drudge. The Greek has Μάνης for the Slave's name, and to translate, as Mr. Aldington does, 'Alive this man was a Persian slave; dead he is as great as great Darius,' loses the effect of the contrasted names, though the word Manes does seem to be used sometimes merely as an equivalent of δούλος. On p. 30 is Meleager's famous epigram to *Clearista* (viii. 132), who died on her bridal day, interesting to us because Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet* (IV. v. 84 ff.) utilises it in a passage taken from Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* (ll. 2508 ff.). We note in passing that 'Anacreontea,' vi, 'On Love,' is attributed in the Planudean Anthology to the Egyptian Julianus. Space forbids us to do more than mention the Latin Poems, which appear on pp. 86-117. We are here introduced to a branch of imitative literature not unworthy of being brought to our notice, and not so well known as it should be. These poems, though naturally lacking the fresher charm of the Greek epigrams, have a grace and elegance of their own, and Mr. Aldington points out how they have attracted our own poets. For instance, Spenser translated *Die Antiquitez de Rome*, and Ben Jonson appropriated without acknowledgment Amaltheo's 'On an Hour-Glass,' of which he gives a translation in his *Underwoods* (No. vi).

The Works of Pindar. Translated with Commentaries by LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL. Vol. I. Translation in Rhythmic Prose. Pp. xiv + 384, with 6 Plates. London: Macmillan & Co., 1930. 18s.

It will be necessary to wait for Mr. Farnell's second volume, containing the text of Pindar and its elucidation, before we can do justice to his work as a whole. But the author evidently regards the translation here presented as a highly important moiety of his task, and in respect to this he is not afraid to speak rather slightly of his predecessors in the same field, and to point out that his fifty years' devotion to this poet entitle him to claim a better equipment for his task than they. But we have to ask ourselves the question whether for all his qualifications he has been conspicuously successful. It is not clear that he has outdone his rivals. He is at pains to point out the difficulties of the undertaking, and indeed they are proverbially great. To translate a poet adequately from an ancient into a modern language is next door to an impossibility even in the case of a poet like Horace, whose meaning and rhythms are plain and normal. In respect to Pindar it is quite a different and a much harder thing.

To adopt the imagery of Horace, the translator has to deal here with a poet whose thoughts rush onward like a swollen torrent down the mountain-side, 'boiling immeasurably strong with full deep tide of song,' rolling along new words in daring dithyrambs, or borne headlong in strains that defy all law. Horace must have known what he was talking about, as he was a competent Greek scholar, but he was surely wrong if he thought that Pindar was regardless of metrical laws. As Mr. Farnell points out, Pindar strictly obeyed the rules of metre and quantity, as they were recognised by the music of the day. It was the words that ruled the music and not the reverse, as is the case now. But unfortunately it is impossible for us to recover the rhythms of Pindar, as we have lost the key to them in the processional music which accompanied the Odes. And it is the close union between Pindar's words and music which makes any attempt, however studiously undertaken, to *reproduce* his sonorous periods to our ears, bound to be more or less a failure. But there are degrees of failure and, as Mr. Farnell tells us, the first and important thing to decide is in which form of verse or poetical prose we are most likely to meet with even a measure of success. Blank verse is rightly discarded, as too austere and concise, and requiring the hand of a master-craftsman. Rhymed verse seems even more unsuitable, as, besides almost necessitating amplification of the original, it tends to obstruct and divert the tumultuous rush of Pindar's song. It would need the genius of a Gray and a Milton fused in one to cope adequately with the speed and the splendour, the opulence and the magnificence of this particular poet. So Mr. Farnell has fallen back upon a biblical prose, where rhythm and cadence can take the place of metre and rhyme. He deprecates, however, any tendency to fall into actual metre, being apparently unaware how many complete hexameters are to be found in our Bible version, such as 'Small and Great are there, and the servant is free from his master.' But it is a very doubtful question whether the splitting up of the periodic structure of Pindar's verse into short verse sentences or lines is at all satisfactory. It may suit the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry and its narrative style, but it does not equally well fit the impetuous, intricate, and at the same time processional movement of Pindar's Odes. It breaks it up too much. Even the Bible is the better for being put into paragraph form.

A short, but in our day a congenial, fragment (No. 109) will partly suffice to show how Mr. Farnell's method of translation works out:

J.H.S.—VOL. II.

'When a man striveth to set the Commonweal
of his citizens in a summer calm,
Let him seek out and find the shining face of
deep-souled Peace:
Let him uproot from his own breast the wrath-
ful faction spirit,
The dispenser of poverty, a bitter fosterer of the
young.'

Is this not too staccato? Does it flow with the smooth energy required?

One word more. The author apologises for his spelling of the names, and we cannot but think that an apology is needed. Aias and Aiantes may be (and indeed are) an improvement, but who can endure Kurana and Putho? Moreover, it is not easy to be consistent. Does not 'Dionysos' appear on p. 340? and would not the line 'To the flow of Dionysos' fruitage' run better 'to the flow of the fruitage of Dionysos,' recalling as it would the rhythm of the 'vintage of Abiezer'?

Euripides: Iphigenia in Aulis. Translated into English verse by F. MELIAN STAWELL, with a Preface by GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. viii + 128. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1929. 3s. 6d.

It was well worth while to have this attractive play, the last that came from the aged hand of Euripides, and the latest offspring of the old Attic drama, so feelingly translated and its beauties brought out by a scholar as familiar with it as Miss Stawell. Her introduction gives a searching and lucid account of the poetic attitude towards the conditions of human existence and the interference of the gods in the affairs of men. In this play we see how Euripides hated war and its oppressions, and emphasised the littleness and ignoble ambition of the heroic kings of the Greek world. Only Achilles is shown in a better light. The delineation of Iphigenia is of the finest quality, and though slightly drawn is one of the precious gems of literature. Miss Stawell's translation renders the simple and straightforward Greek with very considerable success. The choruses, for which Gluck's music is given at the end of the book, are rendered in a sort of free rhyme. Here is a fair specimen:

Hearken, child of the sea!
Thou shalt bear a son, a son to be
Light and glory for Thessaly.
Shield and spear shall he send to destroy
The land of Priam, sack
The far-famed town of Troy,

K *

Gold-helmed, gold harness on his back.
 Harness a God had wrought.
 Harness his mother brought.
 High rose that revelry
 When Gods made cheer for bride and groom,
 For Peleus and the Nereid,
 The first-born of the sea.

ll. 1067-1079.)

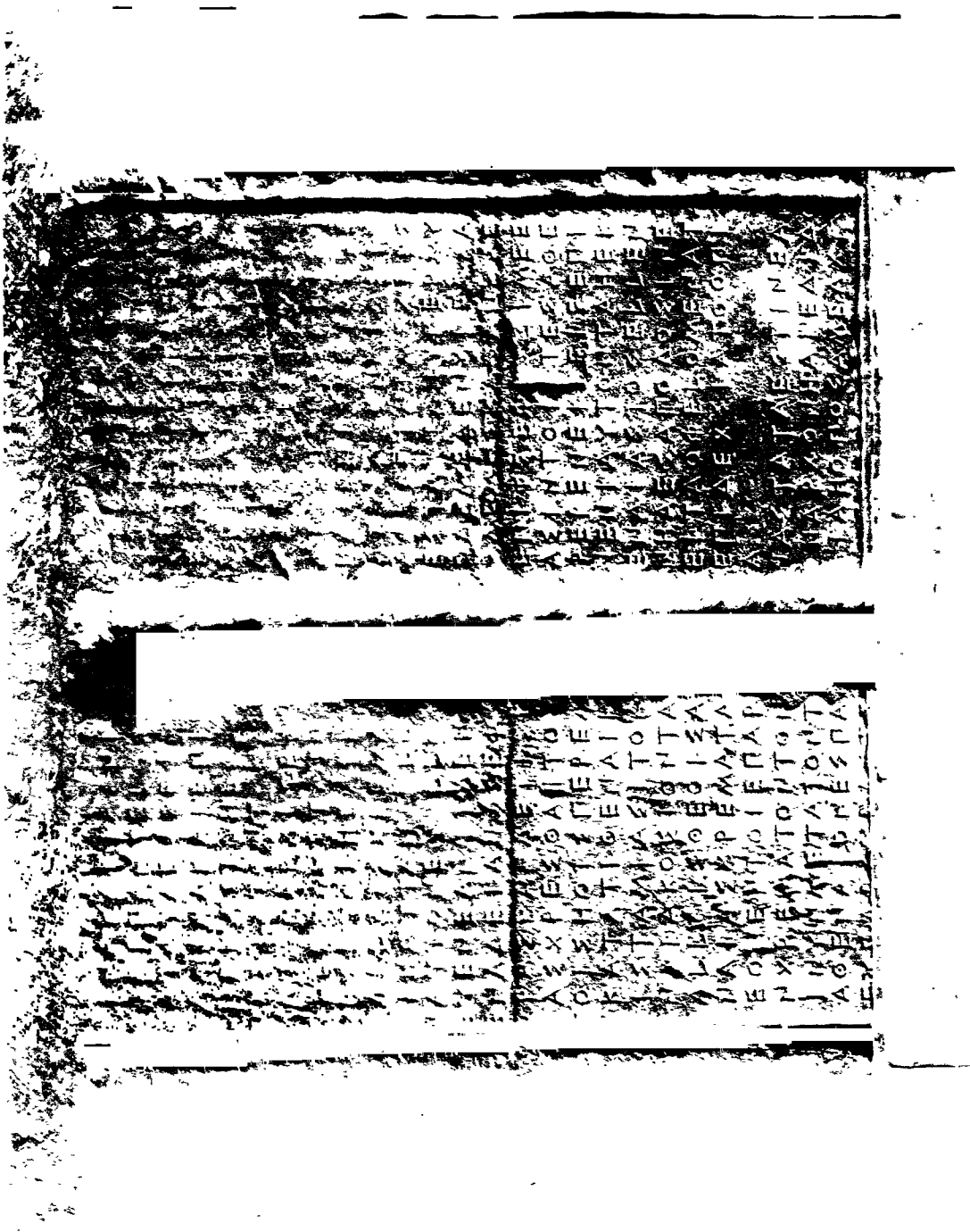
C R. H.

CORRECTION.

The Editors regret that on p. 340 of the preceding part of the *Journal*, in the notice of Dr. A. von Gerkan's work, *Der Altar des Artemis-Tempels in Magnesia a.M.*, the book was by oversight attributed to the wrong publisher. It is published by Messrs. Hans Schoetz and Co., Bulowstrasse 14, Berlin: price 12 marks.

ΙΔΟΧΣΙΠΙΕΙΒΟΛΕΙΡΑΙΤΟΙΔΕΜΟΙΚΕΚΡΟΥΙΣΕΓΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΕΜΝΕΣΙΟΕ
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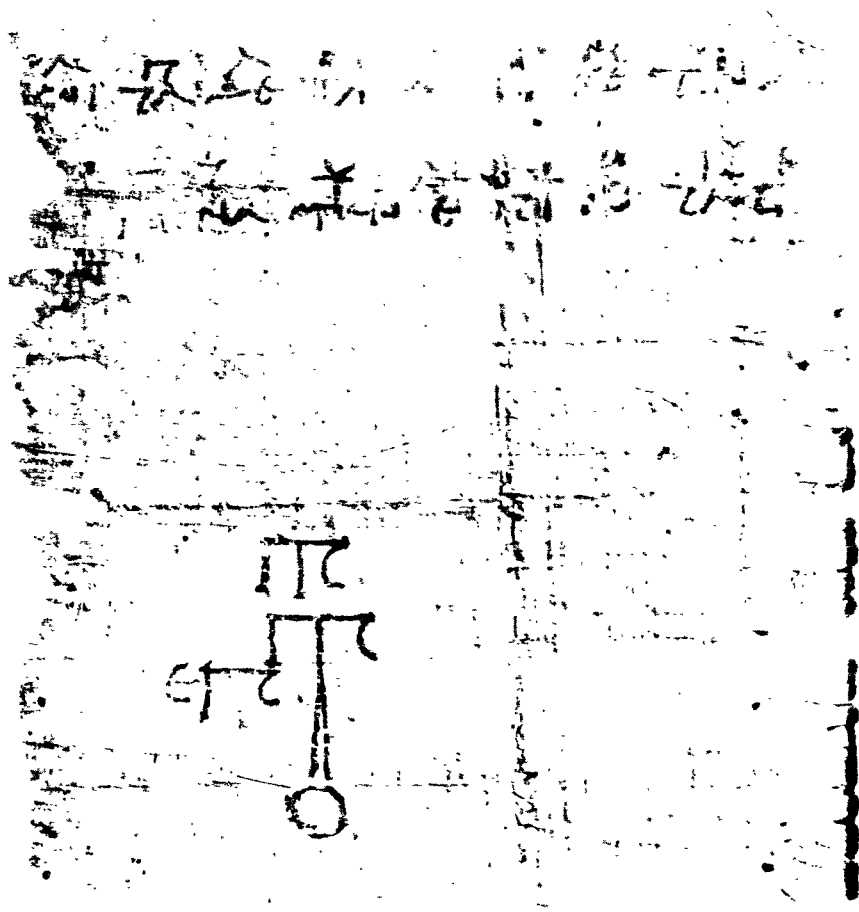


SECOND DECREE OF KALLIAS. I.G. I² 92



BOREAS AND OREITHYIA.

From an Apulian Vase in the British Museum



A MUSICAL FRAGMENT OF PAPYRUS

(Cairo 59533)

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

CROMER GREEK PRIZE

WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules :—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.

2. Any such person desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.

3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.

4. Any Essay already published, or already in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.

5. Essays of which the subject has been approved must be sent in to the Secretary of the Academy on or before 31 December. They must be typed (or, if the author prefers, printed), and should have a note attached stating the main sources of information used.

6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.

7. The author of the Essay to which the Prize is awarded will be expected to publish it (within a reasonable time, and after any necessary revision), either separately, or in the Journals or Transactions of a Society approved by the Academy, or among the Transactions of the Academy.

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STUDIES IN ATTIC TREASURE-RECORDS

I. THE HEKATOMPEDON-LIST OF THE YEAR 398 7.

THE Attic Treasure-records of the fourth century B.C., or more strictly speaking those subsequent to a change in the system of administration which took place shortly before the archonship of Euklides (403 2 B.C.),¹ afford a much more complicated subject of study than the Treasure-records of the fifth century. There is, in the first place, a far larger number of inscriptions, covering nearly a hundred years; the objects dedicated are incomparably more numerous, and are constantly increasing; and the frequent changes in the method of recording the treasures, and in the system of their administration, add to our difficulty, and furnish many problems of which a final solution is probably unattainable. The task of workers in this field has, however, been much simplified by the recent republication of all the material in the latest part of the *Editio Minor* of the Attic Corpus (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. ii. iii. Pars II., Fasc. i., 1927.), and it would be hard to exaggerate the importance of this publication, thanks to Kirchner's masterly handling of the texts concerned.

The value of this, as of all similar publications, lies in the fact that it provides an incentive as well as a starting-point for fresh discoveries, both in detail and in interpretation, and the present article offers a first instalment of the results of some small discoveries achieved in these records. It is concerned with the *Traditio* of the year 398 7 B.C., the record of the handing over by the Ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν in the year of Euthykses (398 7) to their successors in the year of Souniades (397 6), of the objects in the Hekatompedon, and certain others. This record, which was brought to England by Chandler and is now in the British Museum (*B.M. Gr. Inscr.* I. xxix. ; *I.G.* ii. 652 ; *I.G.* ii². 1388.), is among the best-preserved of the whole series, as far as it goes; and as it has the added importance of being dated, its value for our study is inestimable. It is incomplete below, and hitherto no serious attempt has been made, to my knowledge, to compute its original length, or to combine with it any other published fragment. I can, however, now add to it an unpublished fragment, which somehow escaped Kirchner's notice and which immediately joins it below, and a further portion, already published, which undoubtedly formed the foot of the stele. A considerable amount is lacking from between these two additional pieces, but nevertheless it is possible to arrive at a fairly exact calculation of the original height of the stele, and of the nature and number of its contents when complete.

¹ For the circumstances of this change see H. Kirchner, *Ueber die Athenischen Schatzverhältnisse des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1896), pp. 12-17. This dissertation is still of the utmost value for our subject.

although on some points the author's views or conjectures have been disproved by subsequent discoveries.

I. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, and inscribed on both faces. H. 28; max. br. of inscribed faces 112; th. 204. Letters, on A, *ca.* .009; interval between lines .0040–.0048; on B, letters *ca.* .01; interval between lines *ca.* .0055. Both sides inscribed στοιχηδόν. Epigraphical Museum No. 6790. (Unpublished.) (Fig. 1.)

The surface of A is much injured, especially across the middle, and from l. 6 onwards the letters to the left of the centre have almost all perished through the weathering away of the marble. On B, the letters preserved are seldom doubtful, but an oblique fracture has removed a large portion of the lower right-hand corner.

(A)	(B)
Ξ Κ Α Ρ	
Π Π Π Π	A
Ξ Τ Α Θ Μ Ο	Α Ρ Ι Θ Μ Ο Ξ Τ
Θ Α Λ Λ Ο Λ Α	Υ Ξ Ι Ο Ν Ε Χ Ο
Π Ι Ν Α Ξ Α	Λ Κ Ι Α Ε Χ Ο Ν
Υ Ρ Ο Ν	Π Π Ξ Υ Ν Τ Ω
Η	Π Π Ε Ν Κ Ο Ι Τ
Τ	Ξ Υ Α Λ Ι Ν Π
Ν	Ρ Ο Ξ Κ Α Τ
Ο Ν Π	Α Ξ Κ
Τ Η Ξ Τ	Ξ
Π Π Π Π	
Π Π Π Π Ε Β Δ Ο	
Π Π Δ Δ Δ Δ Ι	
Ε Ν Δ Ε Κ	
Η Π Η Π Δ	
Α Ρ Τ	
Δ Ε Κ Α Τ	
Ο Λ Ο Ν	
Π	

The exact position of A, the obverse face of the fragment, is determined by its first line, as the letters ΚΑΡ form the beginning of the item *καρχήσιον* Διὸς Πολιῶς ἀργυρῶν, σταθμὸν τοῦτο ΗΠΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠ, which commences with the 18th letter of l. 48 of the stele, and the symbols ΠΠΠΠ in l. 2 form the end of its weight, 198 drs. It must be observed that the weight definitely ends in ΠΠΠΠ, followed by a stop, although in all the other records later than 403/2 where the item is recognisable the weight is 199 drs.² This

² In the fifth-century lists of the objects in the Hekatompedon (*I.G.* i². 262 ff.) it weighs 200 drs. It is not worth while to collect examples of similar

inconsistencies in the weights of these votive offerings, or to discuss their possible causes. Cf. Lehner, *op. cit.* p. 24.

restoration gives us, moreover, the satisfactory assurance that our fragment must be restored with lines containing 45 letters, as on the obverse of 1388. It is now possible to undertake the restoration of the whole text down to the end of our fragment, with the following result:³

- [Ἀντιγένης ἄρχοντος· καρ[χ]ήσιον Διὸς Πολιῶς ἀργυρῶ[ν, στ-]
 [αθμὸν τοῦτο Η[ΔΔΔΔ]Π[ΤΤΤΤ]· Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας χρυσίδ[ε-]
 50 [εσ φιάλαι ΙΙΙ, τούτων] σταθμὸ[ν Π . . ΤΤΤΤ]· χρυσίδες ΙΙΙ[καὶ κονδυ-] (46)
 [λωτὸν ἕν, Στέφανος] Θάλλο Λα[μπτρεὺς ἀνέθηκε, σταθμὸν το-]
 [ύτων ΠΗΔΔΔΔΠ[ΤΤΤΤΤΤ]· πίνᾱξ ἀ[ργυρῶς, σταθμὸν τοῦτο Χ[ΔΔΔΔΔ-]
 [ΤΤΤΤΤΤ]· χερνιβεῖον ἀργ[υρῶν, [σταθμὸν τοῦτο Χ[ΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔ-]
 [ραυρωνίας χρυσὴ θριπ[τή]δεστος ἄλυσιν ἔχουσα χρυσῆν, ἦν ἀ-]
 55 [νέθηκεν Κάλλιον Ἀριστ[οκλέος γυνή, σταθμὸν ταύτης ΤΤΤΤ]
 [- - - zv. 18 - - - -] Ν[- - - - zv. 20 - - - - ὑδρίαί]
 [ἀργυραῖ· πρώτη, σταθμ[ὸν Π [ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΠ[ΤΤΤΤ]· δευτέρα, σταθμ-]
 [ὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΤ· τρί]τη, στ[αθμὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΤ· τετάρτη, σ-] (44)
 [ταθμὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ]Π[ΤΤΤΤΤΤ]· [πέμπτη, σταθμὸν Χ[ΤΤΤΤΤΤ]· ἕκτη, στα-]
 60 [θμὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠ]Τ[ΤΤΤΤΤΤ]· ἑβδό[μη, σταθμὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ· ὀγ-]
 [δόη, σταθμὸν ΠΗΗ[ΗΗ]Δ[ΔΔΔΔ]Ι[ΙΙΙΙ]· ἐνάτη, σταθμὸν Χ[ΤΤΤΤ]· δεκάτη, σ-] (44)
 [ταθμὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΤ·] ἐνδεκ[άτη, σταθμὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΠ[ΙΙΙΙ]· δω-]
 [δεκάτη, σταθμὸν ΠΗ[ΗΗΗ]Δ[ΔΔΔΔ]· τρίτης καὶ δεκάτης, σταθμὸ-]
 [ν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤΤΤ· τετ[άρτη]ς καὶ δεκάτης, σταθμὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔ-] (46)
 65 [ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ· πέμπτης καὶ] δεκάτ[ης, σταθμὸν ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ· ἕκτη-]
 [ς καὶ δεκάτης, στα]θμὸν [ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠ[ΤΤΤΤΤΤΤΤ]· ἑβδόμης καὶ δ-]
 [εκάτης, σταθμὸν ΠΗΗ[ΗΗ]Δ[ΔΔΔΔΤ· ὀγδόης καὶ δεκάτης, (κ.τ.λ.)]

(Assuming the number of hydriai to have been 27, the last figure of the weight of No. 27 would come in l. 74, as the 25th letter.)

Now that its position has been fixed exactly, we may proceed to give to the lines of our fragment the line-numbers of the stele as a whole.

Ll. 49, 50. The restoration of these two lines is not certain. The same objects are found, in the same order as here, but separated by three entries, in *I.G.* ii². 1386, ll. 4-6, and 10-12, and successively in 1400, ll. 39, 40, and 1401, ll. 22-24, but in no case has the description survived in full. Thus, in 1386 we have, for the first, [Ἀρτέμιδος Βρα]υρωνίας χρυσίδες - - zv. 26 - - ΤΤΤΤ; in 1400, Ἀρτέμι[δος Βραυρωνίας χρυσίδες - - zv. 33 - -], followed by Ἀθηναίας χρυσίδες τρεῖς, κ.τ.λ.; and in 1401, Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρων[ίας χρυσίδες - - zv. 30 - - Ἀθηναίας] χρυσίδες τρεῖς, κ.τ.λ. Our new fragment enables us to complete ll. 49-51 (partly read by Chandler, but now lost owing to further damage to the stone) as Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας χρυσίδ[εσ | εσ - - zv. 13 - -] σταθμὸ[ν] χρυσίδες ΙΙΙ[καὶ κονδυ | λωτὸν ἕν, Στέφανος] Θάλλο Λα[μπτρεὺς ἀνέθηκε, σταθμὸν το | ύτων ΠΗΔΔΔΔΠ[ΤΤΤΤΤΤ]]. It is by no means easy to fill the gap at the beginning of l. 50, as none of the lists helps us towards the word following χρυσίδες,

³ I have not shown as missing the letters read by the stele, Chandler but now lost owing to subsequent injury to

and, moreover, for the weight there are seven spaces only on our list between σταθμόν and the next item, whereas in 1400 the weight seems to have occupied nine spaces. In considering this anomaly, we must start with the figures ††† preserved from the end of the weight in 1386, and then take into account the note added by Köhler on the reading of the first nine symbols in l. 40 of *I.G.* ii. 2,660.⁴ Lehner recognised that the same objects were referred to in these two passages,⁵ and restores [†HH†]Δ††† as the weight of the χρυσίδες, but assumed that in 1386 (which he refers to as 'D') there was room for a weight occupying nine spaces, on the view that



FIG. 1.—UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENT OF *I.G.* ii.² 1388.

the lines might have contained as many as 43 letters, though actually they contain (as the *Editio Minor* shows) only 41. On our new fragment the weight plainly occupied only seven spaces, and it seems impossible to reconcile this with the nine spaces in 1400 (= ii. 2,660) without recourse to some form of emendation. In 1401 the corresponding entry contains 30 spaces in all after χρυσίδες, and thus agrees with 1386, whereas we find in 1400 there are 33 spaces after that word, but only 27 in 1388. The difference between the last two passages could, it is true, be accounted for

⁴ *Numeros exaratos fuisse suspicatus sum : primo loco fortasse fuit [†].*

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 32, note.

by inserting τούτων after σταθμόν in 1401, and omitting it in 1388, where it certainly did not follow σταθμόν, since the seven spaces must have been filled by the weight-figures; but this does not solve the problem of the weight, and does nothing to help us in restoring the word and the number immediately after χρυσίδες. These, we have seen, occupy 13 spaces in 1388, and if we accept nine spaces for the weight in 1400, we are left with either 11 or 17 spaces according as we insert or omit τούτων after σταθμόν. In 1386 and 1401, which each show 30 vacant spaces in all after the word χρυσίδες, the entries must have been identical, but we have nothing left except the last four symbols of the weight (††††), in the former text.

I would suggest that, on the evidence of 1388, we must not assume the weight in 1386 to have been necessarily nine spaces long, and this will apply equally to 1401. 1388 points to a seven-space weight, and as it is intermediate in date between the other two, we may accept this as a likely restoration there also. Further, as 1400 is later than 1401,⁶ it seems quite possible that the nine-figure weight there is due to some addition having been made to the number of vessels recorded in the other three lists. Let us start by inserting φιάλαι after χρυσίδες in each list,⁷ and assume that in the first three the number of them was three, increased to five in the latest list, 1400. The discrepancy between 1386 (and 1401) and 1388 is next to be explained by restoring τρεῖς in the first two lists after φιάλαι to fill four spaces, but ||| to fill the single space in 1388; and if we insert τούτων *before* σταθμόν in the last-named list, but after it in the other two, we fill our gap, except for the first three symbols of the weight. Leaving this for a moment, we turn to 1400, and restore χρυσίδες φιάλαι πέντε, σταθμόν τούτων [HHH]Δ†††† (763 drs., 1 obol), which exactly fills our 33 spaces; and returning to 1388, etc., it is very tempting to read [H as the first of the missing weight-signs, and to assume that the two additional χρυσίδες, bringing the total up to five, weighed at least 100 drs. each.⁸ This would give us 563 drs., 1 obol as the maximum for the three and 509 drs., 1 obol as the minimum. Certainty is not to be attained until some fresh document comes to light, but the suggested restorations fit so well with the requirements of the three different texts, and with each other, that no further pleading on their behalf is called for.

In the next entry χρυσίδες ||| καὶ κονδυλωτὸν ἕν, dedicated to Athena by Στέφανος Θάλλο Λαμπιτρέυς, we need feel no doubt about the restoration,

⁶ As is shown below, p. 151.

⁷ For the use of φιάλαι in apposition to χρυσίδες cf. *I.G.* ii.² 1396, l. 26 f. (Opisthodomos); the same objects seem also to have been called indifferently χρυσίδες and φιάλαι χρυσαῖ.

⁸ Two χρυσίδες, weighing together 274 drs., appear in the Parthenon list for 399.8 (*I.G.* ii.² 1377, l. 20; cf. 1373, l. 14 f., 1376, l. 15 f.), but seem to disappear from the lists soon afterwards (see the Editor's note on 1377, l. 20). If they had been transferred to the Hekatompedon, and thus represented the additional two found in 1400, l. 39 f., we should have expected the weight of the original three χρυσίδες to be 763 drs., 1 obol, less 274 drs. =

489 drs., 1 obol (HHHH[HH]ΔΔΔ□†††††), which gives us 14 spaces instead of the seven required in 1388. It appears that there is no likely weight for five vessels of this sort which fulfils both our requirements, namely, to occupy nine spaces and, after having had 274 drs. subtracted, to leave a weight of seven spaces' length. Thus we can scarcely claim to recognise the two χρυσίδες from the Parthenon as those added to the three of Artemis Brauronia in the Hekatompedon at some date before 390/89, to which date 1400 belongs. (Nevertheless if the addition were erroneous, 509 drs. - 254 = 763; but the difference of 20 drs. is not thus lightly to be juggled with!)

thanks to Chandler's copy giving us the position of the word χρυσίδες, and to Θάλλο, the dedicator's patronymic, being preserved on our fragment. We must, however, insert as a 46th letter in l. 50 the Υ of κονδυ|λωτόν, or else read κονδ|υλωτόν, ἃ Στέφανος, κ.τ.λ., which avoids the need for the extra letter. A variant reading seems to occur in 1401, l. 23 f., where the stone reads κονδυλωτόν ἐν α - -; the editor suggests ἃ[στατα ταῦτα], which is surely wrong, seeing that these objects are always weighed in our other lists. I would restore ἃ [Στέφανος Λαμπρεὺς ἀνέθηκεν, σταθμὸν τούτων ΠΗΔΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ], and the omission of the patronymic, as well as of the ἃ, makes this restoration work out exactly in 1400, l. 40.^{8a}

Ll. 52, 53. The πῖναξ, weighing 1093 drs., 3 obols, is followed in 1400, l. 41, by a χερνιβεῖον ἄργυρὸν of unknown weight (no doubt correctly restored in 1401, l. 25). The same two objects seem to appear successively in 1385, ll. 14, 15, but again we get no clue to the weight of the latter. Here again there are different spaces available for the weight: in 1385 the gap is of uncertain length, since the next entry is not recognisable; in 1400 there are 14 spaces after σταθμὸν, and in 1401 only 13, whereas in our fragment there seems room for only seven in view of the restoration of the next item, the golden θριπήδεστος of Artemis Brauronia, which follows the χερνιβεῖον in both 1400 and 1401. To fill our seven spaces I restore τούτο Χ^Π, as we find in a later list (1428, l. 55, recording τὰ τῆς θεᾶς and dating from 367/6 B.C.) two vessels of this type, weighing respectively 1050 and 940 drs.⁹ This restoration will not, however, help us in 1400 and 1401, for it is unlikely that τούτο was inserted after σταθμὸν, seeing that it is omitted in both inscriptions from the description of the πῖναξ immediately before it; and we have accordingly 12 spaces left free after inserting Χ^Π in 1400, but only 11 in 1401. In the interests of uniformity, it is simpler to assume that both these two lists contained the same entry inserted after the weight, though I cannot account for the discrepancy. If the gap is taken to consist of 11 letters, perhaps τῆς Ἀθηναίας would fill it best, in spite of the fact that, in 1400 at any rate, it does not precede the name of the object, as might naturally have been expected. (In 1401 the whole item is to be restored.) If 12 spaces are preferable, as is my own inclination, they should probably be filled with some short description, e.g. σὺν τῷ βάθρῳ;¹⁰ there could hardly have been, so early in the fourth century, a reference to its damaged condition.

L. 53 is completed with the word Ἀρτέμιδος, for the name of the goddess normally precedes the description of the χρυσῇ θριπήδεστος with a golden chain, dedicated by Kallion, and weighing 2 drs., 1 obol. The only letters surviving from this entry on our fragment are Η in l. 54, letter 19, and Τ below it in the next line; the former falls into place where required

^{8a} I think we may recognise the same item, but with its weight given as 649 drs., 3 obols, in 1407, ll. 24, 25. I hope to publish subsequently some further restorations in this important list, the *traditio* of τὰ τῆς θεᾶς for 385/4.

⁹ There is no doubt that this χερνιβεῖον, like the χρυσίδες and the πῖναξ before it, was the property of

Athena. Had it been otherwise, its ownership would have been indicated.

¹⁰ This is suggested by, and might be connected with, the curious entry in 1421, col. iii. ll. 67 ff.: ἄργυριο ἐπ[ιτῆκτο ὁ κατέ]βαλε πρὸς τὸ [βάθρον?] τὸ χερνιβε[ιο - -] Σουνιεὺς, [σταθμὸν] Η. Another possibility is σὺν τοῖς ἡλοῖς.

in the word *θηριπήδεστος*, and the *τ* becomes the fifth letter after the end of the name *Κάλλιον*, in a gap of which the length is seen to be 15 spaces in 1400, and apparently 14 in 1401. In this gap we may expect to find the name of the father or husband of Kallion, but a single *τ* does not take us far towards a restoration. A further clue is, however, forthcoming by comparing this entry with that in 1402, ll. 6, 7, where we have good grounds for the following reading: [- χρυσῇ θηριπήδεστος, χ]ρυσῇν ἄλυσιν ἔχουσα, Ἀρτ[έμι]δι Βραυρωνίαί ἀνέθηκε]οκλέος γυνή, σταθμόν τ[α]ύτης [- -].¹¹ Some name ending in -τοκλῆς, with four letters lost at the beginning, is thus indicated for both passages, and as [Ἀρις]τοκλῆς is by far the most likely alternative, I restore l. 55 accordingly.

L. 56 is much more difficult. There is no possible doubt that in l. 57 we reach the beginning of the list of silver hydriai, for the letters surviving from it (on l. 10 of our fragment) refer to the weight of the first hydria [σταθμ]όν [Ῥ[ΗΗΗΗ, κ.τ.λ.]. On restoring before this [ὑδρίαί ἀργυραῖ· πρώτη, σταθμ]όν, κ.τ.λ. we find that, if the usual number of letters to the line is maintained, the final *iota* of ὑδρίαί falls at the end of l. 56; and thus leaves us with 39 spaces to fill before it, since the *θηριπήδεστος* entry, ending with σταθμόν ταύτης τττ, reached exactly to the end of l. 55. Unfortunately we cannot find the requisite entries to complete line 56, since 1400 and 1401 give us, after the *θηριπήδεστος*, ἐξαγίστο χρυσίο συμμείκτο ἀσήμο, σταθμόν ῬΗΔττττττττ, and ὑπαργύρο χρυσίο σταθμόν Γ . . ., requiring 67 spaces (43 + 24) altogether. On our fragment the only recognisable letter in this line is *ν*, as already stated, and, in relation to either of these two items, it could only come in the word σταθμόν, with the result that we should have an impossibly short space for the description of the first item, and after the weight, a totally inadequate space for the second. The difficulty is not surmounted by substituting the nominative, ἐξαγίστον, κ.τ.λ. In the circumstances, we must reluctantly leave the gap unfilled, and assume that some other entries figured here, to which we have no clue. It does not help us to consider other items which immediately precede the hydria-list in 1400 or 1401, since the order there is different from here, the item preceding the list being the *καρχήσιον* of Zeus Polieus (recorded above in l. 48 of our stele).

Ll. 56-66. With the hydria-catalogue we are at length in smooth water, for the weights are mostly well known, though a few vary slightly between one list and another, as will be seen below. Our difficulties do not, however, entirely disappear, since the letters and figures preserved on our fragment prove sometimes to conflict with the expected spacing. The numerals are at first entered in the nominative, as can be seen in l. 58, where the letters ΤΗΞΤ survive from τρίτη σταθμόν, but it seems necessary to assume that

¹¹ This text is badly published in the *Ed. Minor* of the *Corpus*, as (1) there is an erroneous indication of a margin on the left; (2) the existing margin on the right is ignored, though its position is correctly stated in my publication of this stone in *J.H.S.* xxviii. (1908), pp. 301 ff., No. 4—it just leaves room for στέφανος in l. 3 and Ἀρτ[έμι] only in l. 6; (3) the last two signs in l. 7 are given as Δ, whereas my facsimile correctly

shows them as ΤΑ. This is to be restored with 46 letters to the line, but, as the στοιχηδόν arrangement is not strictly observed throughout, a line of 47 letters is quite permissible. Kirchner has now corrected these mistakes in the latest fascicule of the *Editio Minor* (*I.G.* ii.², pars II. Fasc. ii. (1931)¹, *Suppl.* p. 799.

from No. 13 onwards the genitive is substituted for it, as otherwise we get our spacing more and more inexact. We have to note the following points: in l. 58, a vacant space must be left towards the end of the line, since the weight of the third hydria (982 drs.) is not doubtful, and after it τετάρτη, σ|σταθμὸν [P H H H H P Δ Δ Δ P F F F F] will bring the four drachma-signs correctly under the τηστ preserved in the line above. This gives us a weight occupying 14 spaces, which could only be 989 or 994 according as the tenth sign was P or Δ. It is only recently that the question has been definitely answered, for in the list of the year 369/8, extracted a few years ago from the north face of the west doorway of the Parthenon, and now published by Dr. N. Kyparissis,¹¹ we find that this hydria weighed 989 drs. There seem to be traces of the P on our fragment, before the four drachma-signs. In l. 59, for the weight of the fifth hydria, I prefer to restore X F F F III, again following the list for 369/8, rather than X F F F III (= 1004½) which is restored in 1400, 1401 and 1425. This avoids the need for inserting an extra letter at the end of the line, which would otherwise be required, in view of the fixed position of the letters ΕΒΔΟ and of the end of the weight preceding it. From the weight of No. 6 we have only F F III preserved, and I prefer to restore it as [P H H H H P Δ Δ Δ P] F F III (= 987½), following 1400, 1401 and 1425, rather than as 997½, following the new list, where it may be due to an error of the engraver. In l. 61, the last three *deltas* of the weight of No. 8 are visible below the letters εβδ, and there are faint traces of a *hasta* following them, but it is impossible to say if this is from a P or from the first of two obol-signs: in 1385, for which we have only Fourmont's copy, the weight ends in Δ P III (= 995 drs., 4 obols); in 1407, for which we have only Chandler's copy, in Δ III II (= 990 drs., 5 obols); but in the new list (1424a), in Δ P III (= 995 drs., 3 obols). I follow, without full conviction, the reading of Chandler rather than of Fourmont, as his copies of the other weights on this stele, where we can control them, are usually trustworthy; and thus the weight-signs for No. 8 end with the 22nd letter of the line. From this point to the commencement of ἐνδεκάτη, which comes at the 17th letter of the next line, we have 39 spaces; but we find that ἐνάτη, σταθμὸν X III· δεκάτη, σταθμὸν [P H H H H P Δ Δ Δ F] only occupy 37. As, however, we have no cause to doubt the weight of No. 10 (981 drs.), which is clearly legible in 1400, and is a certain restoration in 1401 (though 1424a gives it as 991), the line must have begun with σταθμὸν, leaving us with ἐνάτη, σταθμὸν X III (?)· δεκάτη, σ| (21 spaces) in the previous line. The weight is to be restored, I believe, as X F III (1001½), as in 1424a, for the old conjecture X III (1000½) is in reality one space too short to fill the gaps in 1400 and 1401; but even so we are left with a *vacat*, for which I cannot account, in line 61.

For the weights of Nos. 10, 11 and 12 the restoration is straightforward, but difficulties appear again after this. The word τετάρτη began in the 15th space in l. 64, giving us room before it for the *ny* of σταθμὸν and the weight of No. 13 (992 drs., requiring 13 spaces), but the letters τρίτη καὶ δεκάτη σταθμὸ| occupy only 20 spaces, after the weight of No. 12, whereas to fill the line they should take 22. I shrink from assuming two vacant

¹¹ 'Αρχ. Δελτιον, xi. pp. 127 ff. (No. 2); now republished in *I.G.* ii.², II. ii. *Suppl.* pp. 800 ff. as No. 1424a.

spaces at the end of the line, but will return to this problem shortly. For the weight of No. 14 our only authority is the new-found list (1424a), where we find it to be 990 drs., 4 obols, which would require 11 or 12 spaces according as the obol-signs were made to occupy one or two spaces, and the whole entry, τετάρτη καὶ δεκάτη, σταθμόν, κ.τ.λ., would occupy 34 or 35. As, however, we know exactly where the next entry began (for most of the word δεκάτη from the fifteenth entry is preserved), when we insert πέμπτη καὶ before it we find that we have 36 spaces—in fact yet one more, if not two, of these embarrassing vacant spaces. The situation becomes still more obscure when we reach the entries of the 15th and 16th hydriai, for we find the letters θμον of σταθμόν under the δεκά of the 15th hydria-entry, which leaves us 16 spaces for its weight, although it cannot have exceeded 13. The weight is supplied by the new list (1424a), which confirms the accepted restoration ΠΗΗΗΗΠΔΔ[ΔΔ]ΠΠΠ in 1401 (1400 erroneously gives it as only 992 drs.). We must not postulate three—still less four—blank spaces at the end of our line, and only one solution seems possible, namely, that the numerals must be in the genitive for Nos. 15 and 16, for by restoring these two entries in this case instead of the nominative we obtain the correct spacing at once. Further, by making the same change for hydria No. 13 we solve the problem of the two undesirable vacant spaces in l. 63 or 64, and it follows as a matter of course that we must do the same for No. 14, with the result that we have only 10 spaces in which to restore its weight. In the circumstances it is necessary to insert an extra letter in the margin at the end of l. 64, and allot 11 spaces to the weight, making the four obol-signs occupy one space only, as in 1388A, l. 29. The amended reading for Nos. 13–16 will accordingly be: [τρίτης καὶ δεκάτης, σταθμόν | ν ΠΗΗΗΗΠΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠ · τετ]άρτ[ης καὶ δεκάτης, σταθμόν ΠΗΗΗΗΠΔ | ΔΔΔΠΠΠ · πέμπτης καὶ] δεκάτ[ης σταθμόν ΠΗΗΗΗΠΔΔΔΔΠΠΠ · ἕκτη | ς καὶ δεκάτης, σταθμόν | ΠΗΗΗΗΠΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΠΠΠ · ἑβδόμης καὶ δ | εκάτης, σταθμόν ΠΗΗ]Η[ΠΔΔΔΔΠΠ · κ.τ.λ.].

This inconsistency is strange, but I see no other possible explanation for the irregularity in the spacing after the entry of hydria No. 12. It is, however, quite clear that the genitive was not used all through the list, for not only can we read [τρί]τη στ[αθμόν] on the stone, but the spacing of Nos. 7–12 only fits with the ordinals in the nominative—the sole exceptions being the two vacant spaces found in ll. 58 and 61. We need not doubt that the genitive continued to be used throughout the list of hydriai. Our fragment takes us no further than the remains of the weight of No. 17,¹² but we need scarcely doubt that the stele contained all of the 27 which we find in 1400 and 1401. They cannot have been more, since 27 is the total found in both those lists, which are later than our stele.¹³ It is true that in 1385 they number only 20, being then followed, it seems, by the silver πίνᾱξ and χερνιβείον, which were entered at the beginning of our

¹² There were faint traces of, apparently, ΗΗ as the 16th and 17th letters of the line, but the photograph does not show them. I noted them in 1909 when I first copied this fragment, but on re-examining the stone (in 1931) I could not see any signs of the first

of the two.

¹³ 1400 belongs to the year 390/89, and 1401 seems to date from a few years earlier, rather than later, since its contents are less numerous (cf. p. 151).

fragment (ll. 52, 53 of the stele),¹⁴ but this, owing to its unusual arrangement, must be an earlier list than ours; and further evidence is supplied by 1381, ll. 6-9, where the addition of seven hydriai (to the original 20) has been convincingly recognised,¹⁵ again in a list which by its arrangement must be earlier than ours. Further proof again comes from 1406,



FIG. 2.—*I.G. ii.2* 1408 (left-hand portion).

a fragment containing a portion of the hydria-list from No. 4 to No. 22, which, I feel sure, forms part of 1393, the list which we have already recognised as furnishing the closest parallel of all to 1388. I hope to

¹⁴ I hope to offer a restoration of this passage in 1385 in my next article.

¹⁵ By Professor A. B. West, who has generously allowed me to make use of his suggestion.

demonstrate, in a subsequent article, that it is slightly later than 1388, belonging in all probability to 397/6.

On the assumption, which rests on this strong evidence, that all 27 hydriai appeared in our list, and that the ordinals after the 12th hydria were uniformly in the genitive, the end of the last (27th) hydria-entry will fall in line 74, at the 25th letter of that line. How much longer the stele was when complete will be considered later.

II. Before turning to the inscription on the reverse of our fragment, we must consider the other piece which I attribute to 1388, namely, 1408. This consists of two fragments, of which the right-hand one was published in *I.G.* ii. 2, 665, and the left-hand one (Fig. 2), by myself in *J.H.S.* xxix. (1909), pp. 172 ff., No. 2. When combining and studying these two fragments I was struck by the fact that the thickness of the stele was very close to that of 1388 (*I.G.* ii. 2, 652, as it then was), and also that the number of letters per line (51) agreed with the reverse of that stele, and that the lettering was very similar on both stones. Nevertheless, the restoration of the contents, and the conclusion based on it that the list was one of those containing τὰ τῆς θεᾶς, and dated therefore after the change in the system of administration of the treasures which took place in 385/4, seemed to



FIG. 3.—*I.G.* ii.² 1408: REMAINS OF INSCRIPTION ON OBVERSE, FORMING THE END OF 1388 A.

show that the points of similarity with 1388 were without significance. Köhler, it is true, had assigned *I.G.* ii. 2, 665 to the Hekatompedon-lists prior to 385/4, but Lehner's arguments to the contrary seemed convincing,¹⁶ and Kirchner followed this attribution in republishing the stone in the *Ed. Minor*. And yet the decisive evidence was available all along if I had only known, for when I came to re-examine the right-hand block (ii. 2, 665) nearly twenty years later I looked at the back (for the first time, I am ashamed to say) and saw that it had never been cleaned. It was much encrusted with earth and mortar, and when these had been carefully removed the remains of an inscription came to light just below the upper line of breakage. These consist of parts of two lines only, with six letters in the upper and 14 in the lower, which is the last line of this face; below it is a vacant space .202 high, and the surface is dressed down to the very bottom of the stele, unlike the reverse, where a portion of the blank space has been left unsmoothed. The facsimile (Fig. 3) shows these letters, and indicates their position relative to the left-hand edge of the stele. They read thus:

[δ]ακτυλί - -

. η λιθαρά[γ]υρίνη σ[τα]θμ[ὸν] - - -].

The latter item is plainly some noun ending in -η, such as οἰνοχόη or φιάλη. The adjective, hitherto unknown in these lists, is a very rare word: it is formed from λιθαργυρος, meaning unrefined silver, which is cited

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 62, 68.

by Aristotle as an example, along with tin, of a metal which looks like silver.¹⁷

To restore this passage proved easy after all, for it was reasonably certain that the entries would correspond to those recorded in 1393, l. 32, 1400, l. 52 f., and 1401, l. 38 which immediately precede the rubric τάδε ἄγραφα παρέδοσαν καὶ ἄστατα ἐπέτεια, found at the head of 1388 B. The relevant passage in 1393 may be restored in the light of 1400 to read thus: [Γλύκη Ἀρχ]εστράτο ἀνέθ[ηκεν εἰλικτῆρες, δακτυλίω χρυσῷ 11, διάλιθον·] χρυσᾷ [ταῦτα ἐπὶ] τῷ βάθρο· φιάλ[η - - - 23 - - . Τάδε ἄγραφα παρέδοσαν καὶ | ἄστα]τα ἐπέτε[ι]α, κ.τ.λ.; applying this to our text we obtain [δ]ακτυλί[ω χρυσῷ 11, διάλιθον· χρυσᾷ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρο· φιά|λ]η λιθαρ[γ]υρίνη σ[τα]θμ[ὸν - - -], with 45 letters to the line as required. The similarity of 1393 and 1388 is again borne out, but we find that neither 1400 nor 1401 includes the φιάλη, which must have been transferred to some other place in the list, and both insert ἄστατα after ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρο, for which 1388 leaves no room. We can in turn complete the passage in 1393 by inserting after φιάλη in the 23 vacant spaces [λιθαργυρίνη σταθμὸν τάδε ἄγραφα, κ.τ.λ.]. As the weight in 1393 has always a vacant space before and after it, we learn that the phiale had a weight filling three spaces only.¹⁸ The other large fragment from the base (*J.H.S.* xxix. l.c.) has none of the inscription on the other (obverse) face preserved, as a result of injury to the surface. This is most unfortunate, as, being taller than the other portion, it might well have given us material for the restoration of the last six lines of this face at least.

We have thus identified the foot of the stele without any possibility of doubt remaining, for it corresponds to all our requirements; and it is now necessary to obtain, at least approximately, an indication of the original height of the stone, and of the number of lines it had on each face. We must admit that an exact calculation is out of the question, for our data do not suffice. The obverse face offers the better chance of success, owing to the larger amount of material for comparison. We have already recovered its contents almost with absolute fullness down to the end of the hydria-list in line 74, and for the items to insert between this point and the foot of the stele we must rely on 1393, 1400 and 1401, as before, and to some extent on 1403. Unfortunately 1393 gives us only portions of seven lines before the rubric corresponding to that at the head of the reverse face of our stele. Of these lines the dedication of Γλύκη Ἀρχεστράτο occupies most of the last two, and the other five cannot be restored in full. I have suggested already, and hope to discuss the point more fully later, that the hydria-list for this year is contained in 1406, and is to be placed between fragments *a* and *b* of 1393, but it is not possible to calculate the number of lines lost between it and the top of *b*, though its place with regard

¹⁷ More strictly it means silver from which the lead has not been extracted. *Arist. Soph. Elench.* 1, §2, Φαίνεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν οἷον τὰ μὲν λιθαργύρινα καὶ τὰ καττιτρίνα ἀργυρᾶ. The word λιθαργυρος appears also as an adjective, quoted by Athenaeus, 451 c.

¹⁸ I cannot recognise this φιάλη in any other list, and it would be rash to suggest its identity with a φιάλη ὑπάργυρος ἀκυλωτή weighing ΗΓ||| (101 drs., 4 obols) in 1425, col. I, l. 93 (cf. 1428, col. II, l. 109 f.), in spite of the weight appropriately filling three spaces.

to *a* can be fixed pretty closely. Our only hopes lie in the less exact parallels afforded by 1400, 1401, and 1403, which we must now consider. No. 1400 is a large stele, complete above and on the left only, and originally inscribed with 91 letters to each line, on the average; it contains 72 lines of text, and the number of letters preserved varies between 45 and 50 in the first 45 lines, and gradually decreases until in l. 68 there are only 32, and in the last four lines fewer still. How much is lost from below cannot be accurately computed. The entries begin with line 8, letter 46, and in line 52, with letter 61, begins the rubric τάδε ἄγραφα παρέδοσαν καὶ ἄστατα ἐπέτεια, corresponding to that at the head of 1388 B. Thus there are approximately $46 \div 43 \times 91 \div 60$ letters (=4019) in the items which would be contained in 1388 A, if it had all the same items in the same wording. We have seen, however, that in the latter list the word σταθμόν is usually followed by τοῦτο (ταύτης, *vel sim.*), which is seldom inserted in 1400, so that if the number of items was the same they would occupy more spaces in 1388. On the other hand, the descriptions in 1400 tend to be fuller, so this excess is to some extent discounted. But more important is the fact that 1400 is several years later than 1388,¹⁹ and on that account is likely to contain many more items added during the intervening years.²⁰ In the circumstances it seems safe to say that 1388 is unlikely to have been as long as 1400, and that the items would thus have required less than 4000 letters, that is to say 88 lines plus 40 letters, which added to the 16 lines and 26 letters containing the names of the Tamiai and the opening rubric, would give us a stele with 106 lines, in the last of which were 21 letters. The evidence from 1401 tends to show that this estimate is too high. 1401 is a much-damaged stele, composed of four fragments, which give us neither the beginning nor the end of the list, but with the aid of 1400 most of the contents can be restored, in lines containing 76 letters. In l. 38, with letter 3, begins the rubric τάδε ἄγραφα παρέδοσαν, κ.τ.λ., and it is instructive to note, by comparison with 1400, that the items which come before this occupy less space than in 1400. Thus, from the end of the hydria-list, in l. 14, at letter 52, down to the end of the item before the ἄγραφα rubric, there are approximately 1774 letters in 1401 ($24 \div 23 \times 76 - 2$), as against 1849 ($59 - 19 \times 91 \div 61$) in 1400. Thus 1401 is plainly a shorter list than 1400, and may on that account be presumed to be earlier, as the difference is due to the omission of certain items, not merely to a less full description than in 1400. We are consequently justified in regarding it as a better guide than 1400 for the missing items in 1388, and I venture to assume that the items following the hydria-list as far as they coincide in 1400 and 1401 may be reasonably supplied in the missing portion of our stele, and need not be discussed in detail. We must, however, note that the 1774 letters contained on this stele between the hydria-list and the ἄγραφα rubric are not all to be supplied in 1388, since several items included in that number of letters appear on our stele *before* the hydria-list. These are:—(1) 3 silver oinochoai, weighing 1382

¹⁹ Cf. above, p. 147, n. 13.

²⁰ These additions were not all recorded at the end of the list, as we may see by comparing 1400

with 1401, for many can be recognised *before* the rubric τάδε ἄγραφα παρέδοσαν, κ.τ.λ.

drs., 2 obols, and (2) the gold crown (ἀριστεῖα τῇ θεῶι) weighing 272 drs., $3\frac{1}{2}$ obols, which together occupy 99 spaces (in ll. 14-15); (3) χρυσίδες τρεῖς, κ.τ.λ. of Artemis Brauronia; (4) χρυσίδες τρεῖς, κ.τ.λ., of Athena, dedicated by Stephanos; (5) the silver πῖναξ; (6) the silver χερνιβεῖον; (7) the gold θριπῆδεστος dedicated to Artemis Brauronia by Kallion. These last five items, which occur in succession in 1401 (as also in 1400, and in ll. 49-55 of our stele above), occupy four spaces less than four complete lines of 76 letters each, namely, 300 spaces exactly. Add to these the 99 letters for the first two items, and we have 399 letters to deduct from the total of 1774 suggested as our maximum above. But even 1375 (equivalent to 30 full lines of our stele, plus 25 letters) prove to be an excessive allowance, in the light of the information afforded by No. 1393, which is considerably shorter than No. 1401 in the passage which now concerns us, as may be seen by the following comparison. In 1393 (fragment *b*, l. 2) we have the entry φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ ἦν Ἀριστόλα ἀνέθηκε, κ.τ.λ., commencing with the 47th letter of that line, and from this point down to the last letter of the dedication by Γλύκη Ἀρχεστράτο, just before the rubric χρυσᾶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ, there are only 270 letters ($22 + 3 \times 68 + 44$), of which a few, perhaps eight, are represented by the spaces left vacant before and after the weight of each item. In No. 1401, on the other hand, we have within the same limits 453 letters (30 in l. 31, $+ 5 \times 76 + 52$ in l. 37, minus nine spaces left vacant at the end of l. 35), showing that items containing nearly 200 letters in all had been added in the interval between the engraving of the two lists. It is unfortunate that owing to the damaged condition of both lists we cannot restore either in full, but enough is preserved to show that the items recognisable on each are recorded in the same relative order.²¹ We may thus reduce our provisional estimate of 1375 letters, obtained from No. 1401, by the sum of 191 ($= 453 - 262$), as a result of following the guidance of the shorter list found in No. 1393, but to complete the total for this face we must add the 26(?) letters required for the φιάλη λιθαργυρίνη at the end of the list, and an additional, but uncertain, number for the insertion of τοῦτο or ταύτης after the word σταθμόν for all the single weighed items after the hydria-list where this is lacking in No. 1401. For this figure we have to add about 48 spaces, as representing the insertion of ταύτης eight times, and thus our final estimate for the number of letters to supply after the end of the hydria-list will be $1375 - 191 + 26(?) + 48 = 1258$. This would give us 27 lines and 43 letters to add after the 25th letter of l. 74, making the total length of the obverse face 102 lines, with 23 letters only in the last.²²

It must be confessed that this is only a tentative conclusion, which

²¹ The items contained in this part of 1401 are:— (1) φιάλη of Aristola; (2) ring of Dorkas; (3) unidentified παρακαταθήκη, weighing 404 drs., 3 obols; (4) uncertain, perhaps explanatory of (3); (5) ἀργύριον σύμμεικτον ἐπίτηκτον, weighing 12 drs.; (6) unidentified παρακαταθήκη (? of Athena); (7) παρακαταθήκη of Meletades, silver weighing 30 drs.; (8) unidentified; (9) dedication of Glyke. In 1393 we have Nos. 1, 2(?), 5, 7, 8(?) and 9, but 3, 4 and 6

are certainly not included, and the space would permit of Nos. 2 and 8 coming in their correct order, if in a shortened form.

²² No. 1403 does not really help us after all, as the φιάλη of Aristola and the ring of Dorkas (Nos. 1 and 2 in the previous note) are the last two recognisable items. I believe it to be, at any rate, earlier than 1401, but must reserve for another occasion a fuller discussion of its date and contents.

we cannot check unless new discoveries provide us with a fuller copy of the latter part of the list, and we would be well advised to regard it as an estimate of the maximum rather than of the minimum length for the contents. At the same time, the evidence of the lists which furnish the nearest parallels suggests that its length cannot have been very well less than 99 lines, and, as we shall see, the requirements of the proposed restorations of the reverse face imply that 102 lines for the obverse are none too many. Whatever was the exact number of lines, our estimate of the original height of the stele, and consequently of the number of lines to supply on the reverse, can only be approximate, as the spacing of the lines seems not to have been constant throughout either face of the stone. Thus, the average height of one line plus one interval on 1388 A (in ll. 12-48) is $\cdot 01415$ as against $\cdot 01335$ on the new fragment which contains ll. 48-66; and on B there is a corresponding decrease from $\cdot 0168$ to *ca.* $\cdot 0155$ which begins with l. 50; but at about ten lines from the end of the stone, as may be seen on 1408, the spacing becomes wider again, for the total interval between the tops of ll. 11 and 21 (*i.e.* the height of ten lines plus ten intervals) is no less than $\cdot 168$. To the question whether a similar increase was employed by the engraver at a corresponding distance before the end of A we can give no answer, but the undoubted fact that the interval between the last two lines of this face is abnormally wide, namely, $\cdot 0064$, while the lines themselves are of the normal height of $\cdot 009$, makes it a reasonable supposition. Even if the last ten lines had this wider spacing the difference in the height of the stele so caused would be less than two centimetres, and the dimensions as calculated on A would fall within the limits (*a*) and (*b*) shown thus in tabular form:

(a) Ht. to top of l. 12	$\cdot 208$	(b) as on (a)	$\cdot 208$
„ from top of l. 12 to top of l. 49	$\cdot 5235$	ditto	$\cdot 5235$
„ from top of l. 49 to top of l. 101		from top of l. 49 to top of l. 92	
(= $\cdot 01335 \times 52$)	$\cdot 6942$	(= $\cdot 01335 \times 43$)	$\cdot 57405$
„ of ll. 101-102 (= $\cdot 009 \times 2$		from top of l. 92 to foot of l. 102	
+ $\cdot 0064$)	$\cdot 0244$	(= $\cdot 0154 \times 10 + \cdot 009$)	$\cdot 163$
„ of blank space below last line	$\cdot 220$	blank space below	$\cdot 220$
Total	$1\cdot 6701$	Total	$1\cdot 68855$

We must now consider how many lines the reverse face contained, assuming that one of these two alternatives represents its original height. We have only to calculate the gap existing between the foot of our new fragment, which takes us, as we shall see, from line 45 to line 54, and the top of No. 1408, which gives us the last 22 lines of this face of the stele. The dimensions work out thus, in tabular form:

Ht. to top of 1388B l. 43	$\cdot 7041$	The difference, namely ($1\cdot 6701 - 1\cdot 5215 =$) $\cdot 1486$, would allow exactly of the insertion of 10 lines occupying only $\cdot 01486$ each if (<i>a</i>) be accepted, while the difference from (<i>b</i>), $\cdot 16705$, would allow of 11 lines each occupying $\cdot 015186$. Neither figure is as large as the average for ll. 43-54, which is $\cdot 01536$.
„ from top of l. 43 to top of l. 54 . . .	$\cdot 1754$	
„ from top of 1408, l. 11 to top of 1408, l. 12	$\cdot 169$	
„ from top of 1408, l. 12 to bottom of 1408, l. 22	$\cdot 181$	
„ of blank below 1408, l. 22	$\cdot 292$	
Total without missing portion	$1\cdot 5215$	

This leaves it clear that if A contained 102 lines, B cannot have contained more than $54 + 11 + 22 (= 87)$ if the final lines of A were widely

spaced, and if not, then B had only 86 lines. I feel, though admittedly I have no convincing evidence to support the view, that the former alternative is more likely, and I have adopted it in my drawing of the stele as reconstructed (Fig. 4).

III. We must next deal with the contents of the reverse face of our new fragment. First, its position in the stele: we have seen that the obverse face (A) gave us letters which comprised nothing before the 17th nor

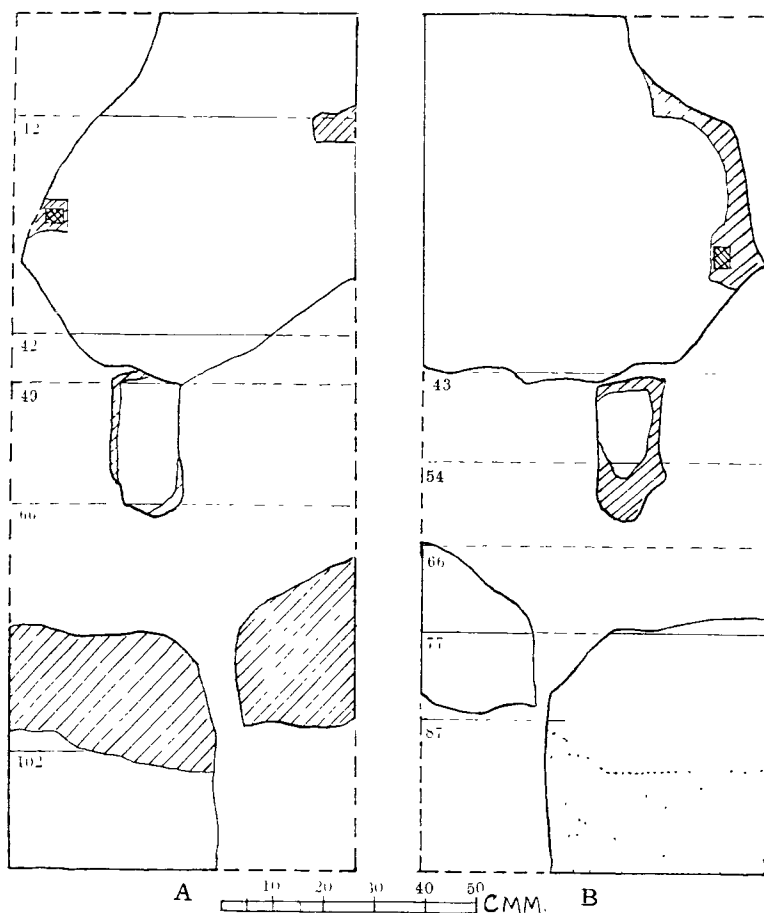


FIG. 4.—CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION OF STELE COMBINING *IG. ii.² 1388* (above) WITH NEW FRAGMENT (centre) AND 1408 (two fragments, below).

after the 22nd letter of each line of the stele. Actually its central vertical line runs through the 19th letter of each line, at a distance of .40 from the right-hand edge of the stone. The nature of the fractures is such that the central line of the reverse face (B) corresponds exactly, running through the centre of the letter μ in $\alpha\rho\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ in line 2, which consequently is to be placed .40 from the left-hand edge of this face, as the 31st letter of its line, since the 31st letters of each line on face B fall at .40 from this edge. Its vertical position is determined by the relation of its lines to those of A, which are fixed exactly through the coincidence of the first two lines of

the fragment with the last two of the upper portion of the stele (ll. 48, 49). Now the top of l. 47 of A comes at .7048 from the upper edge of the obverse of the stele, and the top of l. 43 of B comes at .7041 from the upper edge of the reverse face, and the average intervals between the tops of the lines are on A .01335 and on B .0168 (approximately), so that the relation of the lines on back and front is as follows:

A. L. 47 (top) .....	.7048	B. L. 43 (top) .....	.7041
L. 48 ( „ ) .....	.71815	L. 44 ( „ ) .....	.7209
L. 49 ( „ ) .....	.7315	L. 45 ( „ ) .....	.7377
L. 50 ( „ ) .....	.74485	L. 46 ( „ ) .....	.7545
etc.		etc.	

Thus the top of l. 48 of A was almost exactly level with the top of l. 44 of B, but, as can be seen in the photograph, the upper portion of face B is broken off, and l. 44 is lost; the single letter surviving in the top line of the fragment (*alpha*), the top level of which falls a trifle (actually .0062) below that of l. 49, must accordingly belong to l. 45. The same conclusion was roughly confirmed by measurements taken from the extreme top of the fragment itself, and, as we shall see when we examine its contents, restoration seems only possible on the assumption that the first line preserved on face B is l. 45 of the stele.

We may now transcribe the text of B, indicating the number of letters lost from each end of each line.

L. 45	- - - - zv. 33	- - - - Ϝ	- - - - zv. 17	- - -
	- - - - zv. 26	- - ᾱριθμὸς τ	- - - - zv. 17	- - -
	[- - - - zv. 24	- χρ]υσίον ἔχο[ν	- - - - zv. 16	- - -]
	[- - - - zv. 24	- χα]λκία ἔχον	- - - - zv. 17	- - -
	- - - - zv. 27	- - ἑστὸν τῷ[1	- - - - zv. 16	- - -]
50	- - - - zv. 26	- ΓΓ: ἐν κοίτ[η1	- - - - zv. 15	- - -]
	[- - - - zv. 21	- σφραγί]ς ὑαλίνη	- - - - zv. 17	- - -
	[- - - - zv. 23	- ἀργυ]ρος κατ	- - - - zv. 18	- - -
	- - - - zv. 27	- - ἀσκ	- - - - zv. 21	- - -
	- - - - zv. 27	- - Ϝ	- - - - zv. 23	- - -

This by itself gives us no clue to the full restoration of any single item, and we get no help from 1400, which breaks off almost exactly at the same point as 1388, leaving incomplete the description of the ὑποδερίς in l. 72, and no other record gives us the continuation of the list past this point, with one valuable exception which will be dealt with below. We may infer that the objects recorded in our fragment form a continuation of the miscellaneous collection, apparently all dedicated to Artemis Brauronia, found at the end of 1388 and 1400. These follow the rubric τάδε ἐν τῷ Ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτῇ τῆς Βραυρωνόθεν, and the list must have been a long one, since we may recognise many of these items, as well as several new ones, in the lists drawn up by the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (1445, 1446, etc.), where a large proportion of the individual items is prefaced by the words Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας. This is confirmed by our observing that a formula found in 1388, l. 43, and again in ll. 47, 48 (= 3, 4 of the new

fragment), is—*χρυσίον* (*χρυσία*, *vel sim.*) *ἔχων* (*ἔχον*, *vel sim.*), followed by a number. I am sure that the noun to be restored is either *ῥχθοιβος* or *χλιδών*, or, before a neuter participle, *χλιδώνιον*. (Compare 1445, l. 46; 1449, l. 3 f., *χλιδωνίω δύο χρυσία ἔχοντε* - -.) The latter clue proves to be worth following closely, for it is of the utmost value. In 1449, ll. 1, 2, we find *ὑπ[ο]δε[ρις]* - - - *ἀμφι[δέαι]* *δύο ἄρ[γυραῖ]*, which, as Lehner was the first to point out,²³ is unmistakably a recurrence of the entry found at the end of 1388, namely, *ὑποδερίς πρὸς λίνωι ἔχοσα—vv. 14—ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἄπυρον χρυσίον καὶ ἀμφιδέαι—*. We may thus restore the beginning of 1449 in the same way, completing the previous item from which only the last *ς* survives, which will give us [*σφραγίδες ὑάλιναι ΓΠ ποικίλαι περικεχρυσωμέναι, σφραγὶς περίχρυσ[ο]*], *ὑποδερίς πρὸς λίνωι ἔχοσα—vv. 14—ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἄπυρον χρυσίον καὶ ἀμφιδέαι δύο ἄργυραῖ*, with a line containing about 68 letters; and in turn this enables us to complete l. 42 of 1388 so as to read *ἀμφι[δέαι δύο ἄργυραῖ | . . . χλιδών χρυσία ἔ]χων ||| κ - -*. We shall find, moreover, that, by continuing this restoration, some of the few letters on our new fragment of 1388 are repeated in 1449 and in no case prove incompatible with the remains of the entries found there. We have already had occasion to notice that the list which furnished the closest parallels to 1388 was 1393, which had lines of 68 letters length, as well as the rather unusual feature of a vacant space before and after each weight or figure. As both these features are present in 1449, and as, moreover, the height and spacing of the letters agree on both fragments,²⁴ we need not hesitate to conclude that 1449 is yet another piece from the stele 1393, to which I have already added 1406, and that it must be restored to its proper place among the Hekatompedon-lists of a year very close to 398 7. The identity of their contents can be proved in the following way:—in 1449, l. 1, the word *ὑποδερίς* occupies spaces 3–10, and in l. 9 the words *σφραγὶς ὑάλινη* occupy spaces 1–13; in other words, there are eight complete lines, less ten letters, between the two items (=534 letters). In 1388 + the new fragment we have *ὑποδερίς* in l. 41 occupying spaces 17–24, and *σφραγὶς ὑάλινη* in l. 7 of the fragment (=l. 51 of the stele), occupying spaces 22–34. The two items are thus here separated by 27 letters in l. 41, + 9 lines of 51 letters, + 21 letters in l. 51, a total of 507 letters. The difference, 27 spaces (we need not be perturbed by the number being odd instead of even), is explained by the fact that there must have been thirteen or perhaps fourteen items each followed by a figure or weight, with a vacant space before and after each, in the interval between these two entries: this is by no means an unlikely number of items to supply. That this rather bold calculation is not mere guess-work is confirmed by the further evidence afforded by l. 47 (=l. 3 of our fragment), for the words [*χρ]υσίον ἔχο[v]*, which occupy spaces 25–35, prove to belong to the same entry as the letters *ν ἔχον* which are the first five letters of 1449, l. 6. Reckoning again from the fixed point afforded by the word *ὑποδερίς*, we find that there are 306 letters between this word and the

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁴ I am indebted to Professor J. Kirchner, who most kindly verified this point for me in the collection

of squeezes possessed by the Prussian Academy at Berlin. Subsequently I have confirmed this for myself, in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens.

beginning of χρυσίον ἔχον in 1388, and 324 spaces between these two entries in 1449 (= 58 in l. 1, + 3 lines of 68 letters, + 62 in l. 5). The difference of 18 spaces shows that there were nine weighed or numbered entries in the interval, and that consequently the remaining four or five come between this one (—χρυσίον ἔχον) and the σφραγὶς ὑαλίνη discussed above, of which one pair of spaces accompanies the single unit belonging to this very item, and two more are the weights recorded in ll. 5 and 6 of our fragment (= 1388 B, ll. 49, 50). This is not only a valuable clue towards restoration, but seems to place beyond any reasonable doubt that the reverse face of our fragment has been correctly located.

We may now set out the text of B from l. 41 onwards, so as to show its exact relation to the upper part of the stele, and, to save further repetition or discussion, I have underlined the letters supplied, or confirmed, by 1449.

- σ-]
- L. 41 φραγὶς περίχρυσος, ὑποδερίς πρὸς [λίνω]ι ἔχουσα [- - - zv. 13 - - -]
 . ἐν τῷ μέσωι ἄπυρον χρυσίον καὶ ἀμφι[δέαι δύο ἀργυραὶ ἐπίχρυ -]
 [σοι (?)· χλιδῶν χρυσία ἔ]χων ||| κ[.· χλιδῶνιον χρυσία ἔχων ||||·]
 [e.g. χλιδῶνιον χρυσίον ἔχον |· χλιδῶν χρυσία ἔχων ||· χλιδῶν χρυσία ἔ -]
 45 [χων ||· χλιδῶν χρυσία ἔχων . . · χλιδῶν χρυσί]α [ἔχων ὑπάργυρα . · χλιδ-]
 [ῶνιον ἀργύρια ἔχον περίχρυσα ||||·] ἀριθμὸς τ[ῶν χρυσίων]
 [- - zv. 15 - - - χλιδῶνιον χρ]υσίον ἔχο[ν |· χλιδῶνιον χαλκία(?)]
 [ἔχον ἐπάργυρα . . . · χλιδῶνιον χα]λκία ἔχον [||· δύο, σταθμό-]
 [ν - - - · - - - σταθμόν - - -] †· σύν τῷ[ι λίνωι (?)· χε-]
 50 [ρνιβεῖον ἀργυρῶν, σταθμόν . . .] Π· ἐν κοίτ[ηι χαλκῇι (?)]
 [- - - - zv. 21 - - - - σφραγί]ς ὑαλίνῃ· [- - - - zv. 17 - - - -]
 [- - - - zv. 23 - - - - ἀργυ]ρὸς κατ[ἀχρυσος (?) . . . †]
 [.· Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνί]ας κ[υλινθίς (?) - - - zv. 14 - - -]
 - - - - - zv. 27 - - - - - ξ - - - - - zv. 23 - - - -]

Little comment is needed on these lines, for so few of the items are recognisable elsewhere. In l. 43 we might restore χρυσία ἔ]χων ||| κ[αὶ ἀργυρᾶ ., in the nine spaces vacant after K, for I thought that faint traces could be seen, just above the broken edge of the stele, of a horizontal upper stroke from the fifth letter in this gap (Γ, Ε, Π or Τ), and that the third letter might possibly have been Α, Δ or Λ. L. 44, after the first item, is purely speculative, but the items just before and after it indicate that the list at this point contains solely the same class of object, with the total, up to this point, of the gold coins attached to the χλιδῶνες given in l. 46. Whether the gap included also a total of the silver coins whose presence is implied by the epithet περίχρυσα in l. 46 must be left undecided.

L. 48. The two weighed objects, for the name of which seven spaces at most are available, are unrecognisable, but χρυσίδε would fill the gap. It is clear at any rate that the use of the word σταθμόν implies that the list of χλιδῶνες, etc., is now finished. In l. 49, σύν τῷ[ι λίνωι] is a mere conjecture, for which an obvious alternative would be σύν τῷ[ι ἀπύρῳ]

(cf. 1388 B, l. 35). This is, in all probability, different from the uncertain object found in 1445, l. 19 [- - - σὺν τῷ - -]ωι, σταθμὸν + + + + +, in view of the weight coming after the noun, besides being different from that found here before it. The χερνιβεῖον ἀργυρὸν I am tempted to identify with that in 1445, l. 24 f., where the weight ends in ΔΓϜ, but the number of spaces available for the weight before these three figures is six, whereas on our fragment we have only six altogether. The difference might be explained if we read in 1445 σταθμὸν ἄγει . . ΔΓϜ (e.g. ΧΗΔΓϜ), and assume that we may have allotted one space too many to our weight in restoring on the basis of 1449. On the other hand, this vessel is described in 1445 as ἐκ τοῦ Μητρῷο παρακαταθήκη, for which we have obviously no room in l. 49.

L. 50. For ἐν κοίτ[η] χαλκῇ we have no parallel in any fourth-century list, but the same description is found in the Eleusinian Treasure-record dating from 407/6 B.C. (*I.G.* i². 314), where we have, after the heading ἐμ πόλει (l. 4), in ll. 14 ff., ἐν τοῖ ὀπισθοδόμοι χρυσίον ἐν κοίτῃ χαλκῇ ἐκ τῆς τετάρτης θέκης, weighing 2000 drs. Seeing that the long list of objects sacred to Artemis Brauronia is described at the beginning as Τάδε ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῆς Βραυρωνόθεν (1388 B, l. 23 ff.), and that we have no indication that there is any other owner, or even any other receptacle, mentioned down to the κοίτῃ in l. 50, it would not be strange if this too was in the Opisthodomos, and was devoted to objects of the Eleusinian deities, or perhaps to a miscellany of various ownership.²⁵ In the circumstances perhaps the κοίτῃ was more exactly described, and it is to be observed that in the 30 spaces available between χαλκῇ and σφραγίς we could exactly insert the words τῇ Ἐλευσινόθεν, ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ. Or possibly the second phrase stood alone here, with some other object preceding the σφραγίς. This is not certain enough to incorporate in the text, but I feel that one or other alternative would be far from improbable. In either case, the other objects in ll. 51-53, down to the point where I would restore Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνί]ας κ[υλινχίς(?)], may be presumed to have been kept with the glass seal in this chest.

From the end of l. 54 to the beginning of 1408, which, according to my calculations, must have begun with l. 65 or 66 of the stele, is a forbidding gap, which cannot be filled with any degree of completeness. Our only available clue seems to be a small fragment, No. 1448, which has certain strong claims for consideration here. It is to be associated with 1449 owing to the similar style of writing exhibited by both pieces, and, moreover, it has the same vacant spaces before and after weights and figures as its companion piece. Its contents, as far as they are recognisable, include offerings appropriate to Artemis Brauronia, and here again some may be identified with items in the records of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (1445, etc.). There is, in fact, no reason why this fragment should not also have belonged to the stele 1393 + 1406 + 1449, but as it is too much mutilated for us to verify if it had the necessary number

²⁵ Various other items from this Eleusinian list can be recognised in the fourth-century lists of the Hekatompedon treasures, such as the 43 gold Darics

(*I.G.* i². 314, l. 55 = *I.G.* ii². 1401, l. 26). I hope to discuss this transference in a subsequent article.

of 68 letters per line, absolute certainty is not attainable.²⁶ Nevertheless, the evidence in its favour is so strong that we may regard it as the basis for identifying some at least of the missing items from ll. 55 onwards. We have, in l. 2, [ἐν κυ]λιχνίδι ἐλεφα[ντίνῃ], which may well be identical with the entry σφρα[γίδες—ιι. 22—ἀνευ] δακτυλίων ἐγ κυλιχνί[δι ἐλεφαντίνῃ (?)], of 1445, ll. 44, 45. In l. 3, σφεν[δόνῃ (?)], though not recognisable in any other of the fourth-century lists, may well be identical with one of the two σφενδόναι *I.G.* i². 386–7, A, ll. 10, 11,²⁷ which is a list of the treasures of Artemis Brauronia dating from some year between 420 and the archonship of Euklides. L. 4, μίτρα, presumably meaning here a girdle, not a tiara, is another appropriate offering to Brauronia, but I cannot find it in any other list. In l. 7, - - - τὰς πλάστιγγα[ς - -] is no doubt identical with the [ζυγὸν ὑπαργύρος ἐπιχρῦσο]ς πλάστιγγας ἔ[χον], in 1447, l. 18 f. (cf. 1451, l. 18 f.). In l. 8, κυλιχνίς λι[θίνῃ] is perhaps the unrecognised object described as [- - λιθί]νῃ τοῖν θεοῖν ἄ[στατος], in 1447, l. 21 (cf. 1451, l. 19 f.). If so, the list of the offerings to Brauronia is followed, or perhaps merely interrupted, by one or more dedications to the ‘two goddesses’ (Demeter and Persephone). I would further suggest that this item should be supplied in 1400, l. 37 f. in the gap at the end of which come the letters [τατ]ος, in a group of objects beginning with τοῖν θεοῖν φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ, in l. 33, for there is ample room for it; and we can likewise insert it in a corresponding position in 1401, l. 21. This would imply that in 1388, as well as in 1393 (assuming that the attribution of 1448 to this stele is just), this κυλιχνίς had not yet been transferred to its place among the earlier group of objects τοῖν θεοῖν. In l. 10, [ἐνω]ιδίω δύο χρυσῶ raise an insoluble problem: if they are identical with the ἐνωιδίω χρυσῶ || of 1388, l. 60 (= 1388 B, l. 10), (cf. 1400, l. 56; 1401, l. 43), it would imply that in this one instance the order in 1393 differed from that in 1388, and that therefore 1393, in which this entry comes later than in 1388, must be the earlier list of the two. On the other hand, there is the possibility that they represent two separate dedications, for ἐνωιδία are not rare objects in these lists: we have [ἐν]ωιδίω ἀργυρῶ ἐπιχρῦσω κα - - in 1445, l. 14, and a single ἐνωιδιον inventoried with some χρυσία σύμμεικτα, κ.τ.λ. in 1388, l. 63 (= B, l. 13); 1400, l. 57 f.; 1401, l. 45 f. The point may be left undecided without serious consequences. In the last two lines of 1448 we have incomplete entries of objects which cannot be recognised in any other lists, such as κημός, in l. 11; nothing is gained by dwelling longer on them.

Enough has been said concerning 1448 to justify us in the assumption that it contains a continuation of the miscellaneous treasures of Artemis Brauronia and of other deities, such as the Eleusinian, which we might expect to find towards the end of a Hekatompedon-record at this date. This fragment occupies more than 11 lines of a stele, assumed to have 68 letters

²⁶ Professor Kirchner, in his editorial note to 1449, calls attention to the ‘*scriptura simillima*’ of the two fragments, and informs me that he feels sure, from the comparison of the squeezes, that 1448 belongs to the same stele. I have, since he wrote, confirmed

this attribution, on the actual fragments.

²⁷ Cf. Hondius, *Novae Inscriptiones Atticae*, p. 63, X, A, ll. 10, 11, where the text is more accurately given than in the *Corpus* (Ed. Minor).

(including spaces) in each line; and if we transferred its contents to a stele with 51 letters to each line, and omitted the vacant spaces accompanying the weights and figures, we should require about 15 lines to contain them. We must now ask how such a fragment could have fitted in to the reverse of 1388. In the first place, the combination of fragment B with the upper half of the reverse face has brought us down to l. 54 of the stele; and in the next place, we have in 1408 remains of the last 22 lines of this face. Moreover, the calculation of the number of lines on the obverse and of their relation to those on the reverse showed that the latter could not have had more than 86 or possibly 87 lines. If, then, 1408 begins with l. 64 or 65 we can only fit in a fragment 15 lines long on the assumption, which is a legitimate one in the circumstances, that it overlapped with the incomplete lines at one end, if not both. This would imply that the beginning of 1448 may have overlapped with the end of 1449, which again is not impossible, for, as 1448 is broken on all sides, its exact position cannot be fixed. All that we are entitled to conclude is that most, if not all, of the contents of 1448 may be reasonably assumed to have been repeated on the reverse of 1388, and that they would have occupied about 15 lines of that stele; and that these 15 lines did not begin earlier than l. 52 nor end later than l. 69. We cannot extend the *terminus ante quem*, since from l. 70 onwards we have a pretty complete restoration for the remainder of the stele, into which the contents of 1448 could not be fitted; and on similar grounds we cannot push back its commencement earlier than l. 52. In the circumstances it does not seem worth while setting out a conjectural text of the contents of the lines between 54 and 65, but we must finally pay some attention to problems raised by 1408. Now that it has been proved to belong to the end of 1388 B, and thus to date to 398/7, we are compelled to discard certain restorations, made in ignorance of these facts, which repeat items either contained earlier in this list or found in lists of other categories at dates which prove that they could not have been in the Hekatompedon in 398/7.

Ll. 1-5. I have no suggestions to make for these lines. The restoration in ll. 5, 6, [κυμβία λεία χρυσᾶ ΔΔ] | Δ|||:σταθμὸ[ν τούτων ΔΔΔΔ††††] must now be rejected, for these items appear in the Parthenon-lists continuously down to the year 395/4 (1373, l. 13 f.; 1376, ll. 13 ff.; 1377, l. 19 f.; 1394, l. 2 f.; 1395, l. 21).²⁸ I would suggest that a second group of similar objects may have been recorded here and would read [λείαι χρυσᾶι Δ] | Δ|||, σταθμὸ[ν τούτων ΔΔΔΔ††††], which we find in 1407, l. 45 f. (385/4 B.C.), and again, a few years later, in 1415, l. 10, following a first group which may be identified with the group just rejected above.²⁹ This, however, requires one more space, and if we are to retain the next restoration, [χρυσίδε ||, σταθμὸν τούτων ΗΗ□ΔΔ††]††, we must assume an extra letter to have been added in the margin. It is tempting to retain this item, for we can trace it in the Parthenon-lists down to the year 399/8, but it is definitely lacking from its place in the weighed objects in the lists of later

²⁸ For the dating of these lists see the Editor's note to 1377, following Hondius, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

²⁹ There is some inconsistency in the weight of

these objects in the different lists where they appear; it is certain that they belonged to Athena and not to one τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν.

date (1394, 397/6, and 1395, 395/4); so its transfer to the Hekatompedon seems a likely supposition, as I have suggested above, p. 143 and note 8. This would imply that probably the previous item, and perhaps some of those immediately preceding it, which we cannot restore, had been similarly transferred, and were prefaced by a rubric to this effect.

L. 7. The number of the ἑκταὶ Φωκαίδες is, after all, doubtful. I had previously suggested twelve (Δ ||), identifying the entry with what in 1388 A, l. 42, and χρυσίον ἄπυρον σταθμὸν τοῦτο |||c, which I had supplied from 1388 A, l. 26 f. to complete the line, must be rejected altogether. Phocaeen hektai are rather rare items in these lines, but I cannot supply the number here from any other source. It is worth pointing out that another group of them is recorded in 1409, l. 16, where the number is also restored (on insufficient evidence) as Δ ||; but this item is clearly a different lot from that in question here, for it comes later than the rubric [τάδε ἐπέτεια παρέ]δοσαν in l. 13 f. of that list, showing that they must be an addition of later date than 398/7, since lines 3-12 of 1409 duplicate the last fifteen lines of 1408. Moreover, the letters ΤΑ which alone survive at the beginning of 1409, l. 2, seem by their position to belong to the first entry of ἑκταὶ Φωκαίδες, as in 1408, for they are separated from the (restored) beginning of the item σφραγὶς Σάρδιον in l. 3 by 93 letters, as against 94, apparently, in 1408. I cannot complete the line after Φωκαίδες, but would suggest that instead of restoring [χρυσᾶ σύ]μμεικτα, σταθ[μὸν - -], we should read [ὑπάργυρα χρυσία σύ]μμεικτα, σταθ[μὸν - -], as in 1445, l. 19, which would leave us with 20 vacant spaces after the word Φωκαίδες. In l. 8 we can do something towards filling the gap, for in 1409 we have [π]ερ[ι]χρ[υ]σο at the beginning of l. 3, separated by 13 spaces from the (restored) beginning of the item σφραγὶς Σάρδιον, and I am tempted to complete this item as [δακτύλιοι π]ερ[ι]χρ[υ]σο[ι ὑπάργυροι δύο], identifying it with the δακτύλιοι || ὑπάργυρο[ι περιεχρυσωμένοι (?)], in 1445, l. 21 f. In this case we are left with four spaces for the weight of the σύμμεικτα objects before it, but we must leave them vacant.

In l. 9 I would prefer to read [σφραγὶς λιθίνη (rather than σφραγὶς ἱσσοπῖς) ἀργυρ]ίω ἐνδεδεμένη, identifying it with the seal so described in 1447, l. 26.³⁰ For the gap in l. 10 I would withdraw my suggestion πέπλος τῆς θεοῦ,³¹ for a genitive in -ου is not to be expected in a text dating from 398/7, whereas in a year soon after 385 to which I dated this record in my original discussion of the text, such a genitive was a permissible conjecture, though admittedly unusual so early. The actual words that filled the gap here are still an unsolved riddle, but I do not yet feel convinced that πέπλος was not one of them, as no other object with a ῥάμμα seems equally likely to have been weighed.

In l. 13, for the nine spaces vacant after σφραγίδι, my original suggestion of a single stop followed by κιβώτιον, which has failed to win the approval of the Editor of the *Editio Minor*, seems worth repeating, in view of the facts, (1) that in the corresponding place in 1409 there are only

³⁰ Except that the participle is δεδεμένη: the difference between this and ἐνδεδεμένη is negligible.

³¹ *J.H.S.* xxix. (1909), p. 175, *ad fin.*

eight spaces to fill, and (2) that in 1414, l. 18, apparently among objects from the Parthenon, is the entry - - ἱσματα ἐκ τῆς μικ[ρ]ᾶς κιβωτοῦ, which must surely be identical. I feel no doubt on this point, after deciphering faint traces of the letters πρ before the - ἱσματα. In l. 14 it is worth adding that the item ὕδριαι ε—vv. 13—Γ|| was presumably of bronze, not of silver, as, after some uncertain epithet, there seems room for the number only, and not the weight as well; secondly, it is followed by κοῖται κεναὶ χαλκαῖ ΔΔΔ, which suggests that two groups of bronze vessels were naturally entered in succession. As the number ended in Γ|| there is one space too few to insert ἐ[πάργυροι χαλκαῖ]; if, however, it was 17 [Δ]Γ||, a likely solution would be to read ἐ[πηργυρωμένοι Δ]Γ||. As we cannot identify this item elsewhere, the number, and consequently the restoration, must be left undecided.³² That there were bronze hydriai in the Χαλκοθήκη we know from 1425 B, l. 344 (number lost) and 1427, l. 11 (ὕδριαι Δ - -), but these may be later additions, since the former list dates from 368/7 and the other is perhaps only a few years earlier, and in the list of 369/8 (cf. p. 146) there are no less than 238 (1424a, l. 148).

One important corollary of our identification of the class to which 1408 belongs is that 1409 must also be from a Hekatompedon-list, of a date soon after 398/7. It does not seem possible to find any other fragment from this stele, with the requisite 74 letters to each line. I had been tempted by the notion that it might be combined with 1401, which has 76 letters to each line, but such a change towards the end of a stele is most improbable, and it has letters .009 high, as against .008 in 1401.³³ All that can be said is that like 1401 it must belong to a date between 398/7 and 390/89, the date of 1400; and that we have no conclusive evidence to show whether it was earlier or later than 1401. I have little doubt that it is later than 1393 + 1406 ÷ 1449 + 1448 (?), but the relation of the last-named list to 1388 must be considered in a subsequent article.³⁴

I finally append a transcript of the contents of 1448, as an indication of the probable contents of lines 55 ff. of our stele, followed by a revised version of the first portion of 1408. A division of the former into lines would be misleading, and the calculation of the intervening spaces can be only approximate.

- - - ος ἄλυσ[ιν ἔχ σφραγίδες - - - vv. 22 - - - ἀνευ δακτυλίων
ἐν κυ]λιχνίδι ἔλεφα[ντίνῃ - - - vv. 40 - - - (?) χρυσία ἔχ]οσα ΔΠ·σφεν[δόναι(?)
- - - - vv. 46 - - -]||·μίτρα ἀλοργή[ς - - - vv. 49 - - - ὕ]πάργυρος
ἐπίχρ[υσος - - - vv. 48 - - -]το ἔλεφαντίνῃ - - - vv. 31 - - - [ζυγὸν
ὕπαργυρος ἐπιχρύσο]ς τὰς πλάστιγγα[ς ἔχον - - - vv. 47 - - -] ΠΙ·κυλιχνίς
λι[θίνῃ τοῖν θεοῖν ἄστατος(?) - - - vv. 29 - - - (?) δίοπ]αι χρυσαῖ ||·α - - -
vv. 50 - - - [ένω]ιδίω δύο χρυσῶ, σ[ταθμὸν - - - vv. 42 - - - (?) ἔχ]οσα
Π||·κημὸς χρυ[σὸς - - - vv. 50 - - -]ς . . [ἀρ]γυρὸς ο - - - .

³² The *Editio Minor* omits the Γ from the number, but I certainly saw faint remains of it when I first studied the stone.

³³ 1409 is cut on a rather soft block of marble which is of an unusually white tint, practically free from discoloration; in this it resembles 1400, but

there is no chance of it belonging to that stele, which has letters .07 high, and 91 to each line.

³⁴ Further study of 1393 etc. has convinced me not only that 1448 belongs to it, but also that a satisfactory restoration of the beginning of 1393a is attainable, which indicates the date as 397/6.

1408, l. 1 (= 1388 B, l. 64 or 65).

Π - - - - -	vv. 49	- - - - -
Δ Ι Ι · τ - - - - -	vv. 48	- - - - -
δο · σφρ[αγίς - - - - -	vv. 39	- - - - - (?)Φρά-]
σμων ἀν[έθηκε - - - - -	vv. 39	- - - - - δ-]
ύο·ἀναμα[σχαλιστήρ - - - - -	vv. 23	- - - - - λειῖαι χρυσαῖ Δ-]
Δ Ι Ι Ι · σταθμό[ν τούτων Δ Δ Δ Δ Π Ι Ι Ι Ι Ι · χρυσίδε Ι Ι , σταθμόν τούτων Η Η Ι Δ Δ Ι Ι Ι]		
Ι Ι · ἔκται Φωκ[αίδες - - - - -	vv. 20	- - - - - ὑπάργυρα χρυσία σύ-]
μμεικτα, σταθ[μόν δακτύλιοι περίχρυσοι ὑπάργυροι δύο · σφ-]		
ραγίς Σάρδιον[δακτύλιον ἀργυρῶν ἔχουσα · σφραγίς λιθίνη ἀργυρ-]		
10 ίωι ἐνδεδεμένη · ε - - - - -	vv. 23	- - - - -]ταθμόν σὺν τῷ ρ -
ἀμματι Ι Δ Π Ι Ι Ι , κ.τ.λ. ³⁵		

A. M. WOODWARD.

³⁵ I wish to record my indebtedness to the authorities of the British Museum for facilitating my studies of *I.G.* ii², 1388 and other Treasure-records, and to the late Dr. B. Leonardos for permission to publish the new fragment of this stele and for his constant help and courtesy during my work in the

Athens Epigraphical Museum. For facilities for further study, in the summer of 1931, I am indebted to the new Director, Dr. A. Philadelphus, and I owe much to the active and efficient co-operation of the Museum's *factotum*, Stavros.

SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS AT TORONTO

[PLATE VI.]

A CATALOGUE of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, has recently been published. A number of vases have been acquired recently, too late for inclusion; and it seems desirable to publish here the more important of these additions as nearly as possible simultaneously with the catalogue. They are as follows:

(a) *A Geometric Tomb Group from Athens* (Pl. VI. figs. 1-4)

All the objects in this group come from a single grave, in the neighbourhood of Athens. They consist of six egg-shaped vases, two pyxides, two 'flower-pot' vases, a fluted glass bead, a loom-weight, a decorated bronze 'sail' fibula, and two bronze pins.

The following is a description of the objects:

1. Egg-shaped vase with lid. Accession No. C. 1033. Height without lid, 0.111 m. ($4\frac{3}{8}$ ins.); with lid, 0.162 m. ($6\frac{3}{8}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.099 m. ($3\frac{7}{8}$ ins.). Two string-holes in rim, four in lid, two on either side. Decoration on lid of broad and narrow bands with double row of dots near the edge. Concentric narrow bands on knob handle. On the body, main decoration is a maeander pattern, with a chessboard pattern below, and at intervals narrow bands, zigzags, and upward-pointing ray pattern. On shoulder and point of base, a broad band.

2. Small egg-shaped vase (the lid shown in the photograph is modern). Accession No. C. 1036. Height without lid, 0.084 m. ($3\frac{1}{16}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.068 m. ($2\frac{1}{16}$ ins.). Two string-holes in rim. Broad band around shoulder, below which decoration of narrow bands, zigzags, lozenge patterns containing dots, short vertical lines, and solid rays pointing upwards; a broad band around near foot.

3. Egg-shaped vase with lid. Accession No. C. 1034. Height without lid, 0.113 m. ($4\frac{7}{16}$ ins.); with lid, 0.161 m. ($6\frac{5}{16}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.094 m. ($3\frac{11}{16}$ ins.). Knob at point of base, flat underneath. (This is the only one of the six egg-shaped vases that does not end in a point.) Two string-holes in rim and corresponding ones in lid. Around body, chief decoration is a prominent maeander surrounded above and below by narrow bands; below this two bands of zigzags, a chessboard pattern, and a band of solid rays pointing upwards, all separated by two narrow bands. On lid, between narrow bands, a row of dots. Lid has a knob handle on which are concentric narrow bands.

4. Small egg-shaped vase (the lid is modern). Accession No. C. 1035. Height without lid, 0.083 m. ($3\frac{1}{4}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.073 m. ($2\frac{7}{8}$ ins.).

Two string-holes in rim. Broad black band around shoulder; below this, decoration of narrow bands, zigzags, lozenges with a solid rectangle at centre, and a black band around extreme tip.

5. Egg-shaped vase with lid. Accession No. C. 1029. Height without lid, 0.127 m. (5 ins.); with lid, 0.176 m. ($6\frac{1}{8}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.097 m. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ ins.). Two string-holes in rim and in lid. Around shoulder, broad band; below this, three narrow bands, pattern of solid rays pointing upwards, zigzags, a prominent maeander, zigzags again, and a broad band around bottom; each pattern separated by three narrow bands. Knob handle on lid with concentric narrow bands on top. Lid cracked at one side.

6. Egg-shaped vase with lid. Accession No. C. 1037. Height without lid, 0.08 m. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ ins.); with lid, 0.111 m. ($4\frac{3}{8}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.065 m. ($2\frac{1}{16}$ ins.). Two string-holes in rim at opposite sides and two corresponding ones in lid. Broad band around shoulder, below which three narrow bands, a band of short vertical strokes, lozenge pattern with dots in centre, zigzags, groups of four slanting lines enclosing solid and open triangles, and broad band towards bottom; each band of decoration separated from the next by three narrow bands. On lid, broad band at edge, then three narrow bands followed by another broad band at base of knobbed handle. On top of handle, concentric narrow bands.

7. Vase of *kalathos* or flower-pot shape with outward curving sides; flat bottom. Accession No. C. 1027. Height, 0.076 m. (3 ins.). Diameter, 0.148 m. ($5\frac{1}{8}$ ins.). Two string-holes $\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart near rim at one side. Interior and upper half of exterior painted black; lower half of exterior has geometric designs of narrow bands, solid black rays pointing upwards, and zigzags. On bottom, ten concentric circles with small hole at centre showing that they were made by revolving ten brushes fixed together in compass fashion with the leg in the hole. (The same applies to No. 8, C. 1026.) On flat lip, five groups of parallel short strokes. Part of one side has been broken away and re-joined.

8. Vase of *kalathos* or flower-pot shape with outward curving sides; flat bottom. Accession No. C. 1026. Height, 0.08 m. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.149 m. ($5\frac{7}{8}$ ins.). Two string-holes $\frac{5}{8}$ in. apart near rim at one side. Interior and upper half of exterior painted black; lower half of exterior has geometric designs of narrow bands, solid black rays pointing upwards, and zigzags. On bottom, ten concentric circles with small hole at centre as on No. 7, C. 1027. On flat lip, six groups of short parallel strokes.

9. Small round flat pyxis with lid. Accession No. C. 1032. Height without lid, 0.038 m. ($1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.); with lid, 0.09 m. ($3\frac{9}{16}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.095 m. ($3\frac{3}{4}$ ins.). Prominent maeander pattern around shoulder, below which narrow and broad bands. On bottom (Fig. 1), two narrow bands containing a pattern of a cross with arms extending from the ends in one direction, somewhat resembling a whirling wheel (a 'hooked cross'¹); between the arms of the cross there project inward from the containing circles four bars, each of a double line with narrow V-shaped internal

¹ Cf. drawing, Fig. 1.

markings similar to those on the cross; four stars in field; at centre of cross a square containing a dot. Flat lid with tall knob handle, around which below, nine grooves; above, concentric narrow bands. Around edge of rim, short sloping parallel lines, then three narrow bands followed, at base of handle, by broad band. Four string-holes in (sunken) rim of body, arranged two at either side; four corresponding holes in lid. Cracked and repaired at one side.

10. Round flat pyxis with lid. Accession No. C. 1040. Height without lid, 0.08 m. ($3\frac{1}{8}$ ins.); with lid, 0.121 m. ($4\frac{3}{4}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.172 m. ($6\frac{3}{4}$ ins.). Four string-holes in rim, two on either side; four corresponding holes in lid. Knob handle on flat lid. Decoration on lid of broad black band at base of handle surrounded by six narrow bands with a circle of dots between



FIG. 1.—PATTERN ON BASE OF No. 9.

the third and fourth. Handle has four grooves painted black below and concentric circles on top. Body of pyxis decorated with broad and narrow bands, zigzags, and solid black upward-pointing rays, in addition

to the principal zone, which consists of five parallel zigzags. Slight chip in one side of lid.

11. Fluted glass bead. Accession No. C. 1031. Length of axis, 0.019 m. ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.). Diameter, 0.026 m. (1 in.). One fluting slightly chipped in centre. Some blue and purple iridescence. Hole through the centre increasing in diameter to one end.

12. Clay loom-weight, cone-shaped. Accession No. C. 1030. Height, 0.027 m. ($1\frac{1}{16}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.032 m. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ ins.). Hole pierced from apex to centre of base. On sloping surface, three bands of short vertical strokes separated from one another by a narrow band. On underside, two concentric circles of short strokes separated by a narrow band.

13. Straight bronze pin (Fig. 2). Accession No. C. 1039. Total length, 0.137 m. ($5\frac{3}{8}$ ins.). At upper end flat disc surmounted by small bead; $\frac{7}{8}$ in. below this, a larger bead; $\frac{3}{4}$ in. below this again, a tiny rudimentary bead. The two upper divisions between the beads decorated with fine incised crosses.

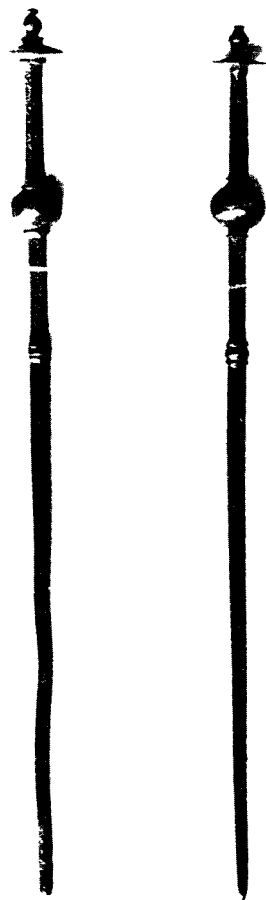


FIG. 2.—No. 13. FIG. 3.—No. 14.
BRONZE PINS.

14. Straight bronze pin (Fig. 3). Accession No. C. 1038. Total length, 0.133 m. ($5\frac{1}{4}$ ins.). At upper end flat disc surmounted by small bead; $\frac{7}{8}$ in. below this a larger bead; $\frac{3}{4}$ in. below this, again, a tiny rudimentary bead. The two upper divisions between the beads decorated with fine incised crosses (better preserved than on the companion pin, No. 13, C. 1039).

15. Large bronze bow fibula with 'sail' catch-plate (Fig. 4). Accession No. C. 1028. Length, 0.092 m. ($3\frac{5}{8}$ ins.). Width, 0.057 m. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ ins.). Single spring; a broad catch-plate with fine incised decoration of a single swastika within a framework of minute crossing lines around the edge. There is a double groove along the ridge of the bow and a bead at

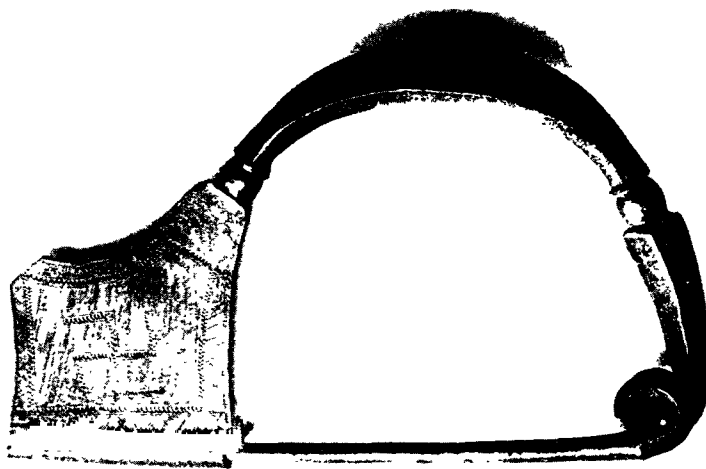


FIG. 4.—BRONZE BROOCH, NO. 15.

either side. On bow, near hinge, fine incised decoration of crossing lines similar to that around the edge of catch-plate.

This group is of unusual interest for the student of the Geometric Style. It is not often that such a complete tomb group of this period has come to light; the presence of the bronze fibula with sail-shaped catch-plate and incised geometric decoration, along with so many vases of a rare shape, adds considerably to the importance of the group. Despite the work of Kroker,² Schweitzer,³ Boehlau,⁴ and others, the chronology of Geometric vases, especially those of the Dipylon class, still remains rather vague and tentative; any fresh evidence on the subject is therefore to be welcomed. The ninth and eighth centuries B.C. are regarded as the *floruit* of Geometric in Attica; but both upper and lower limits are sufficiently uncertain, and the

² *J.d.I.*, I, pp. 95 *sqq.*

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII (1918), pp. 50 *sqq.*

⁴ *J.d.I.*, III (1888), pp. 361 *sqq.*

classification of the vases (purely geometric patterns; animals; men and scenes from daily life) is as yet not so much an established chronological as a type sequence.

The most remarkable of these Geometric 'sail' fibulae are the four or five very large ones (10 to 12 ins. long) with the exploits of Heracles and other unidentified myths.⁵ They are the earliest known representation of a legend in Greek Art, and are most probably to be assigned to the eighth century. In the present group the fibula, like the vases, has a purely geometric pattern.⁶ This can be paralleled on fibulae, but not, I think, in conjunction with pottery of similar style. The occurrence of the simple linear style here on both vases and fibula, which would be made in quite separate places at different workshops, is some sort of confirmation of the view that the vases with simple geometric decoration did precede in time those with figure scenes. Unless the choice were very deliberate, it seems unlikely that out of a considerable number of vases and three bronze ornaments such as we have here, not one should have any hint of a figure scene, had figure scenes been at all common at the time. We may therefore conclude that they were not, and that our group dates from the earlier part of the Geometric Period, some time in the ninth century, from a time when decoration was exclusively linear and not representational. The inference is not absolute, but very probable; further useful evidence on the point would be forthcoming from any group of Geometric objects of known context.

There is in Berlin a group of Geometric vases,⁷ all with purely linear decoration, very similar to that on the Toronto tomb group; the prominence of the meander on several is especially similar. They include an egg-shaped vase, a bowl with handle in the form of a human leg, a tripod, a *kalathos*-shaped bowl decorated externally very much like the two here published, and others.⁸ The Berlin vases are early, and unquestionably of about the same date as the Toronto ones. The egg-shape is a comparatively rare form, and does not seem to have been very long in favour. Evidently there was an impulse towards experiment in the shapes of vases during the 'linear' period;⁹ afterwards, as the decoration grew more complex, a few favourite shapes emerged, the more bizarre ones being dropped.

The *kalathos* shape was evidently popular also at Corinth in the

⁵ Bates, *A.J.A.*, 1911, pp. 1-17; Walters, *B.M. Cat. Bronzes*, pp. 372-75.

⁶ It is of practically the same form as that illustrated by Wolters, *Ephem. Arch.*, 1892, Pl. 11, 1 (where it is labelled Boeotian). Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, VII, pp. 251-56, and reff.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, Pl. 1: reproduced in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. I of Plates, p. 345.

⁸ More usual shapes are shown, *ibid.*, Pls. II-VI.

⁹ For other unusual or bizarre shapes amongst Geometric vases: P. Gardner, *J.H.S.*, XXIV (1904), pp. 293-4: cup in two storeys (cf. an early Ionic double cup in Munich, Sieveking-Hackl, I, p. 50, No. 491, Abb. 65), basket vase, one-handled cup (cya-

thus), and ring-asks. Also S. Wide, *J.d.I.*, XIV (1899), p. 214 (Figs. 94, 95): basket-like cup with two tall vertical loop handles joining at top, and trefoil-mouth cup with two horizontal side handles and one vertical (at back) as in a hydria. Fig. 92 (p. 213) is the well-known amphora from Analatos. Cf. also the basket vase in *Corpus Vasorum, Musée Scheyler*, III, Hb. Pl. 2, 7.

Somewhat similar to Figs. 94, 95 of Wide's article above mentioned are two vases in Munich, published by Sieveking in *J.d.I., Anzeigen*, XXV (1910), pp. 488-9, Figs. 15, 16. They are: a basket and a three-handled bowl or cup, though this is not trefoil. See the whole article.

Geometric Period; the American excavators at Corinth¹⁰ in 1930 found two Geometric vases of this shape, apparently of Corinthian fabric. The one illustrated *ad loc.* certainly corresponds very closely to our two here published, even down to the groups of short transverse strokes on the rim. Mr. Shear quotes the similar *kalathos* vase in Copenhagen.¹¹ At least one of his *kalathos* vases of 1930 from Corinth has two string-holes beneath the rim (? on the *same* side of the vase, as with the Toronto examples). These holes, Mr. Shear suggests, were for suspending the vessel when not in use,¹² an explanation borne out by the decoration which all these vases seem to have on the under side of the base.

(b) *A Triple Prochous illustrating a Passage in Sophocles' Antigone*

Triple jug or pitcher (*prochous*), with triangular arrangement of the three compartments (Fig. 5). Accession No. C. 954. Height to top of handle, 0.216 m. (8½ ins.). Maximum width at back, 0.194 m. (7⅝ ins.). Light buff clay, with slightly darker polished slip. Handle with high kick has support extending towards front of vessel. Vertical disc ornament (*rotelle*) attached to rim on either side of handle. Hole in body of foremost compartment; left-hand side of connecting channel broken away, and a tip at extreme right-hand corner. Base of each of the three portions also broken off. From Bomarzo, near Viterbo. Formerly in the Bazzuchelli and Sturge Collections.

The three separate vessels which form this ingenious vase are joined but not intercommunicating. The sole exit from each is into the triangular channel which connects their mouths, so that the contents of all would unite before finally leaving the whole vessel by the spout at the forward end. In this way three different liquids could be poured out simultaneously, mixing as they went. The flippant will see analogies in the modern 'cocktail shaker.'

Some additional interest attaches to this vase as illustrating a passage in Sophocles, *Antigone*, 430-431:

ἐκ τ' εὐκροτήτου χαλκέας ἄρδην πρόχου
χοαῖσι τρισπόνδοισι τὸν νέκυν στέφει.

The lines are from the guard's account of how Antigone paid the last rites to the dead body of Polyneikes. She is described as 'pouring a triple libation from a (single) finely wrought brazen jug.' The 'triple' libation would be honey, milk, and wine, and is explained by such passages as, *e.g.*, Hom. *Od.* XI. 27. The vessel used by Antigone was of bronze. The present one is of pottery and dates from the first half of the sixth century; but the type was evidently known and in use during the fifth century. There is much more point in the adjective 'τρισπόνδοισι' if we know that a jug of this type was used. Liddell and Scott give the common, literal interpretation 'thrice-poured,' adding, however, the meaning 'triple' for the

¹⁰ Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV (1930), p. 410 and Fig. 3. (Other interesting Geometric vases in the same article.)

¹¹ *C.F.A.*, *Musée Nat. Copenhagen*, III, A and C

(Fasc. 2), Pl. 82.

¹² Not as Johansen, for fastening a cover (*Les Vases Sicyoniens*, p. 67).

present context. It is well known that the second components of adjectives like 'τρίσπονδος' often merely repeat the idea of the noun they qualify; this passage, illustrated by the vase here published, is an interesting example in point. It is perfectly clear from the context that a single action, in which all three liquids are poured at once, from a single vessel, is described. Can it be that the idea of 'triple' lurks in 'εὐκροτήτου'? The Greek is quite capable of this suggestion.



FIG. 5.—TRIPLE JUG AT TORONTO.



FIG. 6.—ETRUSCAN JUG AT TORONTO.

I do not know of any close parallel to the tripartite form of the present prochous. It is of the sixth century, and, to judge from the early form of the *rotelle*, might well be before 550. The Etruscans were fond of bizarre shapes, and though the Sophocles passage above quoted indicates that the Greeks of the fifth century were familiar with the principle of such a jug as this, it is clear from the mass of extant vases of either people that the Greeks preferred in general greater simplicity of line. Thus on *a priori* grounds one would expect this vase to have been made in Italy, probably

by skilled Greek potters working for the Etruscan market.¹³ This is borne out by the fabric, which is of that very fine, well-levigated, light buff clay, containing tiny micaceous particles, such as is used for many 'Italo-Ionic' oenochoi which have originated around Orvieto;¹⁴ it has a polished slip of slightly darker tone. Various details in the jug can be paralleled from bucchero and other Etruscan shapes. The three-ribbed handle is a favourite Etruscan type; thus the oenochoe in the Louvre, illustrated by M. Pottier¹⁵ ('anse trifide avec deux boutons saillants'), is obviously of the same family as our vase, which, however, has one extra groove running down the middle of the central and highest ridge. There is in Boston¹⁶ a bucchero vase in the form of six spinning-tops joined together, with a single funnel mouth. The squat ovoid shape of each of the three parts of the Toronto vase, with several grooves encircling the body at the base of the neck and again near its maximum diameter, is another common Etruscan characteristic. An example of such a vase in Boston¹⁷ has also a ribbed loop handle with high kick; and the encircling grooves are frequent enough.¹⁸ Finally, an Etruscan oenochoe in the Royal Ontario Museum (Accession No. CA. 271), illustrated here (Fig. 6) for the first time, will serve to complete the case. Height, 0.238 m. (9 $\frac{3}{8}$ ins.). Diameter of body, 0.111 m. (4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ins.). Its body, as will be seen, is almost identical in shape with each of the three parts of the triple jug. Moreover, it is of exactly the same light buff clay with the faintest tendency to pinkish-brown, and comes also from Bomarzo. Body grooves, squat ovoid shape, loop handle with high kick (having very faint scored lines running up it at either side, but not deep enough to be called grooves and so make it 'trifide') and light buff clay all point in the same direction. The flat rectangular projection from the lip connecting with the handle on this oenochoe is a common characteristic of Etruscan bucchero;¹⁹ it thus forms one more link in the chain of evidence demonstrating the Italian origin of our triple jug. The vases with *rotelle* belong in general to the later classes of Etruscan bucchero, i.e. after c. 600 B.C., and often have *appliqué* reliefs. It is hardly possible to avoid regarding this as an influence of the Proto-Corinthian and East Greek varieties, which were, of course, received in Italy from the middle of the seventh century in large quantities. By c. 550 their vogue was exhausted. Probably, therefore, we shall not be far out in dating the present jug to the first half of the sixth century. Besides its own intrinsic interest it may form a useful aid in placing and dating similar shapes and fabrics.

(c) *Two Sub-Mycenaean Hydriai*

The two vases illustrated in Figs. 7, 8 have just been acquired by the Museum. They are transitional between the latest Mycenaean and the

¹³ Cf. Fairbanks, *Cat. of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, I, p. 205.

¹⁴ E.g. Nos. 199, 207 and 208 in the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto (*Cat. of Greek Vases in the R.O.M.A.*, 1930).

¹⁵ *Vases antiques du Louvre*, I, D 81, Pl. 31.

¹⁶ Fairbanks, *loc. cit.*, Pl. LXXVIII, 581.

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¹⁷ Fairbanks, *loc. cit.*, Pl. LXXX, 614. (From Chiusi.)

¹⁸ E.g. Fairbanks, *loc. cit.*, Pl. LXXXVI, 646.

¹⁹ Cf. Fairbanks, *loc. cit.*, Pl. LXXX, 613, 614; Walters, *Cat. of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the B.M.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Pl. XIV, H 138.

true Geometric. Some Mycenaean influence is still visible in the shapes, which are dimly reminiscent of the L.H. three-handled amphorae. The decoration also is clearly transitional; especially is the pattern of concentric arcs, with short strokes radiating outwards from the exterior one, around the shoulder of the larger hydria, typical of this period. But the clay is the fine red Attic and the paint is the rich black glaze characteristic of the later full Geometric style. They date almost certainly from the eleventh–tenth century B.C. Vases of this type and period from Attica (whence both these hydriai come) are very rare. One from Salamis is

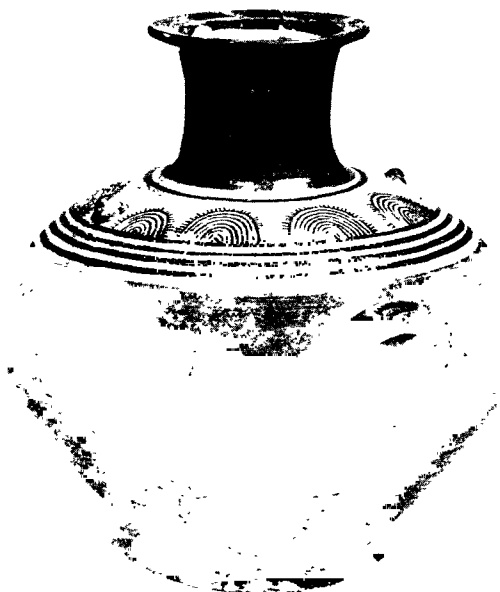


FIG. 7.—C. 1043.



FIG. 8.—C. 1044.

SUB-MYCENAEAN VASES AT TORONTO.

figured by Montelius.²⁰ In view of their rarity and interest I append a description.

(1) Large hydria of sub-Mycenaean style, from Attica (Fig. 7). Accession No. C. 1043. Height, 0.312 m. (12½ ins.). Diameter, 0.305 m. (12 ins.). Diameter of mouth, 0.125 m. (4½ ins.). Red Attic clay; black Geometric glaze. Rim somewhat repaired. Two horizontal handles, one at either side. Around shoulder, above four narrow bands encircling the vase, a row of ten rough concentric arcs or semicircles standing on their diameters, the outer semicircle having short strokes radiating out from it. At either side, half-way between handles and about 3 ins. above them, a small conical protuberance with a black ring around its base and painted

²⁰ *La Grèce préclassique*, Pl. 115, 14.

black at the point. Neck and most of body painted black; only the shoulder, inner side of handles, and under side of foot reserved in the clay. Small foot-ring. *c.* 1000-900 B.C.

(2) Small hydria of sub-Mycenaean style, from Attica (Fig. 8). Accession No. C. 1044. Height, 0.114 m. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.). Diameter, 0.114 m. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.). Fine red Attic clay; black glaze. One horizontal handle at either side on shoulder. Between handles, a frieze of fan-like motifs in outline, five on one side, six on the other. Small foot-ring. *c.* 1000-900 B.C.
J. H. ILIFFE.

THE DEFENCE OF THE ACROPOLIS AND THE PANIC BEFORE SALAMIS

THE Persian army, moving on Athens after Thermopylae, found the city deserted, but the Acropolis held by temple servants and 'a few poor men': who, remembering the oracle of the 'wooden walls,' 'for a long time' defended wooden breastworks against the Persians, but were in the end overpowered.

Dr. G. B. Grundy, having recounted thus far the Herodotean story, writes (*The Great Persian War*, p. 357):

'But the strangest part of the whole story is the account of the impression created in the fleet by the news of the capture. The inconsistency between the description of the garrison and its defensive works, and the alarm created by the capture of the fortification, is so glaring as to be irreconcilable, and modern historians have naturally been led to form conjectures as to what actually took place.'

Both the usual views have disadvantages (*ibid.* pp. 357-59). If only stragglers were left on the Acropolis (Hdt. VIII. 51) there should have been no surprise or panic at its fall. If, on the other hand, the Acropolis was strongly held, it is not clear why the fact should have been thus suppressed in history, or why Xerxes should have found so little difficulty in capturing the position.

A simple solution, which is scarcely more than a change of emphasis, seems to preserve the tradition and to render it intelligible. The psephism of Themistocles recorded by Plutarch (*Them.* X.) was put into effect. Accordingly, the city itself was left to the care of Athena: the able-bodied went aboard the fleet; and the rest of the population, having to find its own means of safety by the terms of the psephism, chose the protection of the Athenian goddess. She herself required human tendance in war as in peace, and therefore it was necessary that some temple servants should also remain.

It is to be observed that Herodotus is in conformity with the psephism of Themistocles, except in his description of the party which remained behind with the temple servants. He calls them πένητας ἀνθρώπους . . . ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. If Herodotus is right, it was not those who could not fight who remained in Athens, as the psephism of Themistocles definitely and credibly implies, but those who could not, for some reason impossible to guess, afford to embark. It is clear that the words of Herodotus must involve a misunderstanding, and must somehow conceal a reference not to the poor, but to the physically unfit. The important phrase is ἀσθενή βίου, for the epithet πένης may easily have been suggested by it.

An investigation of ἀσθητή βίου with the help of the new Liddell and Scott shows how the misunderstanding may have arisen. There is no difficulty in translating ἀσθητή by itself as *physical weakness*. The meaning *weakness* occurs Thc. I. 3, Plat. *Rep.* 618 d and elsewhere; *disease or sickness*, Thc. II. 49; and *want of strength, weakness*, esp. *feebleness, sickliness*, Hdt. IV. 135, Thc. IV. 36 and elsewhere. The adjective ἀσθενής generally seems to mean *feeble or sickly*, Hdt. IV. 135, τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατῆς, and Hdt. IV. 134, τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς ταλαιπωρίας. On the other hand, the phrase ἀσθητή βίου, Hdt. II. 47, certainly means 'poverty,' and there is another parallel in Hdt. II. 88, οἱ χρήμασιν ἀσθενέστεροι. ἀσθενεῖν in Ar. Pax 636 strengthens the impression that the use of ἀσθενής and ἀσθητή of financial weakness is peculiarly an Herodotean mannerism. L. and S. gives no other instances before the fourth century, except Eur. *Supp.* 433, ὁ τ' ἀσθενὴς ὁ πλούσιός τε: where, however, the meaning *poor* is not emphasised, for the antithesis between 'the weak and the rich' is natural enough. It is more natural still at Eur. *Med.* 739-40, not cited by L. and S. Again, the meaning of βίος supports the traditional rendering of ἀσθητή βίου. According to L. and S. it denotes 'Life, i.e. not animal life (ζωή), but *mode of life*.' The use of βίος for ζωή is poetical only; Aesch. *Ag.* 1517 (a lyrical passage), Soph. *Ajax* 1031, *id. Philoct.* 749, *ibid.* 1427, and elsewhere. The meaning *livelihood* is very common, e.g. Hdt. VIII. 106. In general the word seems to be used most often with verbs such as τελευτᾶν and διάγειν.

Thus it seems certain that in VIII. 51 Herodotus meant by ἀσθητή βίου 'poverty' or 'inability to find subsistence.' It does not follow that this was the true reason why these Athenians remained in Athens. There is an obvious alternative possibility, that Herodotus misunderstood a phrase of some informant, designed to convey the meaning of 'physically weak'; and that he changed the content of the phrase by converting it into his own peculiar mannerism. The accident would have been the easier, because the poetic use of βίος for ζωή was beginning in the fifth century. The supposition that ἀσθητή βίου may contain this misunderstanding at least shows one possible way in which the 'poor people' of Herodotus may represent the physically unfit element implied by the psephism of Themistocles. Or the discrepancy may be smaller still; for all that Herodotus has done is to differentiate by their poverty those who remained on the Acropolis, not, as he should, from those who could afford to seek refuge in some safer place, that is, from others in the same group of the physically unfit, but, by a slight confusion, from those who embarked for Salamis.

Therefore it is sufficiently clear, both from the psephism recorded by Plutarch and from the narrative of Herodotus which is substantially in agreement with it, that there was no serious intention to maintain the military defence of the Acropolis, a plan which would probably have been quite unsound tactically, and which history denies. That is not to say that all thought for the city itself had been lightly abandoned. On the contrary, the actual site of an ancient city commanded the veneration of the citizens, for their gods and the tombs of their ancestors were there. Aeschylus,

who fought at Salamis, clearly remembers that the Greeks were liberating not only themselves, but their home, the dwellings of their gods, and the tombs of their forefathers on that day (*Pers.* 402-5). It was because this sentiment was so strong, that intellectualists from Alcaeus onwards felt the need of the maxim ἄνδρες οὐ τείχη πόλις: and that on this occasion Adeimantus could tell Themistocles that he had no right to vote among the other commanders, because he had now no city.

The Athenians accordingly, like the Romans after the sack of Rome by the Gauls (*Liv.* V. 30), must have been profoundly unwilling to leave the site of their city. But, as they were no doubt persistently assured, the Pallas, like the god at Delphi (*Hdt.* VIII. 36),¹ would herself protect her own. Diodorus explicitly says that the consternation of the Athenians in the fleet at Salamis was caused partly by the devastation of Attica, and partly by the destruction not of the city but of the τέμενος of Athena (*XI.* 15, 2). Members of other contingents, less affected by these disasters, were alarmed by the desperate situation in which they themselves were (*ibid.*).

It is becoming evident that in Athena were focussed many of the various sanctities which had guarded the πόλις in the world of earlier thought.² She is pre-eminently πρόμαχος, πολιοῦχος, or πολιάς. It is probable that the name παλλάς itself is only an alternative form of πολιάς.³ The name Athena is pre-Hellenic, and the goddess seems certainly to descend from the Minoan-Mycenaean armed goddess of the home.⁴ Possibly the original meaning of the name Athena was something like the meaning of πολιάς. Apparently Athena became in pre-Hellenic context the goddess not only of the home but of the whole town or fortress; for there was an Ἀθήνη Λαρισαία near Mantinea (*Paus.* VII. 17, 5), at a stronghold called τείχος, a word which Fick⁵ supposes to translate Λάρισα. To the protective function of Athena her epithet ἀλαλκομένης is appropriate in the meaning 'repeller of foes.' It is no more a local adjective than Ἀθηναία (the wide early distribution of Athena's worship sufficiently refutes the explanation of her as ἡ Ἀθηναία κόρη). Perhaps Athena's other epithet *Ala*⁶ should be interpreted in a like sense. Equally appropriate to the protective function is Athena's attribute, the apotropaic gorgon mask, one lock of whose hair, lent by the goddess, was sufficient in legend to repel an invading army from Tegea (*Apollodorus*, II. 7, 3). The gorgon mask has a place also in the story of Salamis. On the early and respectable authority of Clidemus (*E. M. Walker in C.A.H.* V. p. 473), Plutarch

¹ Even at Delphi the agency of a protective Athena seems to have been supposed: for the miracle which saved the precinct of Apollo is said both by Herodotus (VIII. 37-39) and by Diodorus (*XI.* 14, 3) to have occurred when the Persians reached the temple of Athena Πρωσία.

² Cf. some suggestions which I made in *Classical Philology*, XXV. (1930), pp. 358 ff.

³ G. Mahlow, *Neue Wege durch die Griechische Sprache und Dichtung*, p. 419.

⁴ C. M. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, pp. 419-30: *id.*, *History*

of Greek Religion, pp. 26-28.

⁵ *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, p. 95.

⁶ The epithet *Ala* is referred e.g. by Lewis and Short to the Arcadian King Aleus or city Alea—a typical inversion, as the connexion between Aleus and the apotropaic Athena at Tegea at once suggests. Cf. Sir James Frazer's note on *Apollodorus* II. 7, 3, (citing Alcidas, *Odys.* 1476, pp. 179 sq. Blass.), where the maidenhood of the defensive Athena seems involved. The relevance of this I hope to investigate in a subsequent paper.

(*Them.* X.) tells how the gorgon was said to have been stolen from Athena's statue, and how the search for it was made the excuse for opening the kits of the Athenians before they embarked, for the provision of ration allowance. The incident shows that in popular feeling the gorgon seemed of the utmost importance for the part which the goddess was expected to play: presumably the general opinion, well understood by Themistocles, would not have tolerated so readily a search on any other pretext.

Themistocles then overruled local and religious sentiment by skilful deference to it; but in the first clause of his psephism he committed the city to the care of Athena. His success in winning the adoption of his plan was apparently made possible by the support of the more enlightened and aristocratic of the citizens, called in the tradition (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* XXIII.) the Areopagites, who at least assured the fit population of physical necessities by ready money for a few days, and probably promises of more. This is Aristotle's version of the service for which according to him the Areopagus gained an extension of political influence. The result has seemed incredible; and besides, as Plutarch noticed (*Them.* X.), in the earlier account of Clidemus it was the subtle compulsion of Themistocles, not the voluntary generosity of the rich, that provided the ration allowance which the personnel of Greek navies required. It is much more likely that the Areopagites,⁷ or the class which they represent in the narratives, gained credit at the time of Salamis, not merely for patriotic liberality (which they probably also displayed, before or in spite of Themistocles' trickeries), but mainly because, in their appraisal of the situation, they proved in the end to have been right. After all, as Aeschylus could say, the gods preserved the city of Pallas (*Pers.* 347). But at first most of the citizens, with their strong faith in their local sanctities, and with the precedent of Delphi—whatever actually may have happened there—fresh in their memory, must have inferred from the assurances of divine defence which they had been given, that Xerxes would never even capture the Acropolis.

If it is true that the first thought of the Athenians was for their sacred places, and that they really believed that their goddess would offer supernatural resistance to Xerxes, it was inevitable that the quick capture of the Acropolis should inspire consternation in the Athenians on board the fleet. They must have thought that their goddess herself was defeated, and that they had no longer hope of victory. They must have remembered anew the ambiguous omen of the sacred snake which had refused its offering (*Hdt.* VIII. 41); and though that may have been a manipulation, to tempt them to embark in the belief that Athena had herself departed, it is probable that now, after assurances of her protection, only the evil interpretation occurred to them. However, courage and confidence soon revived, perhaps because another divine manifestation, this time favourable, was observed: the miraculous procession from Eleusis, proving that the gods still lived (*Hdt.* VIII. 65), and might yet help their worshippers.

⁷ In 480 the Areopagus had just recovered from the disparaging results of Peisistratid 'packing' (H. T. Wade-Gery in *C.Q.* XXV. [1931], p. 81).

The conclusions, therefore, are these. The narrative given by Herodotus of the defence of the Acropolis and of the panic in the fleet at its fall is on the whole sound, and intelligible on the supposition that the Athenians were concerned for the safety of their sacred places, and trusted their goddess to defend her home: a supposition which helps also to explain Aristotle's account of the service of the Areopagites, and which gives relevance to the incidents of the gorgon mask, the sacred snake, and the miraculous procession.

W. F. J. KNIGHT.

THE TEMPLE OF APHAIA AT AEGINA

FURTWÄNGLER's reconstructions¹ of the pediments of the temple of Aphaia, though in the main right, can be improved in certain details. The object of these notes is to criticise certain suggested improvements. I take the West pediment first. Schrader² has recently advocated a return to something like the Cockerill³ scheme. His chief objections to Furtwängler are that the blocks of the Geison as arranged by Furtwängler do not agree with the footprints of the figures which they are meant to carry, that Furtwängler's assumption of a fourth prostrate figure is based on a fragmentary arm which may well belong to the East pediment, that the combatants should be divided into friends on one side of Athena and foes on the other, and that it is impossible for the archers to shoot out into space. I take these points in order. Furtwängler, as far as possible, put the Geison blocks in positions corresponding to those in which they were found;⁴ Schrader's chief objection is to Block 5, in which, he says, the space is not the right shape for the plinth of the Athena, but there is no doubt that there is room enough, and as no ancient edge of this plinth is preserved,⁵ how can we tell what was its shape? Secondly, the only evidence (fr. 62) which Schrader adduces for a piece of one pediment being found among the remains of the other rests, as Pfuhl⁶ has shown, on a misprint. The desire to have friends on one side of the pediment and foes on the other is purely modern; the Gigantomachies of the Megarian treasury and the Hekatompedon and the Centauromachy of the West pediment at Olympia all take no account of the sides of the pediment in dividing the combatants. Schrader quotes no parallels for his own reconstruction (Fig. 2) because there are none; it involves far too much overlapping, which Greek sculptors of the archaic period avoided when working in the round; Schrader has to assume that a piece was cut out of the shield of the figure which lies in front of Athena to make room for her legs. Furtwängler, however, can adduce numerous parallels from Greek vases for his reconstruction (Fig. 1): the Geryon cup⁷ of Euphronios has just such a battle over a fallen foe with Athena helping one of the combatants. The reason for this similarity of composition is not that both were borrowing from Samian models, as Furtwängler suggests;⁸ the West was ahead of the East in such things: there is no cross-influence, but the compositional problem of the pediment is the same as that of the outside

¹ Furtwängler, *Aegina*; references in this article are to Furtwängler's nos.

² *Oest. Jahresh.* 1922-4, p. 83.

³ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁶ *B.Ph.W.* 1918, p. 970. Furtwängler himself corrected the error after the publication of *Aegina*.

⁷ *F.-R.*, pl. 22; Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung*, Fig. 391.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 315.

of the cup. Studniczka⁹ also suggested that the archers should be turned inwards, but this transposition spoils the central groups and puts the caesura too near the outside: the Furtwängler group would naturally be completed by a friend of the fallen man, but this is precluded by the raking cornice.¹⁰ Another transposition is more likely. Wolters¹¹ wanted to transpose nos. 1 and 13, and correspondingly 33 and 24. There is some evidence for this, because in Cockerell's first drawing, when he was

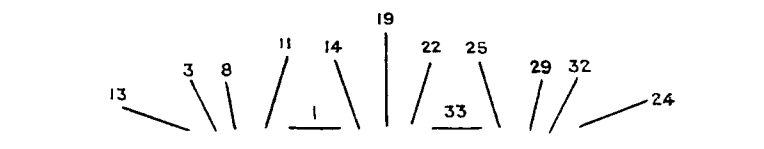


FIG. 1.—FURTWÄNGLER-WOLTERS.

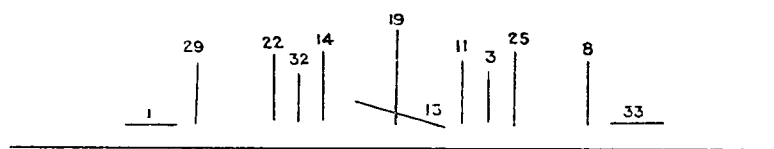


FIG. 2.—SCHRADER.

SCHEMES FOR THE WEST PEDIMENT.

most influenced by the position in which the figures were actually found, no. 13 is placed in the corner. Nos. 1 and 33 are more weathered than no. 13, which would be curious if they had been in the corners protected by the slanting Geison. Nos. 1 and 33, if placed in the middle, obscure the legs of the combatants less than would no. 13 and its fellow. Nos. 1 and 33 are nearer death than no. 13, therefore it is natural to fight over their bodies and to fight with no. 13.

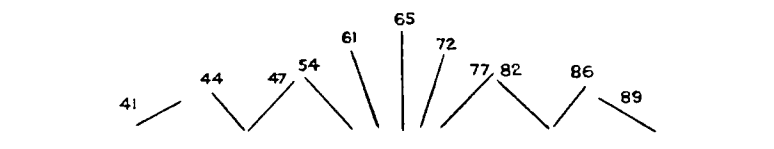


FIG. 3.—THE EAST PEDIMENT (FURTWÄNGLER).

A recent paper by A. Thiersch¹² has raised the question of the composition of the East pediment. The main contention is chronological. Thiersch believes that the East pediment was wilfully damaged by exiled democrats, led by Nikodromos soon after 487; that it was restored before Salamis and the damaged figures set up in front of the temple to be a memorial of the sacrilege; and that the head no. 121 is the remains of a

⁹ *Olympia*, Ostgiebel, p. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. Püchl, *op. cit.*, Fig. 371.

¹¹ *Äginetische Beiträge*, p. 49. This is shown in

Fig. 1.

¹² *Gott. Gel. Nachrichten*, 1928, p. 167.

statue put up after Salamis and destroyed by the Athenians in 457. Detailed examination of this theory is the province of the historian rather than of the archaeologist. The chronology certainly agrees with the stylistic evidence, and if the East pediment was wilfully damaged about 490, it cannot have been by Persians, as Langlotz¹³ suggested, because Aegina was then Medising. Whatever be the truth about this, Thiersch draws a further inference from the theory of wilful damage, that the Geison blocks would remain unharmed by the marauders and the new statues would be put where the old ones were, so that the composition would remain unchanged. This is not a necessary inference. In the West pediment¹⁴ the blocks are hollowed to a depth of 18–25 mm. to receive plinths 30–35 mm. thick, in the East pediment¹⁵ the blocks are hollowed to a depth of 33–55 mm. to receive plinths at least 50 mm. thick. Supposing that the old East pediment had a composition like that of the West and plinths of the same thickness, it would be easy to convert it to take the new composition by hollowing the blocks deeper.

There is, then, no need to assume that our East pediment repeats the composition of the old East pediment, and there are the strongest stylistic reasons against it. It is easy to show the advance in single figures, for from the evidence of the heads we may assume that the old East pediment was not less archaic than the West; compare the fallen figures nos. 33 and 41; in the West the legs are artificially crossed and the 'archaic' smile remains on the face, in the East the whole body writhes in anguish and the teeth are clenched in pain; compare the two Athenas,¹⁶ the one smiling, with ornamental drapery, the other nearly solemn, with simpler drapery. The archer¹⁷ of the West pediment has knee and foot firmly on the ground, Heracles'¹⁸ knee is off the ground, and every ounce of weight is behind the bow. Lastly, compare nos. 14 and 72, and note the more solid proportions and more vigorous musculature of the latter. We are, however, not concerned with single figures, but with the groups and the composition as a whole. The groups on either side of Athena in the West pediment are paralleled by vases of the time of Euphronios,¹⁹ the corresponding groups in the East pediment by vases of the Berlin painter and the Tyszkiewicz painter,²⁰ that is, some fifteen years later. But the composition of the whole (Fig. 3) shows a similar advance. The West pediment is composed of four groups and Athena; these groups are completely independent of each other. This composition in independent groups recalls the Siphnian treasury, though there the middle group of three is bound together by the tripod. In the East pediment the whole composition is a unity; there are no independent groups, a rhythm of motion runs through the whole, up the body of the fallen man on the right side of the pediment,²¹ down the body and leg of Heracles,²² up the squire

¹³ *Zur Zeitbestimmung*, p. 71. The Aeginetans gave earth and water to the heralds of Dareius (Herodotus, VI. 49).

¹⁴ Furtwangler, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁶ Nos. 19 and 65.

¹⁷ No. 8.

¹⁸ No. 86.

¹⁹ See n. 7.

²⁰ Furtwangler, *op. cit.*, p. 344, figs. 274–6.

²¹ No. 89.

²² No. 86.

again,²³ down his master,²⁴ echoed in his master's opponent,²⁵ and finally brought to rest in the spear of Athena;²⁶ it starts off again down Athena's body, and if more figures of the left side were preserved we could no doubt



FIG. 4.—HEAD NO. 121.



FIG. 5.—HEAD NO. 65.



FIG. 6.—HEAD NO. 89.

trace a similar course to the end in the corner. This composition looks forward to the West pediment of Olympia, which has the same linear scheme, only its lines are reinforced and the gaps filled. It is, then, unlikely that our East pediment repeats the composition of the old East pediment.

²³ No. 82.

²⁴ No. 77.

²⁵ No. 72.

²⁶ No. 65.

Thiersch attributes the head, no. 121 (Fig. 4), to a statue erected after Salamis: yet an Aeginetan memorial statue would probably have been of bronze. In *Aegina* Furtwängler had already gone back on his earlier view²⁷ that it belonged to one of the Pediments. His grounds are that it is too big for the East pediment, that the form of the skull is unparalleled, that there is no similar ear in the work of the master of the East pediment. As a matter of fact, the head is smaller²⁸ than the head of the East pediment Athena, and the measurement from the inner corner of the eye to the middle of the mouth is only 1 mm. more than the corresponding measurement in no. 41 (the dying man). It is a large head, and might belong to one of the warriors near Athena, perhaps to no. 72; the form of the skull, which is not abnormal, may have been determined by its nearness to the raking cornice. The ear, which is Furtwängler's chief difficulty, recurs in heads from all three pediments. It is incorrect to speak of a West pediment ear and an East pediment ear, or of a West pediment sculptor and an East pediment sculptor. There are three ears and three sculptors, and they are not divided by pediments. Ear A is distinguished by a very narrow vertical slit at the bottom of the opening; it occurs in nos. 19-33, 65 (Fig. 5), 89 (Fig. 6), 120, 121; with this ear go long, almond eyes and a wide mouth. I am not certain if we have any other figures by this sculptor on the West pediment; on the East pediment no. 72 will be his, if no. 121 is really its head. Ear B is shorter than A, the bottom of the opening is wider and the bottom point is further forward and higher; it occurs in nos. 8, 25, 44 (Fig. 7), 86, 115, 119. With this go short, wide eyes and a narrower face than with A. Ear C is also small, and has more detailed lining of the fleshy part than B; it occurs in nos. 14, 32, 82, 116. With it go short, narrow eyes and small mouth; the distance between the outside corners of the eyes is shorter than with B. No. 22 is by this sculptor, because of the proportions of its body, no. 41 because of the proportions of its face. I prefer not to attribute the remaining figures. B and C are nearer to each other than they are to A, and A, if any, can claim Ionian descent. All three worked on all three pediments.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude to the Direction of the Glyptothek, Munich, for the photographs reproduced and the permission to reproduce them.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

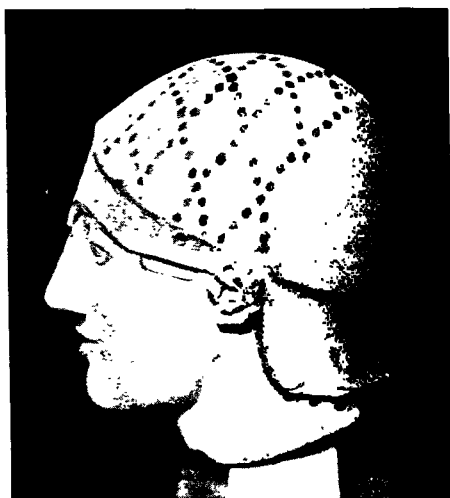


FIG. 7.—HEAD NO. 44.

²⁷ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-3.

²⁸ *Ib. d.*, p. 263.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1930-1931

THE following summary is principally compiled from reports supplied by the excavators or by their colleagues, to all of whom I wish to express my thanks.¹ I again owe a special debt to the Director of the German Institute, Prof. Karo, who kindly sent me the proofs of his article in *Arch. Anz.* 1931, from which I have been able to fill several gaps. For details which could not, for reasons of space, be included here, I make reference to that article, to Prof. Oikonomos's 'Εκθεσις τῶν πεπραγμένων τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας and to M. Béquignon's article in *B.C.H.* 1930, 4520 ff.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

The American excavations in the *Athenian Agora*, conducted by Prof. T. L. Shear, made a very satisfactory beginning in the early summer of 1931; they will be resumed in February 1932. Two sectors, each of about 1200 square metres area, were excavated, and in each important results were obtained. In the northern area the foundations of a large building which runs from north to south across the entire area as far as the cutting of the Athens-Peiraeus railway (how much further in this direction it may go cannot be said) came to light. This building, a narrow structure with two rows of columns on its east side, is identified with the Royal Stoa which Pausanias places on the right as one enters the Agora (Fig. 1); another narrow building, as yet partially excavated, may be the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. A water-channel in a wide street immediately west of this latter Stoa yielded some inscribed stelai which had been used as cover-blocks; others are still in situ and will be removed next year. A colossal marble statue of Hadrian was also found here: this must be the statue of Hadrian mentioned by Pausanias as standing near the Stoa of Zeus.

Two other interesting pieces of sculpture were found—one a herm, with a head in the style of the herm of Alcámenes, which supports the torso of a seated child (Fig. 2), the other a statue of a woman the style of which recalls that of Timotheos and which, it is thought, may be an original of the fourth century (Fig. 3).² There are also a fine Greek head from a relief and various other pieces of sculpture.

The earliest pottery is Mycenaean; Geometric and archaic Attic are also represented. The Mycenaean and Geometric come from a depth of six or seven metres. Most notable are two fragmentary Attic cups, one of

¹ I am indebted to Prof. T. L. Shear for Figs. 1-3, to the British School at Athens for Figs. 6-10, to Prof. D. M. Robinson for Fig. 11, to Miss W. Lamb for Figs. 12, 13, and to Sir A. Evans for

Figs. 14-18.

² These two pieces and the statue of Hadrian are illustrated in *Illustrated London News*, July 29, 1931.



FIG. 1.—FOUNDATIONS PROBABLY OF THE STOA BASILLIOS.



FIG. 2.—HEAD OF HERM.



FIG. 3.—STATUE OF WOMAN.

FIGS. 1-3.—ATHENS: EXCAVATIONS IN THE AGORA.

which is described as being in the style of Douris, the other, white ground, in that of Sotades. On the interior of the latter is a figure in a long purple cloak, playing the lyre, with a rabbit crouching by his side.

On the *north slope of the Acropolis* Mr. Broneer of the American School has identified a small sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. A path leads from it up to the north side of the Acropolis. The discovery is interesting, as Mr. Broneer is evidently right in identifying the sanctuary with that of Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις, mentioned by Pausanias in connection with the Arrephoroi (Paus. I. 27, 3).

A hitherto unknown rock-inscription addressed to Aphrodite and another to Eros have been noted here. The pottery ranges from Early Helladic to Roman.

In Mr. Aristophron's excavation at the *Academy* a marble loutrophoros and an extremely well-preserved base, decorated on three sides with reliefs, and evidently dating from the early fourth century, have been found (Fig. 4). Further work has been done on the Academy road, and at the northernmost point yet reached foundations of a large building which, it is thought, may be the Academy, have come to light.

Between December 1930 and June 1931 excavations were conducted on the *Pnyx* by the Greek Archaeological Service under the joint direction of Dr. K. Kourouniotis and Mr. H. A. Thompson, Fellow of the American School. The levels and stratification were examined by cutting numerous trenches through the semicircular area bounded on the south by the artificial scarp and on the north by the great curved retaining wall. The remains of three periods came to light.

In the First Period, advantage was taken of the natural hill slope so that the audience sat facing north-east; the speaker stood below facing south-west. The shallow cavea was hewn for the most part from the bed-rock, and its dressed rock surface may still be traced in front of the great surviving bema. The front of the auditorium was formed by a terrace supported by a low retaining wall running approximately parallel to the high scarp. Part of its bedding consists of the so-called three steps discovered by Curtius in 1862. Historical considerations suggest a date around 500 B.C. for this First Period.

In the Second Period the entire arrangement was reversed. It is clear that the curved inner retaining wall, first discovered by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1911-12 and now traced to its full extent, raised the back of the auditorium high enough to turn its slope toward the south-west. The objects found in the earth filling of this period substantiate the statement of Plutarch (*Themistocles*, 19), to the effect that the Thirty Tyrants of 404/3 B.C. turned the bema of the *Pnyx* so that it no longer faced toward the sea but toward the land.

The Third Period represents a rebuilding and enlargement of the Second. The front of its auditorium was formed by the newly-cut scarp from the centre of which projects the rock-hewn bema. The back of the cavea was supported by the monumental outer retaining wall. The familiar three steps in the western part of the scarp provided entrance from an artificial terrace on the hilltop. The main entrance was a broad stair-

way leading up from the north over the great retaining wall. The cuttings for its bedding survive on the top and at the foot of that wall. The objects found in the new filling and the similarity in construction of this retaining



FIG. 4.—MARBLE BASE FOUND NEAR THE ACADEMY, ATHENS.

wall and other Hadrianic buildings in Athens make probable the dating of the final reconstruction to the time of Hadrian.

The south corner of the East pediment of the *Parthenon* is being repaired and restored by Mr. Balanos, who has now completed his reconstruction of



FIG. 5.—RELIEFS FROM THE PEIRAEUS, COPIES OF FIGURES ON THE SHIELD OF THE PARTHENOS.

the north colonnade. In the courtyard of the *Acropolis Museum* Dr. Rhys Carpenter recognised the missing figure U from the West pediment of the *Parthenon*, in the lower half of a statue of a seated woman which has long stood exactly opposite to the entrance to the Museum. In June a

remarkable chance find was made when the basement of a house in the neighbourhood of the lower end of *Hermes Street* was being enlarged; this is a life-size marble statue of a seated man, perhaps Dionysus, to judge by the panther-skin on the stool on which he is sitting, and is evidently a work of about 520 B.C. Head, one arm, and part of one shoulder are missing: one arm was raised and presumably rested on a staff. The condition of the surface is astonishingly good; a certain amount of colour remains, particularly on the panther skin, the contours and details of which are drawn in dull black paint. In spite of the damage which it has suffered this is a really first-rate acquisition to the existing sculpture of the late-archaic period. In my previous report I omitted to mention an early archaic statue recently found and at present in the Theseum: this is a nude male figure, under life-size, of which the head and body are tolerably well preserved; it is a little later than the Sunium Apollo, to which it bears a rather strong resemblance.

Of discoveries in the neighbourhood of Athens, the chance finding of a series of marble reliefs, and other less important remains, in the harbour at *Peiraeus* is, of course, the most remarkable.³ The reliefs are Roman work presumably of the second half of the second century A.D.; Schrader has already pointed out that some of them (cf. Fig. 5) are copies of the figures on the shield of the Parthenos (see Schrader, *Gnomon*, 1931, 165; *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad.* 1931, 185 ff.). As they appear to be extremely competent copies, and the preservation of the surface is excellent in almost all cases, the importance of this find need not be emphasised. The find is evidently the result of the burning of a ship in the harbour, traces of burning being visible on some of the objects; there is more than one example of most of the reliefs.

Dr. Mylonas has continued his work on the prehistoric site at *H. Kosmas*, near Glyphada; the well-preserved early Helladic houses have now been laid bare, and remains of a Mycenaean acropolis wall have been distinguished. There is nothing to fill the gap between Early Helladic and Late Mycenaean (see Karo, *A. Anz.* 1931, 231).

Drs. Kourouniotis and Mylonas have made a number of important investigations at *Eleusis*, which have resulted in considerable additions to our knowledge of the topography of the site.⁴

The prehistoric settlement on the southern slope of the Acropolis, which was covered by Roman and Geometric strata, revealed a Mycenaean stratum a metre and a half thick, and below this a Middle Helladic, which is rather thicker than the Mycenaean. There was no break between the Middle Helladic and the Mycenaean, which leads in turn, without a break, to Geometric. There was no Early Helladic stratum, the Early Helladic sherds which were found having come down from the top of the Acropolis. The Middle Helladic houses are mostly of the usual apsidal type, but there were two rectangular house plans. A large Mycenaean house was found. Between the walls and below the floors of the Middle Helladic houses

³ *Illustrated London News*, Jan. 31, 1931; *A. Anz.* 1931, 229 and ff. (Karo).

⁴ Cf. Karo *A. Anz.* 1931, 225 and ff.; Kourouniotis in *Art and Archaeology*, Aug. 1931.

were graves, most of which had no funerary furniture. However, one of two Early Helladic graves, found near the Portico of Philon, contained a number of offerings, a bronze razor with silver studs, many small triangular ornaments made of boar's tusks, etc. The pottery presents few unusual features, though a couple of incised Cycladic fragments may be mentioned.

As to the remains of the historic period: the mass of earth which had accumulated in front of the Portico of Philon has been further cleared, and a stretch of Peisistratean wall, with restorations of the Cimonian period, has been revealed; the Periclean wall on the east side of the temenos has been opened to view in two places by clearances made in the later fortification wall which conceals it.

Perhaps the most striking results have been obtained north-west of the Great Propylaea, where a long stretch of wall which seems likely to be Peisistratean, a gateway and two towers have come to light; this wall is a direct continuation of the line of the temenos wall, and can only be part of the defensive system of the town.

BOEOTIA

In the refugee-quarter, at *Thebes* S. of the railway, Prof. Keramopoulos has uncovered a late house in which was found a coin of the period 220-197 B.C. In a corner of one of the rooms were found some clay female figures; a headless marble statuette of a woman, which still shows traces of colour, was found in another room, where there were also loom-weights beside what appears to be the emplacement of a loom. The excavator connects the destruction of the house either with Mummius' destruction of Thebes in 146-5, or with Sulla's in 86 B.C.

At *Haliartos* the site of the acropolis sanctuary found in 1926 was further excavated by Mr. R. P. Austin. It was found that the eastern end of the temple had been completely destroyed. A mass of structural *poros*, including fragments of column drums, was found at a distance of eighteen metres from the west end, and it is assumed that this is the ruin of the east façade, and that the temple was about eighteen metres in length.

Adjacent to the north side of the existing temple-foundations, at a lower level, was found a structure about sixteen metres long and two metres wide composed of heavy squared blocks of *poros*. It is possible that this is a relic of the foundations of an earlier temple.

A votive deposit was found outside the western arc of the temenos-wall. It contained a mass of pottery, including sherds with incised inscriptions. Among these there was a dedication to Athena. This discovery has a twofold significance. Since none of the sacred buildings at Haliartos which Pausanias was able to identify by name was a temple of Athena, this find represents the recovery of a fact which had disappeared from general, and even from local, knowledge before Pausanias' time; secondly, it renders extremely probable the suggestion previously made by the excavator, that this sanctuary was among those other temples which Pausanias saw at Haliartos and set down in his record as being nameless and in a ruined condition.

The long rectangular building to the south of the temple was scarcely more than defined in outline in the excavation of 1926; but from the identity in style between its walls and those of the *τέμενος* it had already been judged to be contemporary with the temple and to be a part of the sacred precinct. This inference has now been justified. In the interior of the building, four circular stone bases were uncovered, about .75 m. in diameter, disposed at equal intervals along a centre-line running the long way of the building. They were evidently the bases of the pillars supporting the roof, and it is fairly certain that this rectangular building was a single long hall. Excavation outside its north wall revealed a well-preserved passage paved with limestone, leading into the precinct from the west and extending as far as the flight of steps found in 1926. This paved passage, therefore, gave access to the temple by way of the steps. As it also continues below the steps round the north-east angle of the long hall towards the first doorway of the latter it evidently gave access to the long hall as well, and the association between the long hall and the temple may be considered to be established. The exact purpose of the long hall remains undecided.

The smaller finds include a quantity of pottery, mostly of the period from the sixth to the fourth century; fragments of two proxeny-decrees, one of which contains a grant of citizenship to the *proxenos*; and an excellent painted clay antefix.

THE PELOPONNESE

Professor Shear, who has now published accounts of discoveries previously made in the cemeteries of *Corinth*, in *A.J.A.* 1930, 403 ff. (cf. *Art and Archaeology*, May and June 1930; March and April 1931), continued his investigations in the neighbourhood of the Cheliotomylos mound, choosing a site on the hillside to the south-east. Although some Geometric objects and early sherds were found here, as well as a fountain house and walls of the fourth century B.C., the chief result was the discovery that the hillside is closely packed with Roman tombs. The tombs are usually constructed of two chambers, and have graves set in niches; three periods may be distinguished by means of the coins and lamps, and by structural changes: (i) before the end of the first century A.D.; (ii) re-use in the second century; (iii) in the latter part of the fourth century when they were filled with bodies. The undecorated stucco with which the walls are covered belongs to the last period of use, but beneath this is a layer which was decorated: in one case with pictures of an armed Roman soldier, who stands in a panel on either side of the grave, while in the tympanum of the niche are two peacocks facing each other over a vase; the background is filled with garlands and flowers. Over a side-grave in the outer chamber of the same tomb are two tritons, above dolphins, grouped about a large vase. These paintings cannot be later than the end of the first century A.D.

Miss Newhall has published a summary of the finds from the Corinthian Cerameicus in *A.J.A.* 1931, p. 1 and ff. This remarkably interesting series of finds covers the period from the eighth century to the fourth, and includes, besides an enormous number of vases, a large collection of terra-

cottas, and a fragmentary bronze bowl with a late-archaic dedication to Aphrodite (ΤΑΜΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΜΕΜΙ). That the immense quantities of pottery found here are actually from the potters' quarter is proved by the discovery of trial pieces (p. 7), and the fact that there is an undoubted Protocorinthian fragment among these (p. 9) is yet another proof of the origin of the Protocorinthian style.

Further finds, of which I have not received detailed information, were made in the summer of 1931, both in the Cerameicus and elsewhere; the latter include a fifth-century chamber-tomb excavated by Dr. Carpenter (see Karo in *A. Anz.* 1931, 250). A Hellenistic sima, with a lion's-head spout of flamboyant style, is published in *B.C.H.* 1930, 473, Fig. 14, and *A. Anz.* 1931, 237, Fig. 14.

At the temple of *Hera Akraia*, *Perachora*, the British School continued the work begun in 1930.⁵ The first task was naturally to complete the excavation of the area known, from votive inscriptions found in 1930, to be that in which the Heraeum once stood. Although a number of workmen were employed in this area for seven weeks, the limits of the votive deposit have not yet been reached, and it is evident there is still much to be done before the deposit is exhausted. The area is divided into two principal sectors by a central complex of walls which were laid bare last year. In both enormous quantities of pottery were again found, and, as before, there was a large proportion of fine Protocorinthian (perhaps the most notable piece of which is a large fragment with the forepart of a centaur painted in the polychrome technique of the Chigi vase). Much imported pottery was again found—especially notable is the number of fragments of undoubted Etruscan bucchero; and there were again a number of fragments with votive inscriptions, on some of which the name, or part of the name, of the goddess is preserved. In both sectors terracotta figurines were plentiful; these show a variety of styles: about twenty Rhodian or Samian examples (cf. Fig. 6) are of particular interest. Considerably more ivory was found this year than last: the total number of seventh-century circular seals is now twenty, and some of these are of exceptionally fine workmanship (cf. Fig. 7). It is worth remarking that the examples from *Perachora* approximate more closely in style to those from the Argive Heraeum than to those from Sparta. A fine ivory relief with Artemis, with a lion in front of her (compare the relief from Syracuse, *Not. Scav.* 1895, p. 119, Fig. 1), and a couchant lion devouring a doe (this almost exactly like examples from Sparta) were also found. But the most remarkable ivory yet discovered is the beautifully preserved head shown in Fig. 8—evidently Oriental, not Greek, work. The technique of this head is singularly elaborate; the eyelids are inlaid in bronze, the whites are of ivory, and the pupils were of some other material but are now lost.

This head was found in the lower sector, where the ground falls away sharply below the complex of walls, at a depth of two metres, in a stratum which contained a fine ivory seal of the seventh century, and Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery. Unfortunately, however, no importance can be

⁵ *J.H.S.* 1930, 238; *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 15, 1930, and May 2, and Nov. 28, 1931.

attached to the context as the whole of this lower sector (like the greater part of the other) is not chronologically stratified, and the date of the head must therefore be determined by internal evidence.



FIG. 6.—CLAY MASK OF EAST-GREEK STYLE FROM THE HERAEUM, PERACHORA.



FIG. 7.—IVORY SEAL FROM THE HERAEUM, PERACHORA.



FIG. 8.—IVORY HEAD FROM THE HERAEUM, PERACHORA.

The most remarkable finds of the year were the bronzes which came to light in the lower sector. The archaic deposit (which had formed as the objects were washed down by rain from the upper area) was here about two

metres thick and reached a depth of over three metres. It contained a large collection of bronze vases, which were found at various levels within the limits implied above, and were often embedded in fine alluvial strata



FIG. 9.—BRONZE LION FROM THE HERAEUM, PERACHORA.

of gravel. The great majority were mesomphalic phialai, of which many were crushed beyond repair; many, however, are excellently preserved and some have engraved or embossed decoration; there were also found: a very fine large bronze cup (with offset rim, two horizontal handles, hemi-

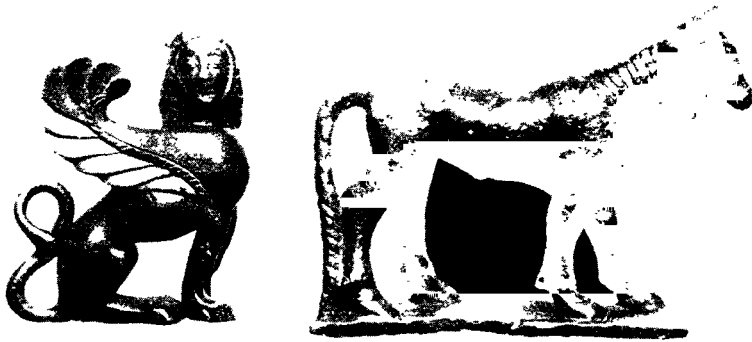


FIG. 10.—BRONZE SPHINX AND BULL FROM THE HERAEUM, PERACHORA.

spherical body and high foot), a bronze oinochoe with silvered rivets at the handle (there is an example of the same fabric in the British Museum from Camirus), bronze skyphoi of Protocorinthian shape, and other vases. As last year, several statuettes were found—the most remarkable a Proto-

corinthian lion, just over six inches long (Fig. 9), perhaps from a tripod, a geometric doe, a sphinx (Fig. 10), a ram, and a bull (Fig. 10) with a dedicatory inscription: *Ναυμαχος με ανεθεκε ται Ηραι ται Λιμενιαι* (sixth century, with 'Sicyonian' epsilons)—a find which proves that the harbour of the Heraeum was an important feature of the town, a point of considerable interest, since to-day the harbour is far from impressive. Great numbers of pins, etc. were also found, as well as several excellent examples of Argive-Corinthian reliefs (heraldic lions, a sphinx, a quadriga, Herakles and Geras, etc.). Lastly, the number of Egyptian imports found this year, about 180, far exceeds that of 1930; the total for the two years, about 250, is far greater than that of any site in Greece save Rhodes. The complex of walls to which reference has been made is largely of Hellenistic date, and is composed in part of blocks taken from a large classical building; but part of one wall is undisturbed classical work, and may belong to the (rebuilt) Heraeum, while the deposits of pottery have made it possible to distinguish some sixth-century walls. Two massive archaic terrace-walls where the ground begins to slope were uncovered this year.

The Heraeum-deposit is repeated on a small scale further down the hill. Here there is no trace of building of any kind—a mass of sherds, a few bronze phialai, pins, etc., and a minute ivory of a nude standing goddess carved in very early style were the principal finds.

The temple by the harbour yielded further interesting results. It now appears that this temple was very much larger than was previously conjectured, for after a break (which was obviously caused by an earthquake) the north wall seems to continue to a point no less than 32 metres east of the west end; here the foundations turn south, giving a small portion of the east wall. Fragments of three marble antefixes were found, and point to the third quarter of the sixth century as a likely date for the building—a conclusion which is supported by other evidence. There were also found many small pieces of the drapery, and part of a foot, of a marble Nike-acroterion of late archaic style. Just outside the building a large bronze Aphrodite mirror-handle came to light—a work of the later sixth century; the surface of this figure has unfortunately suffered a good deal, but the essentials of the style are still discernible.

Trial excavations have been made at *Heraea* in Arcadia (the modern H. Joannes) by Dr. A. Philadelphus. The peribolos wall, part of the foundations of a temple, and a Doric capital which indicates a late date for the building were found. The other remains found belong to the Roman period; they comprise remains of baths and a four-roomed building which proved to contain two mosaics—one of plain geometric patterns, the other with a satyr, sea-horses and dolphins, framed by a geometric band; near the mosaic is a cistern, and a little way north a hypocaust. The whole must have belonged to a large Roman villa.

NORTH-WEST GREECE

At *Dodona* Professor Evangelides has resumed the excavations of the preceding year (*J.H.S.* 1930, 242), completing the work of clearing the

early Christian Basilika, in front of the narthex of which the foundations of a Greek building have come to light. There are other buildings further west. A number of small objects were found—fragments of fourth-century Ionic columns of poros, questions to the oracle and answers, written on tablets of lead, bronze reliefs, a cheek-piece from a helmet, decorated with the Struggle for the Tripod, and a very fine archaic statuette of a hoplite of Peloponnesian style.

Traces of a prehistoric settlement which yielded Early Helladic vases have also been found.

Professor Evangelides later conducted a short excavation at *Paramythia*, where details of an Early Christian Basilika were brought to light. This Basilika closely resembles that of Dodona; its greatest length is about 23 metres, its breadth about 14.5. Many details remain to be cleared up in next year's excavations.

At *Nikopolis* in Epirus Professors Orlandos and Soteriou continued their work on the great Basilika (cf. *J.H.S.* 1930, 242), which is now seen to have had a five-fold division into aisles. The altar, ciborium and a marble bathron in front of the altar, on which, as on the prothesis in front of ancient altars, the priest stood, as well as the emplacements by the thrones of the Presbyteroi, were uncovered. In addition to this exceptionally clear plan of the constitution of the Bema a number of other interesting details were revealed; a good deal of earlier marble work (Ionic and Corinthian capitals, reliefs with vine-sprays, panoplies, and erotes) was found rebuilt into the Basilika. It is evident that the Basilika now in course of excavation is the most important of all the Christian monuments of the city, and it seems likely that it may actually be the cathedral.

In the autumn of 1930 Mr. W. A. Heurtley conducted the first campaign of the excavation undertaken at the instance of Sir Rennell Rodd in *Ithaca*. During the months of August, September and October, excavations were carried out in the north part of the island. Four points were explored: the hill of Pelikáta, the bay of Polis, the so-called 'School of Homer,' and an area near the modern village of Stavros. On the hill of Pelikáta an extensive Early Helladic settlement was discovered. Owing to severe earthquakes the remains are ruinous, and little more than heaps of stones. In one area, however, these heaps of stones had been levelled to make a wide space on which must have stood houses of wattle and daub on stone foundations. Evidence of occupation here was given by bored stone axes, many clay spindle-whorls and masses of pottery. A circuit wall of large irregular blocks of stone ran just below the flat summit of the hill, enclosing part of the settlement, and some of this wall is still preserved in situ, as is part of a paved road about three metres wide which ran beside it. Several burials in large jars were found under the floors of houses. Besides bones the jars contained funerary objects, blades of flint or Melian obsidian, stone beads, a gold bead, and small vases, and in one case the clay model of a bull. Since a certain amount of Middle Helladic (Minyan) and Late Mycenaean pottery was found mixed with the Early Helladic, it seems likely that the Early Helladic culture in this remote part of Greece persisted unchanged till Late Helladic times (c. the twelfth century B.C.).

In the Bay of Polis a cave-sanctuary was explored by Miss Benton. This cave, the roof of which had fallen, was plundered some sixty years ago, and in 1904 was partially excavated by Dr. Vollgraff. The stratification, therefore, was confused and could give no help to the dating of the mass of votive objects, mostly pottery, which were recovered. Most of the latter, however, consist of recognisable types which show that the sanctuary was frequented from the Early Bronze Age to a date at least as late as the first century B.C. Thus the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Ages, the Proto-geometric, Geometric, Protocorinthian, Corinthian (this most notably by a handsome middle-Corinthian plate), and later periods are all represented.

Inscriptions include the words ΕΥΧΗΝ ΘΑΥΥCCEI on a fragment of a votive terracotta showing part of the head of a goddess (Artemis?); three sherds have parts of the word ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ inscribed on them; one complete inscription in Latin roughly scratched on a triangular tile-fragment dates from the year 35 B.C., and records a visit on the 1st of October of that year by one Epaphroditus, an unguent seller from Rome. Of the small objects, the most interesting is an ivory pendant representing a small standing figure (3.2 cm. high), round whose neck and arms is passed a bronze cord. Fragments of bronze and iron weapons were common. The cave has now been fully explored down to sea-level, but, owing to subsidence, the original floor-level of the cave is below the sea, and could not be reached. Three hours' work, however, in a very limited area sufficed to recover several vases from the water, and there is little doubt that, if the water could be excluded, interesting results would be obtained. At the site called the School of Homer further remains of imposing buildings were discovered, but have as yet been only partially cleared. The objects found in this area belong to the third century B.C. and later. Finally, in the region of Stavrós, part of a large circuit wall and numerous tile-graves, to be assigned to the fourth or third century B.C., were found. The principal finds are illustrated and discussed by the excavator in the *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 6, 1930.

THESSALY

The excavation of the very important early Christian buildings at *Nea Anchialos* has been continued by Professor Soteriou. The whole of the Stoa which was partly uncovered in 1930 has now been laid bare, as have parts of five other colonnades, connected with it, in addition to the two found last year. The Stoa has three columns, the bases, shafts, and Ionising capitals of which are preserved. Fifteen metres to the north of the seventh colonnade a trial trench revealed a high stylobate, capitals with a circumference of three metres, and column-shafts which match them. Further excavations will be carried out here to clear up the connexions of this building.

The function of the first-mentioned building has not yet been ascertained. The natural conclusion to be drawn from the architectural members, such as the Ionising capitals (some of which have a cross on them, while others are of a type well known from S. Sophia) and the open-work

screens and reliefs with crosses, would be that the building was a church; but the plan precludes this interpretation, and it is supposed that the building is either an annex of some large church, or else an independent structure of the Early Christian period.

The most important finds of 1930 were the mosaic floors. The Stoa has geometric patterns combined with a cross in the middle, and a variety of other decorative motives. The most magnificent mosaic is that of one of the colonnades on the west; this is divided into ten rectangular compartments, in each of which are partridges, ducks, peacocks and doves on either side of vases, and is executed with remarkable delicacy.

MACEDONIA

A site at *Armenochori*, five kilometres east of Florina, was excavated by Mr. W. A. Heurtley.

The excavation revealed a deposit with an average depth of two metres, containing two occupation levels. Both belong to the Early Macedonian Bronze Age, which is known from previous excavations of the School in other parts of Macedonia to have lasted from about 2500 to 2000 B.C.

The two levels represent the two phases of the culture of this period, the lower level containing also traces of a still earlier indigenous Neolithic culture, the upper containing pottery which is a development of that in the lower. In the upper level were found some thirty mugs each with a pair of high-swung ribbon handles (the counterpart of the Early Helladic 'tankard'), some of exceptionally delicate fabric with fine polished yellow surface; some bored stone celts, stone saws, an anchor ornament, objects all proper to this civilisation, and a remarkable figurine. Except for the Neolithic sherds no obvious contacts with the northern cultural province were observed. At a spot about 20 kilometres north of Bitolj in Yugoslavia a settlement of the same early Bronze Age people was identified.

Professor Keramopoulos has excavated at two places in Macedonia, the one near *Florina*, the other at *Selitsa-Eratyra*. Attention was drawn to the former by the discovery of a Hellenistic vase decorated with the Fall of Troy ('Megarian-bowl' fabric). Trial-excavation revealed that the town had been destroyed in war, apparently in the Roman period; the finds include pottery which goes back to the later fifth century, and a fourth-century coin of Dyrrhachium. The remains of walls and buildings indicate that the place was one of some importance, but its name is not known.

At *Eratyra* (which lies a short distance S.W. of *Selitsa*) trial-excavation brought to light remains of a town on an isolated hill, which is still surrounded by the foundations of an ancient wall. The town seems to have been destroyed in war at some time in the first century B.C. The houses were built of mud-brick on a stone foundation; in the store-rooms were found quantities of charred grain, lentils, etc. The neighbouring plain was protected by a system of five forts, of which that of *Eratyra* was one: all go back at least to the Macedonian period. The district probably belonged to *Elimeia* and the fortifications were designed to protect the passes to *Orestis* and *Eordaia*.

A remarkable Hellenistic grave at *Dion* has been excavated by Professor Soteiriades. It has the form of a small Doric anta-temple, stuccoed inside and out, the walls being white outside and the pediment yellow. The door, which is double, is of marble and leads into a chamber measuring four metres by three and a half, in which is a marble couch with painted decoration (floral motives and galloping horsemen). This grave probably dates from the end of the fourth century; it had been robbed, and contained nothing but fragments of fourth-century pottery, and a couple of Roman lamps left behind by the robbers. Professor Soteiriades has also continued his work on the early Christian church (*J.H.S.* 1930, 243), and has found mosaics, inscriptions of the third to fifth centuries A.D., and other remains.

At *Philippi* ⁶ MM. Collart and Ducoux conducted a short campaign in the region where the Agora is thought to have been. Remains of several buildings were discovered on the Drama-Kavalla road, the most important of which is a Roman temple of the Corinthian order. In spite of the difficulty of excavating this building it was possible to clear part of one corner, with an anta- and a column-base in the same alignment, as well as part of the cella wall, which is made of small blocks with mortar but without bricks. In addition to the anta-base, the anta-capital was found, a square column-base, a well-preserved Corinthian capital, and various other architectural members (architrave-blocks, cornices, etc.). A Latin inscription records the name either of Antoninus Pius or of Marcus Aurelius. Many fragments of statues of draped figures also came to light.

Proceeding in the direction of Kavalla, the excavators came on the remains of a building which appears to be a portico flanking the Agora; here was found a torso of a statue of Victory in local marble, a Roman copy of a fourth-century original. Further on are remains of a rectangular Ionic building which stood on a three-tier podium, constructed of well-cut blocks joined by clamps, and evidently a work of a good period. A cornice-block with a lion's head, architrave-blocks, and fragments of volutes from Ionic columns doubtless belong to this building. Still further from the temple are remains of an altar. Elsewhere in the neighbourhood of the Agora evidence of large buildings was obtained, and it is clear that a thorough excavation of the site would be an extremely formidable task. If the necessary arrangements can be made, however, it is hoped that this may be undertaken in the coming year.

The American excavations at *Olynthus* were resumed by Professor D. M. Robinson, and a number of houses were uncovered. In one a deed of sale recording the owner's name, Polyxenos, and those of his neighbours on either side, was discovered. The name Polyxenos is known from many coins as that of a magistrate of the fourth century B.C., and the house is thought to be that of the magistrate. Part of the town-plan, with four wide streets running north and a great many cross-streets, has been recovered. In a typical block of houses were found two important hoards of silver coins, many vases, terracottas, bronzes, many paved courts and several

⁶ See Béquignon, *B.C.H.* 1930, 502 and ff., with illustrations.

pebble-mosaics with mythological scenes and other motives which are thus dated, by the fall of the city in 348, considerably earlier than is usually done with works of this kind. One of twelve mosaics found is thought to be the earliest Greek pebble-mosaic with a mythological scene; the subject is Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus hurling a spear at the Chimaera (Fig. 11). Another represents two griffons tearing a stag, another a warrior in combat with a centaur, yet another a lion, with a green and red mane, crouching with his forepaws on the hindquarters of a stag. The house where the animal-



FIG. 11.—MOSAIC FROM OLYNTHUS.

mosaics were found was more or less typical: there were three columns on each side of the central court, which was thus surrounded by a verandah; beyond this were rooms, three on each side of the court; other arrangements, including a bath-tub and what is thought to have been a shower-bath, came to light. The small finds include vases, terracottas, etc., and a bronze ring with a representation of Tragedy and Comedy on it. A number of bronze objects and a large collection of coins, most of them coins of the Chalcidic League, were also found; in addition, nearly 200 graves, containing vases, terracottas, etc., were found.

THE ISLANDS

In *Aegina* ⁷ Dr. Welter made a small trial-excavation on the hill on which the temple of Aphrodite stands, and brought to light prehistoric pottery (including imported L.M. Cretan vases), such as has already been found here. Dr. Welter's excavations in the cemeteries of the Hellenic city led to much more remarkable results. This necropolis forms a broad band round the area of the ancient city and contains many thousands of graves, which are of two types: cist graves cut in the rock, and a more elaborate kind in which a deep cist is sunk vertically into the rock, with two chambers leading from it. This latter form, which is peculiar to Aegina, would naturally be taken to be prehistoric if it were not certainly dated, by the pottery found in the graves, between early sixth century and the fall of Aegina. Scattered among the other tombs are Hellenistic tombs with stepped dromos, key-stone vaulting, and stucco; the more elaborate examples have painted floral friezes. Previously undated, through lack of unrobbed examples, the chronology of this type of grave is now clear through the discovery of a remarkably interesting example. This grave is painted inside to imitate coloured marble and stone of various kinds; over the emplacements for the dead are cursive Hellenistic inscriptions recording the date of the burials. The inscriptions run:

(1) Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Πανήμου | πέμτ καὶ δεκάτῃ Ἀρτεμισίᾳ. (2) Ἐπὶ Ἀριστάρχου Γορπιάιου ιγ' | ἐτέθῃ Θεοξένα. (3) Ἐπὶ Γνάιου Ἀρτεμίου | ἐνάτῃ Νικάῳ. (4) Κότυος. (5) Αὐλούπορες.

Unfortunately the dates of the magistrates named are not known. The names of the months belong to the Macedonian-Pergamene calendar, and date the grave after 210 B.C., when Aegina came into the possession of Pergamon, and before 133, when Attalos III left it to Rome. Kotys is well known as a Thracian dynastic name, while Aulopores recalls Thracian names such as Rhaskouporis: it is therefore plausible to connect these interments with Thracians who may have found themselves in Aegina as hostages or prisoners at the time of the expedition of Attalos II against the Thracian prince Diegylis, shortly after 144. We thus obtain strong evidence for the chronology not only of the painted decoration of the tomb, but also for that of the black glaze pottery, with matt-brown garlands, which was also found in the tomb.

A necropolis on the westernmost point of the island is of particular interest. The graves here are of a simple type, but in the middle of the headland where the lighthouse stands to-day, there are the foundations of the krepis of a great grave-mound sixteen metres in diameter. A grave with late objects which was found in this had been made after the destruction of the mound; on the other hand, the technique of the krepis unquestionably points to the beginning of the fifth century as the date of the mound. Now this mound is a kilometre from the boundary of the actual town, and certainly has no connexion with the main necropolis; Dr. Welter consequently draws the convincing conclusion that it is the cenotaph of the Aeginetans who fell at Salamis.

⁷ Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 274 and ff.

Professor Buschor did not excavate in *Samos* last year: he has now published a detailed account of the Heraeum in *Ath. Mitt.* LV, 1930, 1 and ff. Dr. Wrede, however, continued the excavation on the Kastro at Tigani which he began in 1928.⁸ The find of prehistoric pottery there made is now amplified by further material, particularly by the discovery of Mycenaean sherds in the same strata as a certain type of coarsely made cup which was already known from the previous excavation, but was not hitherto datable. These cups were found in great masses in a circular bothros, two metres in diameter, cut in the rock, but with a built wall which projects above the rock-level. Several Roman and Hellenistic buildings and the Byzantine Basilica have been further investigated (cf. *A. Anz.* 1931, 288 and ff.).

An interesting feature of the excavation was the discovery of many further fragments of painted stucco; among these are remains of buildings drawn in perspective, corresponding to those of the fourth style at Pompeii. The stucco found in the Roman building in 1928 is entirely different from this, and is comparable rather with the third Pompeian style. In the fill by the Hellenistic foundations referred to above a few Geometric sherds were found, as well as a quantity of the everyday pottery of the archaic period, black-varnished and relief-pottery of the classical and Hellenistic periods. The refuse of a potter's shop was found under the floor of one of the houses of the industrial quarter. In it were found four examples, all from the same mould, of a fine fourth-century clay relief representing Nike in a chariot drawn by four galloping horses (height 25 cms., length 40 cms.); some of the colours are preserved.

Some moulds for making Ionic egg-patterns (various sizes, pierced for suspension) likewise point to the proximity of an establishment where such objects were sold. Finally, the history of the town walls has been cleared up, and the gateway on the eastern hill (*Ath. Mitt.* 1884, pl. 7, between towers 4 and 5) has been laid bare; the finds show that the gateway and the polygonal wall which goes with it (*A. Anz.* 1931, 287-90, Figs. 36-7) are work of the sixth century. Here, and in the whole course of the town-walls, archaic, earlier, and later Hellenistic periods can be distinguished.

Miss W. Lamb conducted a long campaign at the prehistoric site of Thermi in *Mytilene*.⁹ The uppermost town, No. V, has been cleared except for outlying houses beyond the city wall (Fig. 12). This wall was entered through two gateways, one on the west, one on the south. In the centre of the town is a single house of the megaron type which appears to have developed from the long, narrow houses which are represented at all periods. The other four towns have been cleared sufficiently to enable an extensive area of each to be planned.

To the types of pottery already represented are added several more sauceboats and one fragmentary face-urn. Special attention this year was devoted to the 'red ware,' proved by its shapes to belong to the Troy VI and VII period, and represented in a finer form at Antissa. This was found outside the settlement on the south-west, and in two wells

⁸ *A. Anz.* 1928, 623 and ff.; *Gnomon* V, 1929, 270 and ff.; VII, 1931, 100 and ff.

⁹ For last year's finds, see *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 14, 1931.

within the settlement: small cups and bowls, trefoil-mouthed jugs, and bridge-spouted jars may be specially mentioned. All the types of small objects found last year were represented, and some new ones added. The most interesting of these was a clay head with animal's ears and narrow eyes, entirely different from anything previously found (Fig. 13). Though it comes from an apparently uncontaminated part of the lowest stratum, it is made of hard red pottery unlike that used for other figurines. The examination of the stone implements by Professor Ktenas, of Athens University, shows that there was a steady import from Asia Minor, and a more spasmodic import from the Cyclades.

A trial-excavation was carried out at Antissa. Trenches were dug in

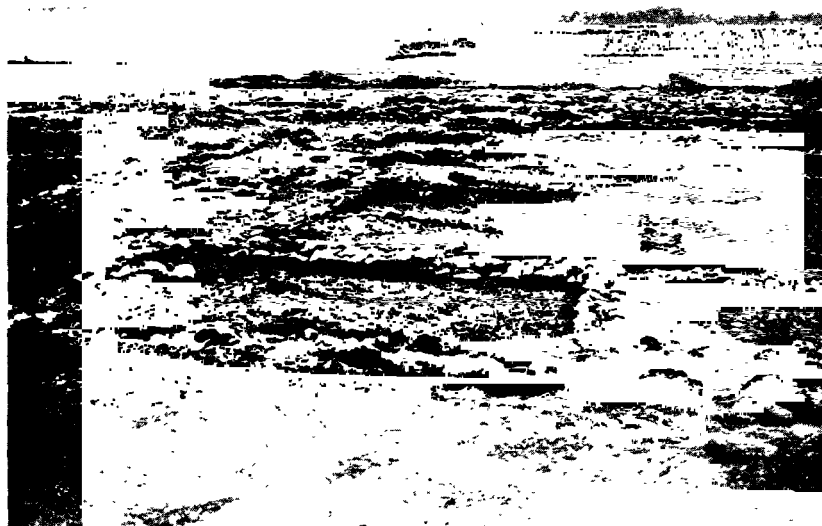


FIG. 12.—HOUSES OF THE PREHISTORIC TOWN OF THERMI.

three areas: (i) the Acropolis, (ii) the rocky headland or Castro, (iii) the low neck of land joining the two.

(i) The Acropolis.—Many of the walls mapped by Koldewey on the north side have disappeared, while others on the south side were recorded by ourselves for the first time, including a fine piece of polygonal masonry. The pottery included Mycenaean (a small deposit behind one of the walls), red Troy VI, archaic bucchero and one East Greek sherd.

(ii) The Castro.—Little could be done here owing to the remains of Genoese and early Turkish walls. The wall which Koldewey conjectured to be Mycenaean was tested with negative results.

(iii) The Neck.—This was very productive. The upper strata yielded coarse wares, presumably mediaeval, and Byzantine glazed wares: the next Hellenistic sherds, and numerous terracottas. The archaic period was represented by Lesbian bucchero; below this were grey wares similar in technique but decorated with wavy lines and associated with bossed,

horn-like attachments. In a still lower stratum the grey pottery became definitely Minyan in shape: there are also 'red wares' and Mycenaean imports. Unfortunately, these lie below sea-level and the trenches soon become flooded with water. A few sherds, and small finds like those from Thermi, suggest that an Early Bronze Age settlement has been submerged owing to the subsidence of the coast in this part of the island. For the rest, the evidence so far points to the Lesbian bucchero having developed from Minyan: this will, it is hoped, be further investigated next year.

MM. Bon and Devambez have continued the French excavations at *Thasos*,¹⁰ concentrating on the region south of the Agora where portions

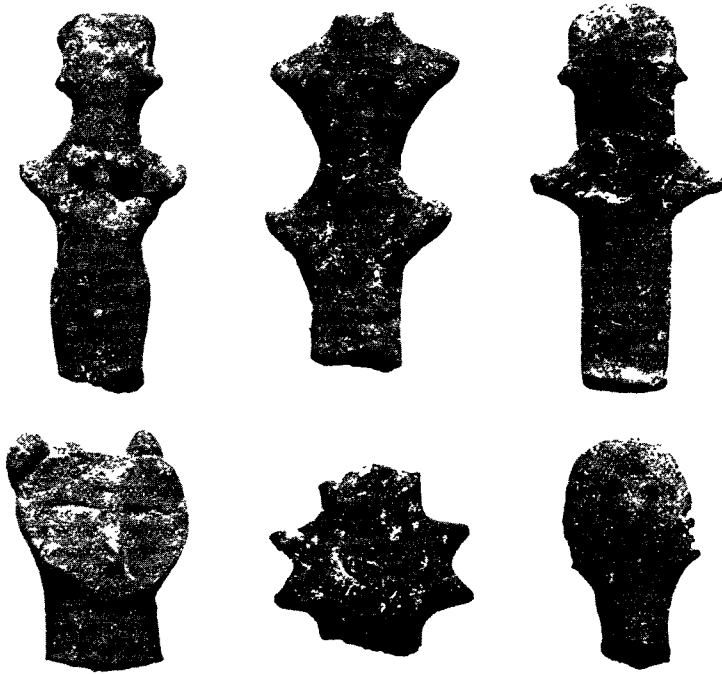


FIG. 13.—CLAY FIGURINES FROM THERMI.

of a Roman road, an exedra, and a building which resembles an Odeum had already been found. The Roman road is now seen to be about 5·5 metres wide, with a paving of large marble slabs, and a drain at the side. The buildings on either side unfortunately suffered a good deal in the course of the Byzantine occupation.

Almost opposite the Odeum is a great rectangular court (15 metres by 10·20), bounded by a marble stylobate on which there were Ionic columns (7 × 5). Five of the column-bases of the east side are preserved; the workmanship is careful. The interior of the court is paved with large irregular blocks; near the stylobate is a well. Near this court, on the east

¹⁰ Bequignon, *op. cit.*, p. 306 and ff., with illustrations.

and on the west, have been found similar stylobates, with an exactly corresponding system of columns, which must be connected with the court already described: north and south, however, the only walls yet found are later, and these seem to have nothing to do with the columned buildings. Another well-built structure came to light to the south-east; trenches made south of this region have shown that west of the Roman road there was a Roman and Byzantine residential quarter.

Progress has also been made at the Odeum, though the presence of a road, and the great depth of earth, make progress difficult. In the neighbourhood of the Dionysion and of the Propylaea of the Agora some clearing was done: in particular the whole terrace of the Dionysion has been laid bare, and several finds were made—a triglyph, a sima with a lion's head, and the forearm of a female figure which belonged to a choragic monument. The whole height of the stylobate of the Propylaea has been cleared: a double foundation of granite supported four courses of marble. At the western corner a large eagle of barbaric style (2·14 metres long and ·94 high) was discovered. The lower part of the feet and the socket are unfinished and cannot have been visible; this same detail characterises an eagle from Thasos which is now in the museum at Alexandria. Both these eagles must have been part of the decoration of the Propylaea. The finds include a Hellenistic male head; the lower part of a soldier standing by a Trophy; and a headless winged Victory (height 1·22 metres) of careful Roman workmanship. A number of good black-figured vase-fragments were found behind the Odeum. Two inscriptions were found, one of which deals with harbour-regulations and dates from the third century.

The French excavators at *Delos*¹¹ concentrated upon a point in the upper part of the Inopos valley, south of the House of the Dolphins. Clear evidence of houses (granite columns, etc.) had long since been noted here, and these had been partially uncovered by Replat in 1923. Excavation has now revealed an 'insula' of four houses which were certainly built at the same time. The outer walls are made of huge irregular blocks of granite taken directly from the quarries in the neighbourhood (where cisterns appear to have been made). The group of four houses seems to have had no other water supply than a huge cistern in the south-west angle. The 'insula' forms a trapeze measuring 36·5, 46·5, 43·5 and 42 metres. On the east side, between the doors of the houses, were shops from which there was no access to the houses. Three of the houses were small and poor, unlike the fourth, which had a court measuring 6·20 × 8 metres (Rhodian peristyle—*i.e.* with the columns on the north side taller than the others—of four columns on each side). The north columns are of granite, the others of breccia covered with stucco to conceal differences of workmanship. The 'oikos' (to which access is given by a wide door with granite threshold) measures some 9 metres by 7; the walls are stuccoed, and the floor covered with a mosaic of red and black stones; on each of the short sides is a band decorated with comic masks (male and female) joined by floral motives. To the left of this room is another with a mosaic floor, the subject of which is a silen

¹¹ Cf. Béquignon, *op. cit.*, p. 511 and ff. The excavation was directed first by M. Chamonard, later by M. Devambez.

dancing to the flute (the flute-player sits on a rock beside the silen); in another room there is an elaborate mosaic pavement (dolphins near the threshold, floral and linear motives round the centre, which is decorated with a panathenaic amphora, seen in perspective, between rosettes, foliage, and birds; by the amphora a bird pecking grain). The most important mosaic, however, was found in another room reached from the N. colonnade. The central motive of this design is Dionysos seated on a panther, with centaurs at either side and a very elaborate system of subsidiary decorations round the edges (detail, Béquignon, p. 513, Fig. 37). Dionysos is dressed in a white chiton and yellow himation; in his right hand he holds a thyrsos, in his left a tambourine; the panther is spotted, and wears a collar of vine-leaves. The design naturally recalls that of the famous 'House of the Dionysos'; it is only a little smaller and is in almost perfect preservation. The four mosaics found in this house thus form the most notable group yet discovered at Delos. A portrait statue and another which probably represented Zeus, as well as pieces of stucco and mosaic fallen from the first floor, were also found. The date of the house should be the end of the first half of the second century B.C.; at latest the beginning of the first century. After the destruction by Mithridates this quarter can have been only casually inhabited.

CRETE

What is rightly described as the most remarkable discovery at *Knossos* since the finding of the Palace was made by Sir Arthur Evans in the spring of 1931. The following paragraphs are taken directly from Sir Arthur's account of the find.

'As a result of a clue supplied by the discovery of a massive gold signet-ring, there came to light beneath a bluff of the limestone hillside south of Knossos a sepulchral monument of a new character, combining a mortuary chamber excavated in the rock with a sanctuary building. The basement part of this, which forms the approach to the tomb, was constructed in a cutting in the slope and culminated in a columnar shrine above ground. A curious confirmation was thus obtained of a very ancient Cretan tradition, preserved by Diodorus, that on the death by treachery of the last king of the name of Minos during his Sicilian expedition, his Cretan followers raised a magnificent monument of a dual character—a tomb hidden in the earth and a temple, dedicated to the Goddess, above. Apart from this striking confirmation of folk-memory as to the dual character of the sepulchres of the old priest-kings, the whole plan of the building and the relics found within proved to be of the highest religious and anthropological interest. Minos here stands in the older, matriarchal relation to the Goddess, instead of the God.

'The lower entrance led through a pavilion, seemingly designed for memorial feasts, to a small paved area adapted for funeral sports, and overlooked by roof terraces. A doorway between two pylons gave access thence to a hall opening on a pillar crypt, a portal in the inner wall of which led into the rock-cut sepulchral chamber itself with a central pier and brilliantly lined with gypsum slabs and pilasters. The rock ceiling above,

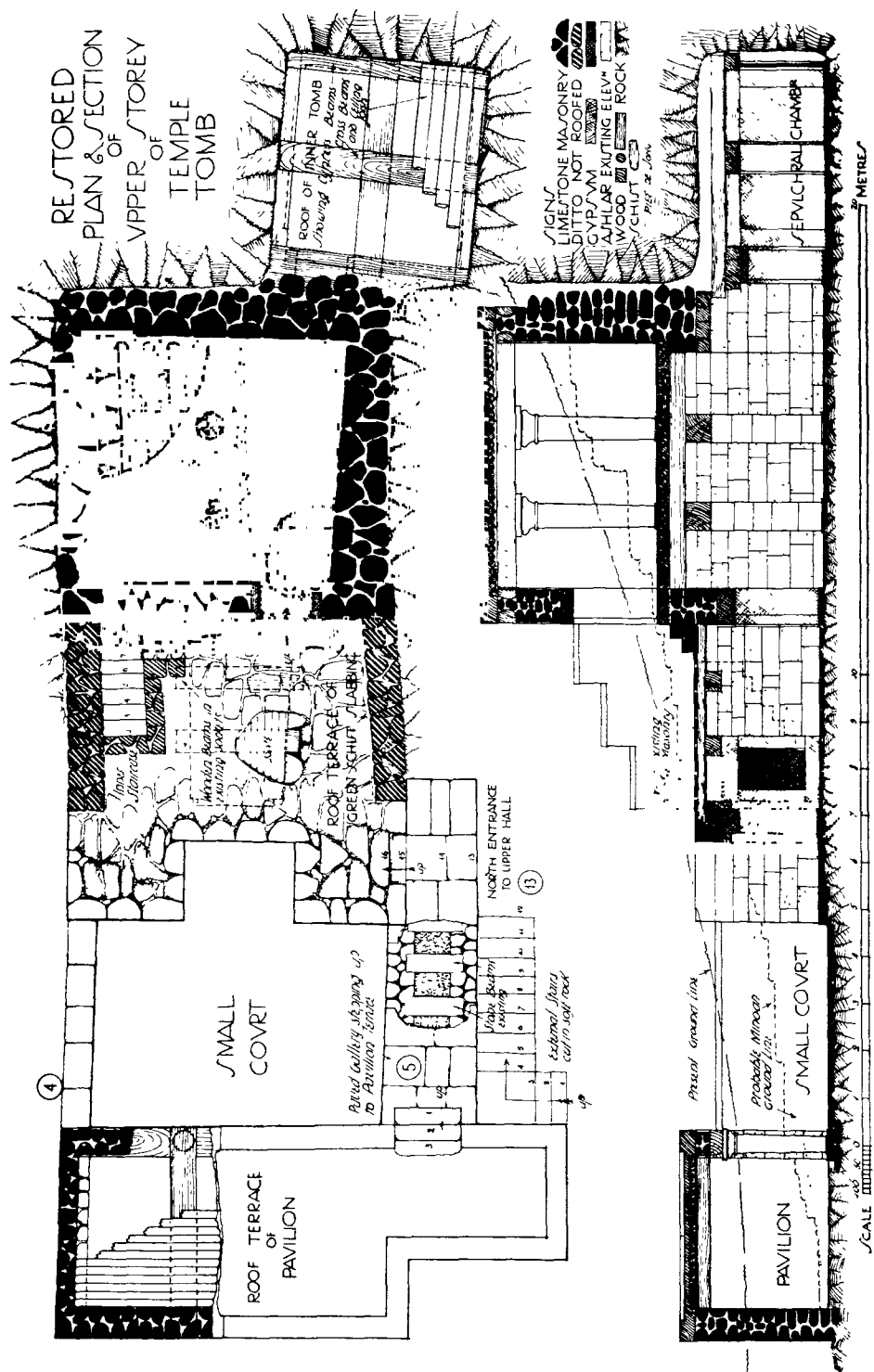


FIG. 14.—PLAN AND SECTION OF THE TEMPLE TOMB AT KNOSSOS.



FIG. 15.—THE TEMPLE TOMB AT KNOSSOS: IN FRONT, ROOF TERRACE OF PAVILION, BEYOND, SMALL COURT AND ENTRANCE TO SANCTUARY.



FIG. 16.—UPPER FLOOR OF THE TEMPLE TOMB AT KNOSSOS AS RESTORED.

where visible between the huge rafters, had been painted a brilliant Egyptian blue, to convey to the dead a vision of the sky. Flowers in pots were placed outside the Temple Tomb in its earlier period of use.

‘From the hall a staircase ran up to a roof terrace giving access to the upper bi-columnar shrine, or temple proper. This had been partly ruined by an earthquake that also did much damage to the Palace about 1520 B.C., and it was probably on this occasion that the plundering of the original interments took place which led to the loss of the gold ring.

‘The sepulchral chamber itself, as its sunken pavement and central pillar indicate, was also a scene of worship, and a characteristic stone block for libations, with five tubular cavities, represents in an almost unchanged form an early Nilotic cult object. An incense-burner of later date was also remarkable as having been painted inside as well as out with bright coloured decoration for the benefit of the dead. In the last age of the Palace (c. 1400 B.C.) the vault was again opened for the interment of a body—probably that of some last representative of the House of Minos—in a corner pit. This, though it had been rifled for precious objects, contained many interesting relics, and there was also evidence of a renewed funeral cult, illustrated by a series of offertory bowls and goblets, amongst which were miniature jugs otherwise associated with domestic snake worship. Some of the bones had drifted outside the entrance of the Sepulchre Chamber; the skull with which they are associated, according to the report made by Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, is intermediate between the old Mediterranean type of Crete and the intrusive Armenoid, a type to be expected in a Late Minoan dynast.

‘The discovery just described had a sequel of almost equal importance. A short section of paved way led to what was clearly the residence of the priestly Warden of this Minoan “Temple Tomb.” This contained a private chapel with choir-stalls, chancel-screens, and, in the inner sanctum, an altar and sacred symbols of the cult.’ Figs. 14–17 show characteristic views of the new tomb. Fig. 18 shows the East front of the ‘Little Palace’ as restored in the summer of 1931. This work, which was rendered necessary by the increasing dilapidation of the ancient remains, includes the reconstruction of two flights of the main staircase; it has thus been possible to recover something of the effect of an interior which is described as the most magnificent preserved among the remains of Minoan architecture, the Palace not excepted.

In the Palace at *Mallia*¹² M. Chapouthier has completed the task of clearing the central court. Two separate floors were detected; a fine M.M. I gem with a figure seated on a bench before a double row of vases; another gem, part of a sandalled foot, and other objects found belong to M.M. III. Traces of paving mark the most frequented parts of the court (for example, near the east entry and between the east portico and stairway by the hypostyle hall); and elsewhere there are paved squares which may mark the sites of light constructions of some kind (as at Hagia Triada). The most remarkable find was a ‘bothros,’ the brick lining of which is preserved on three sides; four bricks in the centre were doubtless for a fire; the hollow contained vase fragments, bones and carbonised matter.

In the south-west corner of the Palace, where two cisterns were found last year, four more have been found; the latest pottery found in them

¹² Béquignon, *op. cit.*, p. 517 and ff.

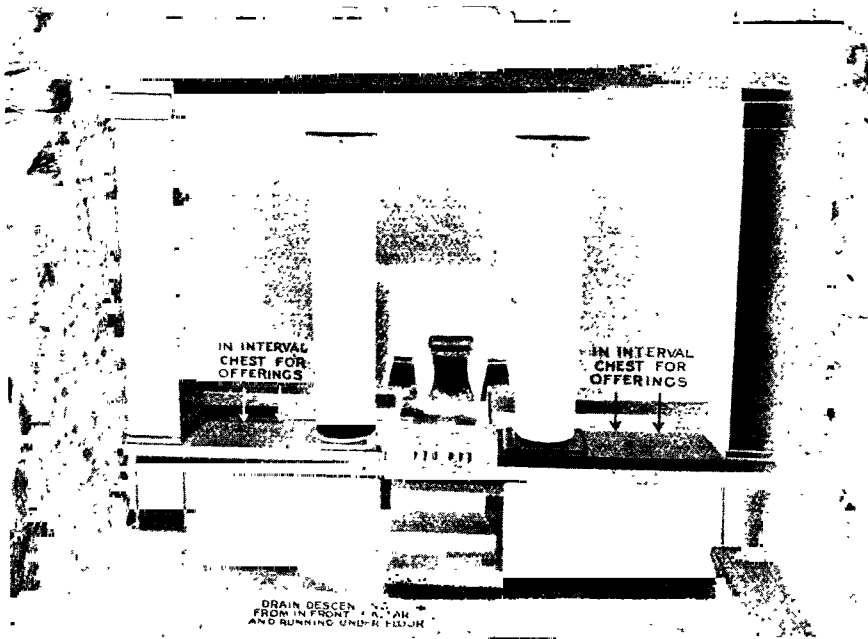


FIG. 17.—WESTERN SECTION OF PRIVATE CHAPEL IN HIGH PRIEST'S RESIDENCE, KNOSSOS.



FIG. 18.—THE EAST FRONT OF THE 'LITTLE PALACE' AT KNOSSOS, RESTORED.

was M.M. III. Other minor operations have been carried out in the Palace, including the restoration of the magazines.

Meanwhile M. de Margne's exploration of the rock-cut tombs by the shore produced a quantity of pottery, principally M.M. I, but also some

fragments of E.M. III; at only one point, and that on a higher level than the rest, was there found a deposit of M.M. III-L.M. I pottery. A plastic vase of E.M. III date in the shape of a goddess(?) holding her breasts, and closely resembling one from Mochlos, was found.

At the end of the excavations of 1921 the building at *Kato-Chrysolakko*, near the Palace, appeared as a large rectangular structure 38.54 m. by 29.87, bounded by a wall 1.5 m. thick. The task of clearing the interior of this building has now been undertaken by M. de Margne. On the east and on the west there are rows of rooms, between the exterior wall and an inner wall parallel to it. It was in one of these that a stuccoed base was found in 1921: this has now been cleared and seems to be an altar; there is other evidence that this room was the scene of religious observances. Some of the interior rooms, of which the building is composed, are divided into two compartments, one of which forms a vestibule. There is no connexion between the rooms. At one point, which had not been reached by treasure-hunters, human bones evidently still in situ were found, and it seems clear that the building was the principal burying-place of the M.M. I period. As its local name implies, it must have been rich in gold, and in fact a gold pin and a magnificent gold pendant in the shape of two bees or wasps with open wings, grouped about a central disc, were found.¹³ No jewellery of this type has hitherto been found in Crete.

Among the further peculiarities of this building may be mentioned a central room in which a circular earthen table, covered with stucco, was found; it is sunk in the ground and has a central depression like that of the libation table of the Palace. Black marks seem to indicate that offerings were burnt on it. Paving, more or less well preserved, surrounds the outer walls of the building; four and a half metres in front of the east wall seven bases in one line, but placed at irregular intervals, were found. They would seem to belong to a portico which may have stood on this side, thus constituting yet another highly original feature of this curious structure.

Dr. Marinatos has continued the several undertakings mentioned in last year's account of excavations in Crete. The house at *Sklavokampos*, on the Axos road, has now been cleared;¹⁴ the cave of *Eileithyia* has yielded a good series of Neolithic sherds, as well as all varieties of later wares, but no metal votives; further progress has been made in elucidating the plan of the Minoan harbour at *Hagios Theodoros*, near Nirou Chani, where rock-cuttings indicate the existence of a Minoan dockyard now, like the greater part of the harbour buildings, submerged (see Marinatos in *Praktika*, 1925,¹⁶ 141 and ff.). Dr. Levi's immense find of Geometric and early Orientalising Cretan pottery from Arkades (Frati), on the edge of the Messara (*J.H.S.* 1924, 278 and ff.), is now fully published in the *Annuario della R. Scuola Italiana*, Vols. X-XII.

Addendum to the account of the excavations of the British School at Perachora (p. 191 above): the most remarkable of the Egyptian imports yet found is the disc of a large bronze mirror on which is engraved the figure of a king seated in a portico; the design was entirely concealed by encrustation and only became visible when the mirror was cleaned.

H. G. G. PAYNE.

¹³ de Margne, *B.C.H.* 1930, pp. 404-21.

¹⁴ For a plan, see *B.C.H.* 1930, 518.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1929-1930

In the following pages I attempt briefly to survey the publications of 1929 and 1930 relating to Greek inscriptions, following the same general lines as in my last Bibliography. Their number and their volume will, I trust, serve alike to justify my bold venture and to explain the necessarily meagre and inadequate indication of their contents which is here presented.

During the years under review epigraphical studies have suffered very serious losses in the deaths of K. J. Beloch¹ and E. Meyer,² who, though primarily historians, realised to the full the importance of epigraphical materials for the reconstruction of Greek history, of C. Michel,³ the compiler of the deservedly famous *Recueil*, of B. Leonardos,⁴ the tireless excavator of the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropus, whose courtesy and helpfulness as Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens have won the gratitude and regard of numerous scholars, and of F. Halbherr,⁵ the leading authority on Cretan inscriptions and editor-elect of the Cretan volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

I. GENERAL

In this *Journal* (xlix. 172 ff.) I published my summary for 1927 and 1928, save the Egyptian section, which appeared in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (xv. 259 ff.). P. Roussel continues⁶ his annual 'Bulletin Epigraphique,' a model of lucidity and thoroughness. J. Marouzeau's *Dix années de bibliographie classique*, which contained⁷ a list of works on Greek epigraphy, with brief indications of their contents, covering the years 1914-1924, is continued in the same scholar's *L'année philologique*, of which four volumes have already appeared.⁸ Useful lists of titles occur annually in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, in the *Bibliographie zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* and, most completely, in the invaluable *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica*. The summaries and discussions⁹ in the 'Literaturbericht' of P. Kretschmer and P. Wahrmann deal with the principal points of philological interest raised in the current epigraphical literature, and the contributions of inscriptions to Byzantine and to Christian studies are summed up in the bibliographies of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*¹⁰ and the *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*¹¹ respectively.

¹ *Klio*, xxii. 517, xxiii. 100 ff.; *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 141 ff., 568 f.; *Gnomon*, v. 461 ff.; 'Ελληνικά, ii. 249 f.

² *Klio*, xxiv. 222; *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 168; *Gnomon*, vi. 622 ff.; *Zeits. D. Morgenl. Ges.* lxxxv. 1 ff.; *Zeits. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, Rom. Abt. li. 604 ff.

³ *Rev. Belge*, viii. 1450 ff.; *Rev. Arch.* xxxi. 165 f.

⁴ *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 168; 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1927-8, 221 f.

⁵ *Boll. fil. class.* xxxvii. 67 f.; *Historia*, iv. 798 ff.

⁶ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 181 ff., xliii. 182 ff.

⁷ ii. 808 ff.

⁸ For Greek inscriptions see i. (1924-6) 225 ff., ii. (1927) 228 ff., iii. (1928) 174 ff., iv. (1929) 220 ff.

⁹ *Glotta*, xviii. 200 ff. (for 1927).

¹⁰ xxviii. 474, xxix. 152 f., 471 ff.

¹¹ vi. 170 f., vii. 157 ff.

Of the Epidaurian volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* I say something later, and von Wilamowitz's annual survey¹² of the great enterprise shows that preparations are being pushed forward for the issue of further volumes. To the new fascicule of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris* I refer below. The *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, under the energetic editorship of J. J. E. Hondius, has made satisfactory progress: Vol. III was completed¹³ in 1929, Vol. IV in 1930. The second half of Vol. III contains 430 items relating to Central and Northern Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Scythia and the Aegean islands, while Vol. IV, comprising 739 items, covers the Western Greek world together with Western and Northern Asia Minor: the value of each volume is greatly enhanced by the full indexes with which it is provided.

In the realm of dialectology, the appearance of a fourth edition of F. Solmsen's *Inscriptiones graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae*, revised and enlarged by E. Fraenkel,¹⁴ is an event of considerable importance, and E. Hermann's review¹⁵ of C. D. Buck's *Greek Dialects* also deserves notice. In the field of lexicography, we may mention J. Zingerle's lexical notes¹⁶ on some words misunderstood or unrecognised, A. Wilhelm's article¹⁷ on some Latin words occurring, more or less disguised, in Greek inscriptions, A. Körte's study¹⁸ of the terms ὑπόχρυσος and ἐπίχρυσος, meaning 'gilded,' and L. Robert's explanation¹⁹ of the phrase ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων as a title bestowed on those who won the armed race in the Eleutheria at Plataea. In that of literature, special attention may be drawn to the second series of essays edited by J. U. Powell and E. A. Barber under the title *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*,²⁰ in which Powell discusses some epigrams preserved in inscriptions of the Alexandrian age (p. 47 ff.) and the catalogue of the Rhodian Library (p. 83 ff.), G. C. Richards deals with Timachidas of Rhodes and the 'Lindian Chronicle' (p. 76 ff.) and J. F. Mountford examines the contribution made by papyri and inscriptions to our knowledge of Greek music (p. 146 ff.). To P. Bülow we owe a critical study²¹ of the four extant copies—found at Ptolemais, Athens, Erythrae and Dium respectively—of a paean which enjoyed long and widespread popularity, L. Robert collects and examines²² the evidence, derived mainly from Delphi and Asia Minor, for the activities of the *pantomimi* in the Greek portion of the Roman Empire and for the extravagant honours with which they were loaded, and M. Guarducci devotes an interesting monograph²³ to the wandering bards of the Hellenistic age, who gave recitals in the various cities which they visited, and to the peripatetic lecturers on history, grammar and philosophy, citing in full the available epigraphical evidence (p. 648 ff.). In the phrases scratched on a South Italian bell-krater, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, J. What-

¹² *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1929, lx f., 1930, xlviii.

¹³ iii. 2, Leyden. Cf. *Gnomon*, v. 324.

¹⁴ Leipzig, 1930. Cf. *Class. Rev.* xlv. 28 f., *J.H.S.* 1. 351; *Indog. Forsch.* xlix. 92 f.

¹⁵ *Gott. Gel. Anz.* cxci. 476.

¹⁶ *Glotta*, xix. 72 ff.

¹⁷ *Wien. Stud.* xlvi. 227 ff.

¹⁸ *Hermes*, lxiv. 267 ff.

¹⁹ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxi. 13 ff.

²⁰ Oxford, 1929.

²¹ *Xenia Bonnensia* (Bonn, 1929), 35 ff.; *S.E.G.* iv. 626.

²² *Hermes*, lxv. 106 ff.

²³ *Memorie d. Lincei*, VI. ii. 9.

mough sees²⁴ an otherwise unrecorded fragment of Dorian farce. Two inquiries into personal names also call for notice—H. Wuthnow's collection²⁵ of Semitic names found in the Greek inscriptions and papyri of the nearer East, and L. Robert's correction²⁶ of ten names faultily read or interpreted in various inscriptions, chiefly of Asia Minor.

Other contributions, based solely or largely on epigraphical materials, include F. Geyer's sketch²⁷ of the history of Euboea in the period of the Diadochi, L. Perret's work²⁸ on the imperial titles of Hadrian, W. Rollo's collection²⁹ of the epigraphical evidence for the sculptors and date of the famous Laocoön-group, A. Wentzel's study³⁰ of adoption in Greece with special reference to the influence exerted by Roman law and practice, W. Kolbe's inquiry³¹ into Greek federal citizenship in the Hellenistic period, and E. Ziebarth's excellent monograph³² on piracy and sea-borne commerce from archaic down to Hellenistic times, ending with two appendices in which the ancient sources, alike literary and epigraphical, for the two main subjects of the book are quoted in full. On the other hand, T. Meyer-Steineg's essay³³ on 'Doctor and State in Antiquity' neglects the valuable epigraphical evidence available for this study.

In few fields are inscriptions of greater value than in that of religion. M. Hammarström³⁴ and F. J. de Waele³⁵ discuss and deny the alleged spelling of Zeus as Ζηϋς, and K. Latte investigates³⁶ the function of Ζεὺς Τελεσιουργός at Miletus. W. Peek's important work³⁷ on the Hymn of Isis discovered at Andros not only deals exhaustively with that interesting poem, but also contains a fresh edition of eight cognate texts (of which six have been preserved only as inscriptions) from various parts of the Greek world. A. Mayer has subjected to a careful scrutiny³⁸ the appearances of Μοῖρα in inscriptions, whether in the sense of 'lot,' 'destiny' or 'death' or as the name of a divine being, and H. Volkmann has devoted three studies³⁹ to the cult of Nemesis, dealing respectively with the worship of that divinity in Egypt, her agonistic activity and her development into the goddess of ἀγῶνες: among the relevant evidence, which is very fully cited, inscriptions take a prominent place. On the other hand, only three of the *testimonia* for the Attic festival of the Σκίρα or Σκίροφόρια, collected and discussed⁴⁰ by E. Gjerstad, are epigraphical (*I.G.* ii.² 1177, 1358, iii. 57). E. Kagarow's account⁴¹ of the Greek *defixiones* is unknown to me, but this scholar's previous work in the same field is a sufficient guarantee of its value.

²⁴ *Harvard Studies*, xxxix. 1 ff.

²⁵ *Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griech. Inschriften u. Papyri des vorderen Orients* (*Studien zur Epigraphik u. Papyrskunde*, i. 4), Leipzig, 1930. Cf. *Gnomon*, vii. 330 f.

²⁶ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 124 ff.

²⁷ *Philologus*, lxxxv. 175 ff.

²⁸ *La titulature impériale d' Hadrien*, Paris, 1929. Cf. *J.R.S.* xix. 109; *Rev. Belge*, viii. 910; *Journ. d. Savants*, 1929, 425.

²⁹ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxi. 134 ff.

³⁰ *Hermes*, lxxv. 167 ff.

³¹ *Zeits. d. Savignystiftung*, Rom. Abt. xlix. 129 ff.

³² *Beitrage zur Geschichte d. Seeraubs u. Seehandels*

im alten Griechenland, Hamburg, 1929. Cf. *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxii. 25 ff.; *Zeits. d. Savignystiftung*, Rom. Abt. l. 565 ff.; *Ἑλληνικά*, ii. 447 ff.

³³ *Festschrift W. Judeich*, 142 ff.

³⁴ *Phil. Woch.* xlix. 1312.

³⁵ *Ibid.* l. 1376.

³⁶ *Philologus*, lxxxv. 225 ff.

³⁷ *Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte*, Berlin, 1930. Cf. *Gott. Gel. Anz.* cxii. 198 ff.; *Deutsche Lit.-g.* 1930, 2025 ff.

³⁸ *Mour in griechischen Inschriften*, Giessen, 1927.

³⁹ *Arch. Rel.* xxvi. 296 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* xxvii. 189 ff.

⁴¹ *Griechische Fluchtafeln* (*Eos*, Suppl. iv), 1929.

A fresh edition has appeared of the useful *Guide* ⁴² designed to help visitors to the British Museum who are interested in epigraphical studies: in addition to a brief account of the origin and development of the Greek alphabet, it contains a concise account, illustrated by numerous facsimiles, of each of the stones exhibited in the Hall of Inscriptions and of some important inscriptions shown elsewhere in the Museum. Among the Museum's recent acquisitions is a bronze statuette, ⁴³ of late Hellenistic or early Roman times, inscribed Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ. S. E. Winbolt has published ⁴⁴ three inscriptions preserved at Bignor Park, Sussex; one, previously known, is from Samothrace, but the provenance of the other two is uncertain. Two inscribed votive reliefs, recently added to the sculptures of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and discussed ⁴⁵ by C. A. Hutton, probably come from Smyrna and Camirus respectively, while an archaic bronze mirror ⁴⁶ in the same Museum may have Locri, in southern Italy, as its place of origin. The new catalogue of Greek and Roman antiquities in the Hamburg Museum registers ⁴⁷ a fourth-century Attic grave-lekythos and a first-century Lycian epitaph; further accessions of the Museum are reported ⁴⁸ by E. von Mercklin. A sepulchral stele of uncertain provenance has been acquired ⁴⁹ by the Metropolitan Museum, New York, as well as other inscriptions noted below in their several places. A. M. Woodward has dealt ⁵⁰ with a diary and note-book of Sir William Gell containing twenty-three inscriptions copied in 1812 in Asia Minor and the adjacent islands; about half of these are not otherwise known, but none are of special note.

No attempt can here be made to present a complete record of the publications or discussions of vase-inscriptions, but I call attention to some items of interest published in books or periodicals which do not deal primarily with ceramics and are not referred to elsewhere in these pages. J. D. Beazley's article ⁵¹ on the potter Charinus and that ⁵² of W. Kraiker on the painter Epictetus collect the inscriptions on the vases attributable to these artists. Beazley has also corrected, restored or interpreted ⁵³ eleven inscriptions on vases in the British Museum or elsewhere, and, together with H. G. G. Payne, has discussed ⁵⁴ the Attic b.-f. fragments found at Naucratis. D. C. Rich publishes ⁵⁵ a group of five r.-f. vases in Chicago, G. M. A. Richter ⁵⁶ a krater (now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York) signed by Polion, F. Ribezzo ⁵⁷ an early Attic b.-f. kylix with a puzzling inscription, and J. Platner ⁵⁸ three signed Attic kylikes found at Corinth.

⁴² *A Guide to the Select Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, London, 1929.

⁴³ *B.M. Quarterly*, iv, 70 f.

⁴⁴ *J.H.S.* xlviii, 178 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii, 564 f.

⁴⁵ *J.H.S.* xlix, 240 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* l, 32 ff. See also E. T. Leeds, *Report of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum for 1929*, 9 ff.

⁴⁷ *Hamburgisches Museum: Griech. u. rom. Altertumer*, 1930, 170 f.

⁴⁸ *Arch. Anz.* xliii, 468 ff.

⁴⁹ *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxv, 168.

⁵⁰ *B.S.A.* xxviii, 107 ff.

⁵¹ *J.H.S.* xlix, 38 ff., 311.

⁵² *Jahrbuch*, xlv, 141 ff. Cf. *B.M. Quarterly*, iv, 100 f.

⁵³ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii, 361 ff.

⁵⁴ *J.H.S.* xlix, 253 ff.

⁵⁵ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiv, 160 ff.

⁵⁶ *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxiv, 107 ff.

⁵⁷ *Riv. indo-greco-ital.* xiii (1), 141 ff.

⁵⁸ *Art and Archaeology*, xxix, 261 f. See also *Arch. Anz.* xliii, 166, xlv, 204 f.; *B.M. Quarterly*, iv, 71; *Notizie*, 1929, 187.

H. Philippart has made a complete collection ⁵⁹ of the artistic representations throwing light upon the *Bacchae* of Euripides. Inscriptions stamped on terracotta ⁶⁰ or engraved upon gems ⁶¹ need not here detain us.

I regret that I cannot speak from first-hand knowledge either of A. Rehm's article ⁶² on 'Greek inscriptions in their significance for the school' or of H. Degering's atlas of western scripts. ⁶³ Rehm's paper on the artistic development of the Greek epigraphical writing has appeared only in a very brief summary. ⁶⁴ The ancient names of the Greek, Etruscan and Latin letters are examined in an interesting article ⁶⁵ by M. Hammarström, who also discusses ⁶⁶ with A. Cuny the existence, in the original Greek alphabet, of an aspirated letter corresponding to *qoppa*. M. A. Frantz seeks ⁶⁷ to establish the provenance of the open form of *rho* in the monogram of Christ as engraved from the third to the seventh century of our era; he derives it from the East and maintains that in the West it occurs only in places lying on trade-routes or possessing an Oriental element in the resident population. In his 'Further notes on the Greek acrophonic numerals' M. N. Tod collects ⁶⁸ the examples of numeral systems of the acrophonic type which have come to light since the publication of his earlier article ⁶⁹ on this subject.

It lies beyond the scope of this survey to summarise the recent literature relating to the pre-Hellenic scripts current in the Eastern Mediterranean at an early period, nor am I qualified for such a task. Yet, in view of the importance of their study for a true understanding of the origin of Greek writing, I shall not, I trust, incur a charge of irrelevance if I refer briefly to some important works.

The Phaestus disk still exercises its fascination over scholars. G. Ipsen, ⁷⁰ while admitting that the document 'remains for the present dumb,' tries to determine the date, direction and nature of the writing, distinguishing those characteristics which are traceable to an Egyptian source from those which betray the influence of the cuneiform script. Some further suggestions for the interpretation of the text are put forward ⁷¹ by W. T. M. Forbes. An entirely new line of approach is followed by F. G. Gordon, ⁷² who claims to have established the practical identity of the Minoan language with Basque. Upon this basis he translates a number of the Cnossian tablets, finding in them 'unmistakable references to Hellenic deities, several old Greek names, and three poems, one in hexameter verse, one in elegiac and one in couplets,' and draws up a provisional list of 78 signs whose values may be thus fixed. In the Phaestus disk he sees a metrical calendar, part in hexameters and the rest apparently in elegiac verse, with an enumeration of the principal deities, chiefly stellar, governing the events of the year. Another ambitious attempt to decipher the disk and

⁵⁹ *Rev. Belge*, ix. 5 ff.

⁶⁰ *Arch. Anz.* xliv. 100, 216.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* xliii. 697, *Bull. Ontario Museum*, 1929, 14; *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* xvi. 6 ff.

⁶² *Bayer. Blätter f. d. Gymn.* lxxv. 326 ff.

⁶³ *Die Schrift: Atlas d. Schriftformen d. Abendlandes*, Berlin, 1929.

⁶⁴ *Verh. d. Versamml. deutscher Philol.* lvii. 43 f.

⁶⁵ *Arctos*, i. 3 ff.

⁶⁶ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxi. 204 f.

⁶⁷ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 10 ff.

⁶⁸ *B.S.A.* xxviii. 141 ff.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* xviii. 98 ff.

⁷⁰ *Indog. Forsch.* xlvii. 1 ff.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* xlviii. 51 ff.

⁷² *Through Basque to Minoan*, Oxford, 1930.

other Minoan texts from Crete, Mycenae and Troy is that of H. Blaufuss,⁷³ who reaches the conclusion that 'it is the Semitic idiom alone which enables us to read the Minoan inscriptions. . . .; thus the language of the Minoan civilisation must also have been a Semitic dialect.' A. W. Persson's work⁷⁴ on 'Script and speech in ancient Crete' I know only through the summary of A. Cuny.⁷⁵ A fragment of a steatite libation-table from Cnossus bearing two signs is published⁷⁶ by O. Davies.

W. G. Schileico deals⁷⁷ with an inscription on two fragments of a clay tablet of the first century B.C., the letters of which are Greek while the language he claims as Accadian. E. Power's attempts⁷⁸ to read and interpret the non-Hellenic inscriptions in the Cyprian syllabic script, found mainly at Amathus, as Accadian documents are uncompromisingly rejected⁷⁹ by P. Dhorme and by H. Pedersen.⁸⁰

The study of the 'Sinaitic' script, represented by the inscriptions of Serâbît el-Khadem, has received a fresh impetus from the rediscovery of the relevant texts and their transportation to the Cairo Museum by K. Lake and R. P. Blake.⁸¹ Upon the basis of the more accurate copies thus obtained, a number of scholars have devoted important articles to the decipherment and interpretation of these documents. Among them are C. Bruston,⁸² who attempts to read some of them and maintains that they 'have preserved for us a much more primitive form of the alphabet than any known through other similar Semitic inscriptions, even the oldest,' R. F. Butin,⁸³ who assigns the inscriptions to the first half of the second millennium B.C. and thinks that we have in them an alphabet of at least 38 letters, following the Egyptian principle of acrophony though independently created from the Semitic names of the objects represented, A. E. Cowley,⁸⁴ who, regarding the number of letters as uncertain and the forms as probably invented at Serâbît by an illiterate Canaanitish people living in close contact with Egyptians, tentatively transcribes some of the texts, but is careful to call attention to the limits of what may be expected from them with the restricted evidence at our disposal, J. Döller,⁸⁵ whose estimate of the scientific value of the inscriptions is unknown to me, A. H. Gardiner,⁸⁶ who surveys the present position of the inquiry and sounds a note of caution, C. F. Jean,⁸⁷ who questions whether the Sinaitic letters do in fact represent an intermediate stage between the Egyptian script and the archaic alphabets, J. Leibovitch,⁸⁸ whose main aim is to present, in a series of seventeen plates, exact copies of the inscriptions, adding notes on the monuments themselves and on the 24 signs, possibly acrophonic, which they contain, together with a serviceable bibliography, and N. Peters,⁸⁹ whose contribution is in-

⁷³ *Kiphton: Die Inschriften von Kieta, Mykenae u. Troja gelesen u. erklärt*, Nuremberg, 1928.

⁷⁴ *Uppsala Univ. Arsskrift*, 1930, iii, 1 ff.

⁷⁵ *Rev. Et. Anc.* xxxii, 312.

⁷⁶ *B.S.A.* xxviii, 297.

⁷⁷ *Arch. f. Orientf.* v, 11 ff.

⁷⁸ *Biblica*, x, 129 ff., xi, 325 ff.

⁷⁹ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix, 305 ff.

⁸⁰ *Orient. Lit.-tg.* xxxiii, 962 ff.

⁸¹ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxi, 1 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii, 410 f.

⁸² *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxii, 175 ff.

⁸³ *Ibid.* xxi, 9 ff.

⁸⁴ *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* xv, 200 ff. Cf. *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix, 149 f.; *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1930, 55.

⁸⁵ *Jahrb. d. oöterr. Leo-Gesellschaft*, 1928, 39 ff.

⁸⁶ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1929, 48 ff.

⁸⁷ *Syria*, ix, 278 ff. Cf. A. Cuny, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxii, 75 f.

⁸⁸ *Zeits. D. Morgenl. Ges.* lxxxiv, 1 ff.

⁸⁹ *Theologie u. Glaube*, xxii, 360 ff.

accessible to me.⁹⁰ But the fullest treatment of the subject is that by H. Grimme, who, besides publishing two articles⁹¹ on aspects of the question, has, in his book *Die altsinaitischen Buchstabeninschriften*,⁹² investigated the inscriptions, correcting and supplementing his earlier study of them, and concludes that the Sinaitic letters, which he dates in the fifteenth or sixteenth century B.C., are derived from the hieratic script of Egypt and in turn gave rise to the southern Semitic alphabet; most of the letters of the northern Semitic alphabet also can, he thinks, be traced back to the Sinaitic forms.

Nearer to the Greek script comes the Phoenician, which is generally regarded as the parent of the Hellenic alphabet. Recent excavations at Byblus have added still further to the number of extant Phoenician texts, notably the epitaph of Yehimilk, King of Gebal, which its discoverer, M. Dunand, assigns⁹³ to the twelfth century B.C. P. Montet, who conducted the work at Byblus from 1921 to 1924, deals, in his survey of its results,⁹⁴ with the inscription engraved on Aḥiram's tomb and derives its alphabet from the Egyptian hieratic writing. This view is supported⁹⁵ by A. Mallon, who regards the Phoenicians as having put the finishing touches to the work of their predecessors by the rigid application of the twofold principle of simplicity and clarity. The theory is, however, combated⁹⁶ by R. Dussaud, who holds that the Phoenician letters, with the possible exception of one or two, were invented by the Phoenicians to represent simple sounds, the recognition of which had been rendered easier for them by their practice in the Egyptian writing. In a popular article,⁹⁷ excellently illustrated by photographs of a Sinaitic inscription, the Aḥiram sarcophagus, the Moabite Stone, etc., W. R. Paterson traces the development of writing from a hieroglyphic to an alphabetic stage.

II. ATTICA

[*I.G. i*².] *Down to 403 B.C.*—Few new inscriptions of this period have recently come to light. The tomb of the two Spartan polemarchs and their fellow-countrymen, who fell at the Piraeus in 403 B.C., fighting under King Pausanias against the Athenian democrats (*Xen. Hell.* ii. 4. 33), has been unearthed in the Ceramicus, but the inscription still awaits full publication.⁹⁸ A fragmentary text, found on the Acropolis of Eleusis, has been interpreted⁹⁹ by its first editor, K. Kourouniotes, as recording the terms of the agreement made, after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants, between the democrats re-established at Athens and the oligarchic refugees at Eleusis: A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, however, sees in it a decree and rider regulating entrance into and egress from the city of Eleusis in the early years of the Peloponnesian War,¹⁰⁰ and S. A. Zebelev apparently takes a somewhat

⁹⁰ Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxxi. 172 f.

⁹¹ *Le Muséon*, xlii. 33 ff.; *Bömer Festschrift* (Leipzig, 1928), 302 ff.

⁹² Berlin, 1929. Cf. *Rev. Ét. Juives*, lxxxviii. 92 ff.; *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 146 ff.

⁹³ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 321 ff. Cf. *Syria*, xi. 1 ff.

⁹⁴ *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1928), 179 ff., 294 ff.

⁹⁵ *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* xxx. 131 ff.

⁹⁶ *Syria*, xi. 181 ff. Cf. ix. 358 f.

⁹⁷ J. A. Hammerton, *Our Wonderful World*, iv. 1641 ff.

⁹⁸ *Arch. Anz.* xlv. 90 f.; cf. *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1930, 182.

⁹⁹ *Ελληνικά*, ii. 5 ff.; cf. S. B. Kougeas, *ibid.* 116 ff.

¹⁰⁰ *Πολέμων*, i. 174 ff.

similar view, though much to my regret I cannot read his discussion,¹⁰¹ written in Russian, of the document. Other inscriptions which have received their first adequate publication during the past two years are (a) the votive inscription on a relief dedicated to Demeter, which C. Karusos assigns¹⁰² on stylistic grounds to about 415 B.C., (b) the epitaph of Phanagora, dated by N. Kyparisses¹⁰³ shortly before 403 B.C., (c) the mutilated inscription on a magnificent grave-stele of the later fifth century,¹⁰⁴ which has recently passed from the Lansdowne collection to the Metropolitan Museum at New York, and (d) an archaic boundary-stone of the ἡρώων of Serangos at the Piraeus.¹⁰⁵

A. M. Woodward has published¹⁰⁶ five small fragments found on the Acropolis and has acutely identified them as belonging respectively to—

1. The Pronaos-inventory of 433-2 (*I.G.* i². 233).
2. „ „ „ „ 411-0*A* (*I.G.* i². 252).¹⁰⁷
3. „ Hekatompedon-inventory of 427-6 (*I.G.* i². 263).
4. „ „ inventories of 413-2 (*I.G.* i². 273), 412-1 and 411-0*A*.
5. „ „ „ of 411-0*A* and *B*.

With their aid he gives revised transcripts of the whole or part of *I.G.* i². 232-4 (p. 164 f.), 263 (p. 168 f.) and the Hekatompedon-lists, entirely lost save for Woodward's two fragments, of 412-1 and 411-0*A*.

We may also with some probability assign to the fifth century a cylindrical marble basis, on which once rested a life-sized statue, presumably of Dionysus. It was found at Palaiochori, near the foot of Mount Hymettus, and almost certainly came from the neighbouring theatre of Aexone. An inscription engraved on it records the victories won by two choregi in comic and tragic contests and gives us the names of the plays then acted—Ecphantides' Πείροι, Cratinus' Βουκόλοι, Timotheus' Alcmeon, Alpheisiboea and, perhaps, two others, whose names are lost, Sophocles' Telepheia. The first editor, A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, whose article¹⁰⁸ is summarised by P. Roussel,¹⁰⁹ assigns the inscription on palaeographical grounds to about 380 B.C., and thinks that the plays referred to were revived, as παλαιὰ δράματα, after their authors' deaths, at Aexone on the occasion of the rural Dionysia. M. Guarducci, however, maintains¹¹⁰ that the contests took place during the lifetime of the poets, and that the word ἐδίδασκε applied to them in this inscription must bear its literal meaning; she therefore dates the record between 430 and 420 B.C. She also challenges the view that the tragic poet Timotheus here referred to is to be distinguished from the famous Milesian writer of dithyrambs. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,

¹⁰¹ *Bull. Ac. Sci. U.R.S.S.* 1930, 251 ff.

¹⁰² *Ath. Mitt.* liv. 1 ff.

¹⁰³ 'Αρχ. Δελτ. x. παρ. 63 ff.: cf. *B.C.H.* liii. 491.

¹⁰⁴ *Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles of the Marquess of Lansdowne*, p. 55; G. M. A. Richter, *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxv. 218.

¹⁰⁵ 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1925-6, 8.

¹⁰⁶ *J.H.S.* xlviii. 159 ff.

¹⁰⁷ For the year 411-0 two inventories were drawn up, one under the régime of the Four Hundred and the second under the restored democracy: I denote these by 411-0 *A* and *B* respectively.

¹⁰⁸ *Πολέμων*, i. 161 ff. Cf. *B.C.H.* liii. 496.

¹⁰⁹ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1930, 43 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Rev. Fil.* lviii. 202 ff.

on the other hand, maintains ¹¹¹ the distinction and, while accepting the assignment of the inscription to the fourth century, thinks that the victories commemorated were won in the fifth century at Athens by members of the same family as those who erected the memorial about half a century later. The interesting question of the composition of Sophocles' Telepheia, here first mentioned, is discussed by the above-named scholars and at greater length by A. S. Arvanitopoulos,¹¹² who assigns to it the Ἀλεάδαι, Μυσοί, Τήλεφος and Τήλεφος σατυρικός.

The following documents, published in *I.G.* i²., have been subjected to fresh and fruitful scrutiny.

4. The 'Hekatompedon Inscription' forms the basis of W. Judeich's article ¹¹³ on the Hekatompedon and the 'old temple.'

63, 64. W. Kolbe has re-examined ¹¹⁴ these assessments of the Athenian Empire, criticising West's view ¹¹⁵ that the statements of Andocides and Plutarch relative to a tribute of 1200 or 1300 talents refer to the assessment of 417-6 rather than to that of 425-4, and seeking to prove, on the basis of the literary and epigraphical evidence, that the sum-total assessed in 425-4 was 1460 talents and not, as is usually held, 960. In his distribution of the fragments between i². 63 and 64 he agrees with West, save that he assigns fragment z and i¹. 543 to i². 63, from which West ¹¹⁶ excludes them: i². 64 he regards as a duplicate of 63 rather than as the record of a subsequent assessment. M. Ravà,¹¹⁷ on the other hand, accepts 960 talents as the total assessed in 425-4 and argues that the fall in the value of money and the increase in the productivity of the soil make the rise apparent rather than real, and that the essence of the re-assessment was a more equitable distribution of the burden of taxation.

76. J. Geerlings argues ¹¹⁸ that, if the decree regulating the Eleusinian firstfruits falls after the Peace of Nicias, it must belong to 418-7 or to 417-6 B.C.

91, 92. Under the title 'Studien über das Kalliasdekret,' W. Kolbe discusses ¹¹⁹ the history of the Athenian Treasury with a view to explaining the financial position of Athens as reflected in the Decree of Callias, which in a previous article (cf. *J.H.S.* xlix. 181) he attributed to 434 B.C.

94. The decree relating to the shrine of Neleus is discussed ¹²⁰ by S. A. Zebelev in connexion with the development of the Codrus-legend at Athens.

96. G. Geerlings dates ¹²¹ the renewal of the Argive-Athenian alliance recorded by Thucydides v. 82 between 28 June and 4 July, 417. W. Kolbe criticises his reasoning and maintains ¹²² that both the epigraphical and the literary evidence points to spring, 416 B.C., as its date.

114. H. T. Wade-Gery describes ¹²³ this seriously mutilated text of

¹¹¹ *Hermes*, lxx. 243 ff.

¹¹² *Πολέμων*, i. 181 ff.

¹¹³ *Hermes*, lxxiv. 391 ff.

¹¹⁴ *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1930, 333 ff. Cf. *Gnomon*, vii. 273 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lvii. 60 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1930, 354.

¹¹⁷ *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* n.s. viii. 160 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Class. Phil.* xxv. 79; cf. xxiv. 244.

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¹¹⁹ *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1929, 273 ff.; reprinted in *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden* (Stuttgart, 1930), 68 ff.

¹²⁰ *C.R. Acad. Sc. U.R.S.S.* 1929, 201 ff. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* l. 242.

¹²¹ *Class. Phil.* xxiv. 239 ff.

¹²² *Ibid.* xxv. 105 ff.; reprinted in *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*, 92 ff.

¹²³ *Class. Qu.* xxiv. 116 ff.; cf. 38.

about 409 B.C., containing 'a formal statement of the main principles of Athenian democracy in the fifth century,' and offers a provisional restoration of ll. 36-45.

191 ff. In a long and closely-reasoned article ¹²⁴ entitled 'A Revision of Athenian Tribute Lists: Part II,' which has been deservedly praised by A. P. Dorjahn ¹²⁵ and by M. A. Levi,¹²⁶ B. D. Meritt and A. B. West present facsimiles, readings and restorations of the texts (206-213) engraved on the *lapis secundus* of the quota-lists, together with notes on the two lost fragments (212a, b) which may reasonably be assigned to this stele and a revised conspectus (p. 46) of the fragments attributable to it. They further examine in detail some undated fragments of the quota-lists belonging to the period of the Peloponnesian War, giving facsimiles, texts and discussions of 214, 215, 219, 221-224 and seeking to determine their probable chronology. Elsewhere ¹²⁷ Meritt shows how the actual reconstruction of the first and second stelae, undertaken by himself and West in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens in 1927 and 1928, has borne out all their more important determinations, though necessitating a few minor changes in 195, 199, 204 and 205. A challenging article ¹²⁸ by West contains a general account of the lists, examines the literary evidence for the transition from the Delian League to the Athenian Empire, seeks to determine what cities entered the League as non-tributary members, and maintains that the 'charter members' did not become tributary until after the transference of the Treasury from Delos to Athens: the assessment of 450 should, he considers, be regarded as the turning-point in the history of the League. I may take the liberty of transgressing the limits of the present survey by recording the publication,¹²⁹ early in 1931, of the complete series of quota-lists as finally revised by West and Meritt.

Other scholars too have dealt with these documents. W. Kolbe has devoted a constructive review ¹³⁰ to Meritt's *Studies* and has appealed ¹³¹ to the evidence of 212 to confirm his chronology of the Potidaean events recorded by Thucydides. T. Lenschau has provided a useful summary ¹³² of the earlier work of West and Meritt. E. B. Couch has discussed ¹³³ the rubric πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι, which occurs in 211 ff., criticising the current interpretations of the phrase and arguing that the cities in question were separately (αὐταί) assessed for the exaction of a punitive tribute. M. Ravà has published ¹³⁴ a full and clear, if not always convincing, survey, based upon the quota-lists, of the history and administration of the tribute and of the relation between it and the economic life of the time. She accepts the total of 460 talents as originally assessed by Aristides and regards the tribute as an impost, normally of 5 per cent., on the produce of the soil. She also accepts 600 talents (Thuc. ii. 13) as the total tribute levied by Athens on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, regarding 460 talents

¹²⁴ *Harvard Studies*, xxxviii. 21 ff.

¹²⁵ *Class. Phil.* xxiv. 313 f.

¹²⁶ *Boll. fil. class.* xxxvi. 84.

¹²⁷ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 376 ff.

¹²⁸ *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxxv. 267 ff.

¹²⁹ *S.E.G.* v.

¹³⁰ *Gnomon*, v. 42 ff.

¹³¹ *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*, 24 f.

¹³² *Bursians Jahresbericht*, ccxviii. 43 f.

¹³³ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 502 ff.

¹³⁴ *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* n.s. viii. 145 ff.

as paid into the Treasury for federal purposes and 140 as an additional levy, not subject to the ἀπαρχή and therefore not entered on the quota-lists, imposed by Pericles to cover the expense incurred by Athens in the administration of justice to the allies. The total assessment was, she thinks, raised to 960 talents in 425-4 and later, about 418, reached its maximum of 12-1300.

232-4, 252, 263, 273. For Woodward's discussion ¹³⁵ of these inventories see above.

295-8. J. Johnson shows ¹³⁶ that in the record (295) of loans made for the two Athenian squadrons sent to Corcyra in 433 (Thuc. i. 45, 51) the syllabic division of the lines is consistently observed, and maintains that the two sums are 26 and 50 talents. H. M. Hubbell makes use ¹³⁷ of this inscription and of 296 in his discussion of the chronology of the years 435-431 B.C., while W. Kolbe, in his vigorous reply ¹³⁸ to F. Jacoby's recent attempt ¹³⁹ to reconstruct the chronology of the events immediately preceding the Peloponnesian War, appeals constantly to 295 and especially to 296 in support of his alternative chronological scheme, and gives in an appendix (45 ff.) a new restoration of 296 and historical comments on it. See also below, 302.

301b. H. T. Wade-Gery deals ¹⁴⁰ with the text of this record, probably dating from 431 B.C., and offers a restoration of a considerable portion of it (ll. 89-124): of especial interest are his conclusions regarding the ratios between gold and silver (10:1) and between Lampsacene or Cyzicene staters and silver drachmas (24:1).

302. A. B. West has essayed ¹⁴¹ a new restoration, based on a fresh study of the stone, of ll. 35-47, the record of loans for 416-5 B.C., while that for the preceding year figures prominently in the discussion of the date of the Argive-Athenian Alliance (see above, 96). B. D. Meritt has dealt with the same inscription in a later article,¹⁴² which contains photographs of its extant portions (to which Meritt adds a small fragment), and a facsimile and restored reading of the whole. He concentrates his attention on the list for 416-5, seeks by its aid and that of the available literary evidence to fix the dates of the mutilation of the Hermæ, the accusation of Alcibiades and the departure of the Armada for Sicily, and rejects Keil's theory that the Council of 416-5 was dissolved before the expiry of its normal term of office. An article ¹⁴³ in which A. B. West, discussing ll. 35-48 of this inscription, assailed B. Keil's view of the Athenian senatorial year has evoked from E. Cavaignac a 'Note on Attic Chronology,' ¹⁴⁴ in which he restates, with certain modifications due to the criticisms of West and others, his own view of the Attic calendar, appealing to the evidence of i². 296-8, 328, 337, etc.

304. B. D. Meritt has shown ¹⁴⁵ the importance of these accounts, now

¹³⁵ *J.H.S.* xlviii. 159 ff.

¹³⁶ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 398 ff.

¹³⁷ *Class. Phil.* xxiv. 217 ff., 221 ff.

¹³⁸ *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*, 1 ff.

¹³⁹ *Gott. Nachrichten*, 1929, 1 ff.

¹⁴⁰ *Num. Chron.* 1930, 16 ff., 333 f.

¹⁴¹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 37 ff.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* xxxiv. 125 ff.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* xxix. 3 ff.

¹⁴⁴ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxi. 209 ff.

¹⁴⁵ *Class. Phil.* xxv. 236 ff.

in the Louvre, for the problem of the Attic calendar, offering a revised text of ll. 68–75 and proving that the senatorial year had already been brought into line with the civil year as early as 407–6 B.C.

310. J. Johnson has restored ¹⁴⁶ l. 147 on the basis of Paus. i. 1. 5, x. 35. 2.

324. The significance and value of Meritt's reconstruction of this text (see *J.H.S.* xlix. 179) and of the conclusions drawn from it relative to the Attic calendar are emphasised by P. Cloché,¹⁴⁷ W. S. Ferguson,¹⁴⁸ W. Kolbe,¹⁴⁹ A. Neppi Modona,¹⁵⁰ A. B. West¹⁵¹ and others. H. T. Wade-Gery puts forward ¹⁵² attractive conjectures for the restoration of ll. 37–8 and 56–7, traces the part played by Eurymedon in the Peloponnesian War and draws attention to the large sum borrowed by Athens in 423, the year of armistice, and to the problem raised by the borrowing of money shortly after the Great Dionysia, when the new φόρος had presumably just come to hand. Elsewhere ¹⁵³ he deals with the amounts borrowed and the rate of interest paid on them as illustrating the finance of Cleon.

328, 337. See above under 302.

537. A. S. Arvanitopoulos recognises ¹⁵⁴ here the signature of the sculptor Lycius, son of Myron.

805. K. Kourouniotes publishes ¹⁵⁵ an excellent photograph of this sixth-century Eleusinian dedication, which is very similar to a fragment recently discovered by him.

926*d* has been rediscovered at Spata by I. K. Demetriou.¹⁵⁶

981. G. M. A. Richter's sumptuous publication ¹⁵⁷ of this archaic grave-stele, of which the surviving fragments are, with one exception, in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, gives a full bibliography of the monument, adds a new fragment to the inscription, discusses its restoration and tentatively concludes that it formed a distich commemorating a son and a daughter of Megacles, Pisistratus' rival, and that its date falls about 550–540 B.C.

[*I.G.* ii.] *From 403 to 31 B.C.*—W. B. Dinsmoor has discovered ¹⁵⁸ on the western slope of the Acropolis a long decree of 292 B.C., which reveals a hitherto unknown revolution at Athens and is of very considerable importance for Athenian chronology in the third century B.C.; its text, however, still awaits publication, as do also those discovered on the site of the Royal Stables.¹⁵⁹ Part of an honorary decree of the deme Halae Araphenides has been found ¹⁶⁰ by N. C. Kotzias near Spata, close to the eastern coast of Attica, and is of value for the study of Attic topography. Of yet greater interest is a decree passed by the Ῥαμνοῦσιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ οἰκοῦντες ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι πάντες in honour of an Athenian, Dicaearchus

¹⁴⁶ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 400 f.

¹⁴⁷ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 335 f.

¹⁴⁸ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 340 f.

¹⁴⁹ *Deutsche Literaturztg.* 1929, 1060 ff.

¹⁵⁰ *Historia*, iv. 155 ff.

¹⁵¹ *Class. Weekly*, xxiii. 60 ff.

¹⁵² *Class. Qu.* xxiv. 33 ff.

¹⁵³ *Class. Rev.* xlv. 163 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *Πολέμων*, i. 95 f.

¹⁵⁵ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, x. 150 ff.

¹⁵⁶ *Πολέμων*, i. 42.

¹⁵⁷ *Antike Denkmaler*, iv. 33 ff., Pls. 19, 20; cf. *Bull. Metr. Mus. N.Y.* xxiv. 164 f.

¹⁵⁸ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 102; cf. *B.C.H.* lii. 291, 468.

¹⁵⁹ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ix. παρ. 71.

¹⁶⁰ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1925–6, 168 ff.

son of Apollonius, who had formerly, in conjunction with his father, received from King Demetrius the command of the garrison stationed at Rhamnus, had served in a similar capacity at Panactum and was now entrusted by the King with the charge of the acropolis at Eretria. Its editor, P. Stavropoulos, sees ¹⁶¹ in Demetrius the second Macedonian King of that name and dates the decree about 236-5 B.C.; further comments are added by S. B. Kougeas in an article ¹⁶² on Athens and the Δημητριακός πόλεμος. J. Kirchner has published ¹⁶³ four fragments of ephebic lists, dating from the fourth, third and second centuries B.C., and K. Kourouniotes ¹⁶⁴ part of an inventory of the sacred treasures of the Eleusinian sanctuary, proving that the ἀνάκτορον, in which the ἱερά were guarded, was enclosed by a wall. A marble base found on the right bank of the Cephissus, between Moschato and the Piraeus, records a victory won in 330-29 by three κώμαρχοι and five κωμασταί of the deme Xypete: its first editor, A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, connected ¹⁶⁵ the contest with the worship of Heracles, but P. Roussel inclines ¹⁶⁶ to regard the monument as commemorating a celebration of the Dionysia carried out in common by several demes. The altar of Apollo Apotropaïos found in the precinct of Serangos at the Piraeus has been adequately published ¹⁶⁷ by I. C. Dragatses. A new boundary-stone of the Ceramicus has been discovered ¹⁶⁸ by A. Brueckner, and a ὄρος χωρίου ἀποτετιμημένου προικός has come to light at Chalandri. ¹⁶⁹ About sixty grave-stones from Athens and its outskirts, lately added to the collection in the Theseum, have been published ¹⁷⁰ by N. Kyparisses, who also gives an account ¹⁷¹ of the twenty-seven epigraphical texts, almost all funerary, preserved in the village of Liopesi: some of the inscriptions in both these collections belong to the Roman Imperial period. A metrical epitaph of 300-250 B.C., found at Eleusis, has been edited ¹⁷² by K. Kourouniotes. Other tomb-inscriptions in Paris, ¹⁷³ Hamburg, ¹⁷⁴ Athens, ¹⁷⁵ and Attica ¹⁷⁶ do not call for individual notice here.

Inscriptions play a prominent part in W. S. Ferguson's study ¹⁷⁷ of the Athenian tyrant Lachares and the history of Athens from 302 to 295 B.C. The interesting thesis ¹⁷⁸ devoted by O. W. Reinmuth to the foreigners in the Athenian ephebia is based almost entirely on the evidence of the ephebic lists from 119-8 B.C. to A.D. 262-3. It gives a brief but clear account of the development of the ephebia at Athens, the types of ephebic inscriptions, the number and provenance of the foreigners who underwent the ephebic training at Athens, the admission of the sons of cleruchs and metics and

¹⁶¹ Ἑλληνικά, ii. 153 ff.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* 281 ff.

¹⁶³ *Ath. Mitt.* lii. 197 ff.

¹⁶⁴ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, x. 145 ff.: cf. *Arch. Anz.* xliii. 574.

¹⁶⁵ Πολέμων, i. 44 ff.

¹⁶⁶ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 195 ff.

¹⁶⁷ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1925-6, 5.

¹⁶⁸ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1930, 181 f.: *Arch. Anz.* xlv. 89 ff.

¹⁶⁹ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1925-6, 182.

¹⁷⁰ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, x. παρ. 55 ff.: cf. *B.C.H.* lii. 469.

¹⁷¹ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, x. παρ. 74 ff.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* x. 152.

¹⁷³ *Mon. Piot.* xxx. 61 ff., Pl. vi.

¹⁷⁴ *Hamburgisches Museum: Griech. u. rom. Altertumer*, 1930, 170, No. 865.

¹⁷⁵ *B.C.H.* liii. 491 f.

¹⁷⁶ Πολέμων, i. 41, 172; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1925-6, 181 f. Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ix. παρ. 31 may be a dedication or an epitaph.

¹⁷⁷ *Class. Phil.* xxiv. 1 ff.

¹⁷⁸ *The Foreigners in the Athenian Ephebia* (Univ. of Nebraska Studies in Language, 9), Lincoln (Nebraska), 1929.

other relevant questions, and includes tables showing (a) the number of foreigners in the Athenian ephebia by years (p. 18), (b) their native cities (p. 21 ff.), (c) 'regional provenience' (p. 25 ff.), and (d) the places, other than Athens, having a local ephebia (pp. 38 f., 51 ff.). Valuable additions have been made to our knowledge of several inscriptions published in *I.G.* ii.² A. Wilhelm's illuminating article¹⁷⁹ on Greek honorary decrees and letters throws light upon Nos. 13 (p. 165), 86 (p. 164 f.), 492 (p. 162) and 1134 (p. 185 f.), and restores an important passage in 1330 (pp. 184 f., 197). V. Ehrenberg's discussion¹⁸⁰ of the Second Athenian Confederacy makes full use of the epigraphical evidence throughout, and in especial deals with the text and restoration of No. 40 (p. 329 ff.). W. Schwahn boldly attempts¹⁸¹ to restore the second column of No. 236, which contains the oath of Philip of Macedon to observe the peace concluded with the Greek states in 338-7 B.C., and though we may feel some misgivings about the resultant document of 922 letters, only forty of which survive on the stone, the writer's examination of the contrast between Philip's policy and that of Alexander well deserves study. U. Wilcken also devotes a long and careful essay¹⁸² to the Panhellenic idea of Philip II, with special reference to the question how far and in what way Philip received from Isocrates' *Philippus* the incentive to the work which he achieved at Corinth: here too No. 236 (= *S.I.G.*³ 260) is laid under frequent contribution, and in an appendix (p. 316 ff.) some improvements are made in the restoration of the text. P. H. Davis' paper¹⁸³ on the foundations of the Philonian Portico at Eleusis deals with No. 1666, which contains the original specifications, and other inscriptions (1672, 1680) pertinent to the problem, and examines in detail No. 1671. W. Schwahn's article¹⁸⁴ on Athenian payments for the wages and maintenance of labourers is based upon the data afforded by the Eleusinian building-records 1672, 1673. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf has given¹⁸⁵ a modified restoration and exegesis of the fourth-century epigram, *I.G.* ii. 1285, recording a dramatic victory at the Dionysia. P. Roussel discusses¹⁸⁶ the inscription from the Athenian Asclepieum recently published by M. Guarducci (cf. *J.H.S.* xlix. 184) and shows that it is contiguous to ii. 958: the archonship of Aeschines he assigns to the first century, probably to 75-4 B.C.

[*I.G.* iii.] *The Roman Imperial Period.*—In addition to the inscriptions of this period already mentioned, several others of considerable interest call for notice. J. Kirchner has published¹⁸⁷ two fragments of an ephebic list of about A.D. 160, and three of a similar list of about A.D. 220. A. C. Hadjis has dealt¹⁸⁸ with a marble stele found near the Theatre of Dionysus, bearing on the obverse part of a second-century list of prytanes and ἀποεἰρητοὶ of the Leontid tribe and on the reverse a Christian epitaph. An epigram in iambic verse, engraved about Hadrian's reign and excavated at Athens, affords N. Kyparisses a basis for some interesting remarks on ancient

¹⁷⁹ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 162 ff.

¹⁸⁰ *Hermes*, lxiv. 322 ff.

¹⁸¹ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxviii. 188 ff.

¹⁸² *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1929, 213, 291 ff.

¹⁸³ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiv. 1 ff., 51.

¹⁸⁴ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxix. 170 ff.

¹⁸⁵ *Hermes*, lxxv. 242 f.

¹⁸⁶ *B.C.H.* lii. 3 ff.: cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 295 f.

¹⁸⁷ *Anth. Mitt.* lii. 201 ff.

¹⁸⁸ 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1925-6, 94 ff.: cf. 172 f.

prosody.¹⁸⁹ The mutilated inscription ὤΓΡΕΙ, in letters of the early Imperial period, on a votive stele from Spata has been interpreted¹⁹⁰ by I. K. Demetriou as a dedication to Ἄγρεϋς, or possibly to [Πάν]Ἄγρεϋς, for which A. S. Arvanitopoulos suggests¹⁹¹ [Ζ]αγρεϋς as an alternative. H. T. Westbrook has published¹⁹² the complete text engraved on a herm found at the northern end of the plain of Marathon, of which only the first lines had been previously read (*I.G.* iii. 813), so adding a new document of a well-known type to the tradition of Herodes Atticus. Of greater value than any of the foregoing texts is a decree of the first century B.C. from Athens, published¹⁹³ by K. Rhomaios and re-edited,¹⁹⁴ with a correction and valuable comments, by P. Roussel: it contains the names and titles of the officials attached to the cult of Agdistis, the Asiatic Great Mother, at Rhamnus and a decree ἐκ τοῦ Μητροῦς confirming to a certain Zeno of Antioch his office in the sanctuary of the goddess. The inscription gives an interesting insight into the penetration of the Asiatic worships into Attica at this period and indicates the attitude of the government toward them. L. Robert corrects¹⁹⁵ misunderstandings of *I.G.* iii. 128 and 129; A. Wilhelm restores¹⁹⁶ two inscriptions from the grotto of Pan and the Nymphs near Phyle, examines the poem of Nicagoras and six other epigrams from that site, and incidentally discusses a number of female names deemed by Bechtel and others to be those of ἑταῖραι or slaves and advances a new interpretation of *I.G.* iii. 3826; E. Schwyzer investigates¹⁹⁷ the form and meaning of the word ἐκτράνιος, which occurs in an Athenian inscription of the third century A.D. (*S.E.G.* iii. 208), and J. Zingerle¹⁹⁸ and M. N. Tod¹⁹⁹ propose solutions of several difficulties raised by the famous statutes of the Attic society of Iobacchi (*I.G.* ii². 1368).

III. THE PELOPONNESE

[*I.G.* iv.] The new inscriptions unearthed at CORINTH and published by T. L. Shear²⁰⁰ comprise two kylikes from the N. Cemetery and two inscribed theatre-seats, one bearing the legend νίκᾱ νίκᾱ and the other ΚΟΡΨΑΝ; the editor conjecturally connects the latter with the hierodules of the temple of Aphrodite. H. Comfort has collected and discussed²⁰¹ all the signatures, Greek and Latin, found on Arretine or pseudo-Arretine ware brought to light at Corinth. Other discoveries from the same site are reported²⁰² but not yet fully published. A. S. Arvanitopoulos has restored²⁰³ a fragmentary epigram of the fourth century B.C., which relates, in his view, to Heracles' Amazonomachia.

A. Philadelphus has found in the course of excavations at Vasilikó, the ancient SICYON, seventeen fragments of a tablet recording the foundation

¹⁸⁹ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, x. 137 ff.

¹⁹⁰ Πολέμων, i. 40 ff.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* 56.

¹⁹² *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 402 ff.

¹⁹³ Ἑλληνικά, i. 233 ff.

¹⁹⁴ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxii. 5 ff.

¹⁹⁵ *Rev. Phil.* iv. 36 ff., *B.C.H.* lii. 421 f.

¹⁹⁶ *Jahreshefte*, xxv. 54 ff.

¹⁹⁷ *Zts. vergl. Sprachf.* lvi. 309 ff.

¹⁹⁸ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. Beiblatt, 125 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Class. Qu.* xxiii. 1 ff.

²⁰⁰ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 518, 521, 542, 545. Cf. *Gnomon*, vi. 52 ff.

²⁰¹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 484 ff.

²⁰² *Arch. Anz.* xliii. 579 ff.

²⁰³ Πολέμων, i. 112 ff.

of a trust-fund, four dedications and four fragments of a Byzantine text.²⁰⁴ An epigram from Cleonae (*I.G.* iv. 491) has been discussed and restored by W. Morel,²⁰⁵ and an important Argive dedication set up at Nemea (*ibid.* 487-8) has been explained and completed by W. Vollgraff.²⁰⁶

ARGOS is represented by thirteen new inscriptions, most of them from the Larissa, discovered and published²⁰⁷ by Vollgraff. These include two fifth-century fragments, an epitaph of the fourth or third century and nine texts of the Roman period or later. By far the most interesting of them is a dedication,²⁰⁸ engraved βουστροφηδόν on a white limestone slab, which the editor assigns to the first half of the sixth century B.C. To it the words Εὐκλείδης καλός were added in the following century. It records the dedication and regulates the use of the sacred property of Athena Polias and is of value not only for its religious and political content but also as a remarkable example of early Argive prose. It has been named the ΦΗΕΔΙΕΣΤΑΣ - inscription, with reference to the most important and puzzling word it contains: this is interpreted by Vollgraff as indicating a class of Argolic περίοικοι intermediate between free men and slaves, but this suggestion is rejected by U. P. Boissevain,²⁰⁹ who offers no alternative, and by E. Bourguet²¹⁰ and E. Schwyzler,²¹¹ who maintains that it designates the individual citizen, the ἰδιώτης. W. Vollgraff has also restored, dated or explained²¹² eight inscriptions found at Argos or in the Heraeum, as well as the famous fourth-century record of the Argive arbitration between Melos and Cimolus (*S.I.G.*³ 261).

A convincing restoration in a text found at Nauplia (*I.G.* iv. 673) has been proposed by L. Robert,²¹³ while Vollgraff has sought to explain and date²¹⁴ an Argive decree (*ibid.* 554) found at Hermione and has suggested²¹⁵ a solution of a problem presented by a sixth-century Troezenian epigram (*ibid.* 801).

It is, however, with the publication of the rich epigraphical treasures of EPIDAUROS that the most marked progress has been made. F. Hiller von Gacringen, with assistance from P. Kavvadias in the earlier and from G. Klaffenbach in the later stages, has published all the inscriptions of Epidaurus and of its famous sanctuary of Asclepius in the *editio minor* of *I.G.*²¹⁶ The texts (of which all save thirty-nine belong to the Asclepieum) number 745 in all, and the volume also contains admirable prolegomena, tracing the history of the city and the shrine from the earliest times down to the present day, complete indexes and a bibliography. Documents already known are in very many cases presented with fuller or more accurate readings or restorations, while three are partially and eighty-nine entirely new. Of this last class the most interesting members are a long fourth-century building-record (109) and a series of six short hymns, addressed

²⁰⁴ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, x. 48, παρ. 21 ff.

²⁰⁵ *Hermes*, lxxv. 221.

²⁰⁶ *Mnemosyne*, lviii. 35 ff.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* lvi. 245 ff.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 206 ff.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* lvi. 13 ff.

²¹⁰ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xliii. 1 ff.

²¹¹ *Rh. Mus.* lxxix. 321 ff.

²¹² *Mnemosyne*, lviii. 28 ff.

²¹³ *Rev. Phil.* iv. 36.

²¹⁴ *Mnemosyne*, lviii. 26 ff.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* lvii. 234.

²¹⁶ iv², fasc. 1, Berlin, 1929. Cf. K. Latte, *Gnomon*, vii. 113 ff.

respectively to all the gods, Pan, the Mother of the gods, Hygiea, Asclepius and Pallas (129-134), of which the second and third are well preserved. These hymns will form the subject of a forthcoming book by P. Maas. G. De Sanctis has thrown valuable light on the record of payments made by the Epidaurians to the Elisphasii (*I.G.* iv². i. 42) by pointing out²¹⁷ that the Epidaurian mina contained seventy drachmas, U. Wilcken has touched upon the terms of the alliance formed by Antigonus and Demetrius in 302 B.C. (*ibid.* 68) in his discussion²¹⁸ of Philip's Panhellenic policy, and W. Vollgraff has restored²¹⁹ the opening clause of a proxeny-decree of Argos (*ibid.* 69). F. von Hiller has united²²⁰ two fragments of a letter, dated A.D. 163, from a Roman noble, probably the Antoninus referred to in Paus. ii. 27. 6, 7, with reference to his benefactions to the Asclepieum (*ibid.* 88). To the interpretation of the word ἀκοαί, twice used in a late Epidaurian healing-record (*ibid.* 126), as well as elsewhere, J. Zingerle returns,²²¹ adducing from Psellus fresh evidence in favour of the view of Dittenberger and Weinreich (*S.I.G.*³ 1170) that it signifies a place where mysterious voices can be heard. S. A. Žebelev discusses²²² ll. 57-61 of the paeon of Isyllus (*I.G.* iv². i. 128) and argues that the Philip there mentioned is not Philip III but Philip V, a view which necessitates the dating of the poem in or after 218 B.C.

[*I.G.* v.] Several important contributions to the epigraphy of LACONIA call for notice. Among the outstanding events of the period under review is the publication, under the editorship of R. M. Dawkins, of the definitive report on the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at SPARTA.²²³ To that work A. M. Woodward contributes an excellent chapter²²⁴ on the inscriptions found on the site, the formulae of the votive stelae, the nature of the contests to which most of them relate, the meaning of certain disputed technical terms of frequent occurrence, and the chronology of the documents. Of the texts here collected, 135 refer to the παιδικὸς ἄγων and thirty-three to other subjects, while sixty-five are short dedicatory inscriptions on minor votive offerings. All are edited with exemplary care and all but nine of the inscriptions comprised in the first two groups are illustrated by photographs or facsimiles. Fifty-five inscriptions are here published for the first time and, though many of these are insignificant fragments, some (*e.g.* Nos. 63, 139, 144) are not devoid of interest. Few epigraphical discoveries are recorded in the report²²⁵ on the excavations carried out at Sparta in 1927. W. von Massow publishes²²⁶ a number of archaic votives found at the Amyclaeum as well as seven fragments of roof-tiles stamped Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Ἀμυκλαίοι: the name ΗΛΛΗΝΑΣ engraved on a base previously discovered on the same site affords E. Schwyzler a starting-point for an interesting study²²⁷ of Spartan names beginning Ἀγῆσι-. Other

²¹⁷ *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 523 ff.

²¹⁸ *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1929, 303.

²¹⁹ *Mnemosyne*, lviii. 40.

²²⁰ *Hermes*, lxiv. 63 ff.

²²¹ *Arch. Rel.* xxvii. 53 ff.

²²² *C.R. Acad. Sci. U.R.S.S.* 1929, 193 ff. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* l. 242.

²²³ *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (*J.H.S.* Supplementary Vol. V.), London, 1929.

²²⁴ Ch. x, p. 285 ff.

²²⁵ *B.S.A.* xxviii. 9, 71, 87, 89; cf. 44, 47.

²²⁶ *Ath. Mitt.* lii. 37, 61 ff.

²²⁷ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxviii. 216 ff.

inscriptions from Sparta and its neighbourhood have evoked renewed attention. Massow has rediscovered ²²⁸ at the Amyclaeum two texts which were believed to have perished (*I.G.* v. 1. 511, 586); L. Robert has discussed ²²⁹ the title ἀριστος Ἑλλήνων bestowed on victors in the armed race at the Plataean Eleutheria, and has restored an honorary inscription (*ibid.* 655) containing it; his conjecture has been subsequently confirmed ²³⁰ by the discovery of the stone, which had been lost, and of a new fragment assigned to it by Woodward. Robert has also restored ²³¹ the name of a Corinthian wrestler commemorated in another agonistic record (*ibid.* 659), and has interpreted ²³² as a *cursus honorum* an inscription hitherto regarded as an epitaph (*ibid.* 819).

The remarkable finds from GYTHEUM summarised in my last survey (*J.H.S.* xlix. 189) continue to attract the notice of Roman historians, especially the ἐπὶ νόμος regulating the Caesarea and Euryclea and the letter addressed by the Emperor Tiberius to the Gytheates. L. Wenger gives the text of these two valuable documents and discusses, primarily from the juristic standpoint, some of the principal questions raised by them, notably the organisation of the festivals and the penal sanctions attached to the measure.²³³ H. Seyrig re-edits and translates ²³⁴ the two texts, accompanying them with an ample commentary, while an edition of all four documents, containing texts, critical apparatus, photographs of three of the stones and an historical commentary, has been published by E. Kornemann,²³⁵ who dates Tiberius' letter between 10 March and 27 June, A.D. 15, and the ἐπὶ νόμος in the second half of the same year. M. Rostovtzeff's valuable article ²³⁶ on Tiberius and the Imperial cult is also based largely upon, and involves a careful examination of, the two principal texts. A. S. A[rvanitopoulos] seeks to prove ^{236a} that the statue, on the base of which is engraved the bilingual honorary inscription of C. Julius Eurycles, was of bronze and cannot therefore be the marble statue found by Kougeas near the base.²³⁷

N. S. Valmin's tour in MESSENIA has resulted ²³⁸ in the discovery of twenty-four unpublished inscriptions on the mainland and the copying, either for the first time or in improved versions, of twenty short texts cut in the rocky shore of the island of Prote. Of the new discoveries the most interesting are (a) a decree of Thuria (No. 1), dating from the second century B.C., which relates to disputes between that city and Megalopolis submitted to the arbitration of Patrae, and contains a list of over a hundred Thurian σύνδικοι who represented their state on that occasion; (b) a decree of Thuria (No. 2), engraved on the reverse of the same stele, honour-

²²⁸ *Ath. Mitt.* lii. 62 f.

²²⁹ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxi. 13 ff.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* 225 f.

²³¹ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 125.

²³² *B.C.H.* lii. 417 f.

²³³ *Zeits. d. Savignystiftung*, Rom. Abt. xlix. 308 ff.

²³⁴ *Rev. Arch.* xxix. 34 ff. Cf. *A. J. Arch.* xxxiii. 559 f., *Ἑλληνικά*, ii. 445 f.

²³⁵ *Neue Dokumente zum lakonischen Kaiserkult*, Breslau,

1929.

²³⁶ *Rev. Hist.* cxliii. 1 ff.

^{236a} *Πολέμων*, i. 39.

²³⁷ For Gytheum cf. also *Riv. Fil.* lix. 132.

²³⁸ *Inscriptions de la Messénie* (*Bull. Soc. Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1928-9, iv), Lund, 1929. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 570, *Phil. Woch.* l. 715 ff., *Syria*, xi. 197 f., *Rev. Hist. Rel.* c. 85 f., *Class. Rev.* xlv. 89.

ing a Lacedaemonian,²³⁹ and (c) the text on the base of a statue erected by the Achaean κοινόν in honour of a Ἑλλαδάρχης. At Cardamyle a further considerable fragment has been found (No. 23) almost completing the last twenty-one lines of an interesting honorary decree (*I.G.* v. 1. 1331).²⁴⁰ Two other documents of Thuria have been discussed by L. Robert: the significance of one (*ibid.* 1379) is explained and an important passage restored,²⁴¹ while in the other (*ibid.* 1387) an untenable restoration has been rejected.²⁴² M. N. Tod has re-edited²⁴³ a financial document of Andania (*ibid.* 1532).

Of ARCADIA there is little to record. On p. 117 of his work on the cults of Patras, to which I refer below, J. Herbillon discusses three inscriptions of Lusi relating to the worship of Artemis (*I.G.* v. 2. 397, 401, 410), and A. Wilhelm has suggested²⁴⁴ a solution of a problem raised by an Achaean honorary decree from Lycosura (*ibid.* 517).

[*I.G.* vi.] An inscribed bronze helmet, discovered in the bed of the Cladeus at OLYMPIA, where it was dedicated by the Boeotian Orchomenians after their capture of Coronea, is assigned²⁴⁵ by the editor, G. P. Oikonomos, to 447 B.C. W. Vollgraff has discussed²⁴⁶ another helmet, dedicated by the Argives at Olympia and now preserved in the British Museum (Hicks and Hill, 31), interpreting the phrase τῶν Κορινθίων as equivalent to ἀπὸ τῶν Κορινθίων and tentatively assigning the dedication to Phidon's reign in the seventh century.

To his monograph²⁴⁷ on the cults of Patrae, in ACHAEA, J. Herbillon appends a Greek prosopography of the city, the sixty names in which are mostly derived from inscriptions and from coins.

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[*I.G.* vii.] A puzzling passage in a decree of Tanagra exhibited at MEGARA (*I.G.* vii. 20) has been satisfactorily restored and explained by L. Robert.²⁴⁸

G. Mathieu's 'Notes on Athens on the eve of the Lamiac War' are based on an ephebic inscription²⁴⁹ of 323 B.C., found at OROPUS, and deal mainly with Leosthenes and some of his collaborators, with the ephebi of the Leontid tribe, whose names are recorded in the inscription, and with the total membership of that tribe in the fourth century.²⁵⁰ An inscribed bronze weight from the sanctuary of Amphiaraus has been published by B. Leonardos,²⁵¹ who down to his death continued to devote himself to the excavation and study of that site, while an ethnic designation, Βυλλίων ἀπὸ

²³⁹ In l. 28 ἄς should, I think, be written in place of ἄς: οἱ μετὰ Μενέστρατον ἑφοροὶ cannot well mean 'les éphores, collègues de Ménétratos' (ll. 24, 34).

²⁴⁰ A. Wilhelm corrects two slight errors of restoration in *Byzantion*, vi. 465.

²⁴¹ *B.C.H.* lii. 426 ff.

²⁴² *Rev. Phil.* iv. 35 f.

²⁴³ *B.S.A.* xxviii. 151 ff.

²⁴⁴ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 195.

²⁴⁵ *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1925-6, 87 ff.; cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvi. 585.

²⁴⁶ *Mnemosyne*, lviii. 20 ff.; cf. *B.S.A.* xxvii. 76.

²⁴⁷ *Les cultes de Patras* (Baltimore, 1929), 171 ff.

²⁴⁸ *B.C.H.* liii. 152 ff.

²⁴⁹ Michel, *Recueil*, 1704.

²⁵⁰ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 159 ff.

²⁵¹ Πρακτικά 'Α. Έ. 1926, 104; cf. *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1927-8, 176.

Νικαίας, which occurs in a list of victors at the Amphiararaia,²⁵² has led L. Robert to discuss the Bylliones and a possible location of Nicaea.²⁵³

R. van der Velde, the author of a well-known 'dialect-geography' of Thessaly (cf. *J.H.S.* xlv. 119), has rendered a similar service to students of the language of ΒΟΕΟΤΙΑ,²⁵⁴ and M. Guarducci has made a special study²⁵⁵ of the chronology of the Boeotian federal archons from 366 to 245 B.C. W. Morel has restored²⁵⁶ an epigram of Thespieae²⁵⁷ and another from Thebes (*I.G.* vii. 2538). C. Karouzos reports the addition to the Museum at Thebes of five grave-stelae,²⁵⁸ four of which date from the fifth and one from the fourth century B.C., found in or near that city, while a Theban aryballos, now in Vienna, bears the signature of a hitherto unknown potter, Phithes.²⁵⁹ A. Wilhelm offers a complete restoration of an inscription assigned by Pococke and Boeckh to Boeotian Thebes²⁶⁰ and gives cogent reasons for attributing it to Egyptian Thebes.²⁶¹ The discoveries made by R. P. Austin in 1926 in the course of his excavations at Haliartus include twelve inscriptions,²⁶² of which two are fifth-century epitaphs and two others boundaries marking the territory handed to the Athenians after the sack of Haliartus by the Romans in 171 B.C.

[*I.G.* viii.] The remarkable progress made in the publication of new documents from the apparently inexhaustible archives of DELPHI and in the restoration and interpretation of those already known is due in large measure to three French scholars, E. Bourguet, R. Flacelière and L. Robert. Bourguet has completed²⁶³ the first section of the epigraphical volume of the *Fouilles de Delphes*, of which previous instalments appeared in 1910 and 1911. In addition to a preface, corrections and additions, an index of proper names and a table of concordance, this final fascicule contains a definitive edition of one Latin (No. 545) and 226 Greek inscriptions—for the most part Delphian or Amphictionic decrees, honorary inscriptions, dedications and manumissions—of which about 152 were previously unpublished. Among the most interesting texts here dealt with are the record of a Theban arbitration between Bumelita and Halae (No. 362), a fragmentary decree thanking Aristotle and Callisthenes for drawing up a list of victors at the Pythia and directing its publication (400), the famous judicial treaty between Delphi and Pellene (486),²⁶⁴ the memorial set up by Pausanias, the exiled ex-king of Sparta, to his son Hagesipolis (509), the list of victories won by a distinguished pantomime (551; see below), the Delphian system of shorthand (558) and the poetic recital of a miracle wrought by Apollo (560).²⁶⁵

Flacelière, to the quality of whose epigraphical work M. Holleaux pays a striking tribute,²⁶⁶ has discussed²⁶⁷ the vexed question of the Delphian

²⁵² 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1925-6, 26, No. 140.

²⁵³ *B.C.H.* lii. 433 f.

²⁵⁴ *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Utrecht, 1929), 660 ff.

²⁵⁵ *Riv. fil.* lviii. 311 ff.

²⁵⁶ *Hermes*, lxxv. 221 f.

²⁵⁷ *B.C.H.* l. 406.

²⁵⁸ 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, x. παρ. 10.

²⁵⁹ *Glotta*, xviii. 1 ff.

²⁶⁰ *C.I.G.* 1681: cf. *Serta Harteliana*, 234.

²⁶¹ *Arch. Pap.* ix. 214 ff.

²⁶² *B.S.A.* xxviii. 134 ff.; cf. xxvii. 91.

²⁶³ iii. 1, Paris, 1929. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 345.

²⁶⁴ Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 404.

²⁶⁵ *S.E.G.* iii. 400.

²⁶⁶ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 145 ff.

²⁶⁷ *B.C.H.* lii. 256 ff. Cf. *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 571 f.; *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 149, *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiv. 78.

Soteria, closely connected with the problem of Delphian chronology in the third century B.C. By the aid of a newly discovered list of victors in the Soteria (p. 260 ff.)²⁶⁸ and a careful re-examination of all the extant epigraphical evidence, he reaches the conclusion that the festival was originally annual, but underwent, in the year when Polyeuctus was archon at Athens (which he dates in 255-4, one year later than Ferguson), a re-organisation which made it in all probability penteteric, celebrated in the same years as the Pythia. The inquiry has important results also for Athenian chronology, and Flacelière gives (p. 290) a provisional table of the archons from 262-1 to 248-7 B.C. Elsewhere²⁶⁹ he discusses some of the many difficult problems raised by a study of third-century Delphian chronology, especially those presented by the appearance of two or even three archons bearing the same names and, by the publication of thirty-one hitherto unknown documents and the careful utilisation of the relevant published materials, solves a number of riddles with complete certainty or a high degree of probability. In another article²⁷⁰ he studies twelve Delphian dedications, all but two previously unpublished, dating from the period of Aetolian supremacy, among the most interesting of which are those on the statue-bases of Ptolemy Euergetes and of Arsinoë, daughter of Ptolemy III (Nos. 1, 2). But the longest, and perhaps the most valuable, of his contributions to the history of Delphi at this period is his collection²⁷¹ of the lists of amphictions which appear at the head of decrees passed by the Amphictionic Council during the years from 278 or 277 to 193-2 B.C. The seventy-two relevant texts, arranged, so far as possible, in chronological sequence, have all been revised by reference to the actual stones, and the indexes of ethnics and of persons, enriched by frequent contributions from the unpublished inscriptions of Thermum, greatly increase the value of the collection.

L. Robert, whose memoir on the agonistic inscriptions of Delphi has won the high commendation of M. Holleaux,²⁷² has published²⁷³ a proxeny-decree for a Pergamene, perhaps an epic poet, and an improved version²⁷⁴ of the decrees passed in honour of Polygnota, a Theban χοροφάλτρις, and her cousin Lycinus, who accompanied her to Delphi. His notes²⁷⁵ on Delphian decrees for doctors contain two hitherto unknown resolutions in honour of doctors from Sardis and Corone respectively and correct two similar texts (*S.E.G.* i. 181, ii. 332) and two other Delphian inscriptions (*S.G.D.I.* 2259, *S.E.G.* ii. 269). Elsewhere²⁷⁶ he restores the opening portion of an important decree (*O.G.I.* 305) recognising the festival instituted by Sardis in honour of Athena and Eumenes II and enriches by new readings, restorations or interpretations a number of texts published in *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 1, notably the following :

209, 216. The titles ἀρχιγραμματεὺς ξυστοῦ (an official of the general

²⁶⁸ A fragment, probably of a similar list, appears first in *B.C.H.* lii. 264, note 3.

²⁶⁹ *B.C.H.* lii. 179 ff.; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii.

559.

²⁷⁰ *B.C.H.* liii. 19 ff.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* 430 ff.; cf. *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 147 ff.

²⁷² *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1930, 78 ff.

²⁷³ *B.C.H.* liii. 34 ff.

²⁷⁴ Cf. *S.E.G.* ii. 322 f.

²⁷⁵ *B.C.H.* lii. 172 ff.

²⁷⁶ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 430 ff.

musicians' association) and ἰσχυροπαίκτης (a 'strong man,' not a musician) are explained,²⁷⁷ and the latter suggests some remarks on showmen and jugglers in the Greek world.

362. Some technical terms in this arbitration-record are discussed.²⁷⁸

365. An erasure in this decree is shown²⁷⁹ to be due to a change in Delphian law about grants of money.

366, 458. These decrees, relative to the mission of foreign judges to Delphi, are restored and explained.²⁸⁰

469. This dedication of the third century A.D., commemorating an ὀρχηστῆς καὶ θαυματοποιός, is corrected and leads to an interesting account of the exhibitions given in the Delphian theatre.²⁸¹

487. Lines 2-6 of this Thespian decree are restored.²⁸²

551. This monument of Tiberius Julius Apolaustus, a pantomime (τραγικῆς ἐνρῦθμου κινήσεως ὑποκριτῆς), forms the starting-point for a full account of his art and his career.²⁸³

554-7. These texts are discussed and interpreted²⁸⁴ in connexion with the careers of the pancratiast M. Aurelius Demonstratus Damas and the trumpeter Serapion of Ephesus.

Other contributions to the epigraphy of Delphi may be more briefly dismissed. Among the texts from this site republished or commented on in *S.E.G.* iii. 378-405, the most important is the Roman law of about 100 B.C. dealing with the suppression of piracy, of which a revised text is given, together with an apparatus criticus and a Latin version, by J. C. Naber, of the *sanctio*.²⁸⁵ To C. Picard we owe a careful analysis²⁸⁶ of the story of Cleobis and Biton, leading to the conclusion that their feat consisted in drawing on a ritual chariot for a distance of eight kilometres a heavy statue of the Mother goddess, taken from Argos to the Heraeum for the θεοξένια. W. Vollgraff supports²⁸⁷ Schwyzer's view that, in the sculptor's signature added to the inscription of Cleobis and Biton (*S.I.G.*³ 5), ἐποίηε is an imperfect rather than an aorist. J. F. Mountford's essay²⁸⁸ on Greek music in the papyri and inscriptions takes into account the two hymns which have been preserved at Delphi with musical notes appended. A. Wilhelm has corrected²⁸⁹ two Delphian texts (*S.I.G.*³ 704 *E*, *Fouilles*, iii. 2. 48).

[*I.G.* ix.] A number of newly-discovered or restored texts from Phocis, Locris, Aetolia, Acarnania and the Ionian Islands are comprised in *S.E.G.* iii.,²⁹⁰ among which attention may be drawn to a striking Acarnanian epigram (No. 441). An archaic epitaph²⁹¹ has come to light at Palaiochori in Doris, and a stamped tile²⁹² of the fifth century B.C. in the Demeter-

²⁷⁷ *B.C.H.* lii. 420 ff.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* liii. 156 ff.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 39 f.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 160 ff.

²⁸¹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 433 ff.

²⁸² *B.C.H.* liii. 154 ff.

²⁸³ *Hermes*, lxx. 106 ff.

²⁸⁴ *Rev. Phil.* iv. 44 ff. A new fragment is published *ibid.* 49 f. I regret that, by an error discovered too late for correction, I have omitted to mention Robert's treatment, in *Rev. Phil.* iv. 53 ff., of *Fouilles*,

iii. 1. 466. 517, 549, 550, *C.I.G.* 1720 and an unpublished agonistic fragment.

²⁸⁵ No. 378: cf. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 326 f.

²⁸⁶ *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xcvi. 365 ff.

²⁸⁷ *Mnemosyne*, lviii. 24 ff.; cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 395.

²⁸⁸ Powell and Barber, *New Chapters*, ii. 146 ff.

²⁸⁹ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 185 f., 197.

²⁹⁰ Nos. 406-451.

²⁹¹ *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, x. παρ. 13.

²⁹² *Arch. Anz.* xliii. 577.

temple near Lilaea in PHOCIS, while an epigram from Elatea (*I.G.* ix. 1. 164) has been examined and restored²⁹³ by W. Morel. L. Robert has reconstituted²⁹⁴ the text of a fragmentary decree from Opuntian LOCRIIS (ix. 1. 277), and the dedicatory inscription of an early Christian basilica lying between Lamia and Atalante has been unearthed and published²⁹⁵ by A. C. Orlandos. An epitaph has been found²⁹⁶ at Πηγίσι, the ancient Naryx, in Western Locris, and attention has been called²⁹⁷ to a dialect-form in the famous charter of the colony at Naupactus discovered at Oeanthea (ix. 1. 334), while some of the problems presented by the Locrian θεσμός, which has been conjecturally assigned to Naupactus as its provenance, notably that of the existence and position of the Locrian city of Hyle, have been discussed by E. A. Pezopoulos,²⁹⁸ A. C. Hadjis²⁹⁹ and A. D. Keramopoulos.³⁰⁰ The main epigraphical finds made at Calydon in AETOLIA are a sixth-century boundary-stone of the precinct of Apollo Laphrius and a long and remarkably well-preserved record of a judicial verdict, delivered about 380 B.C. and engraved on a bronze tablet which was placed in the safe-keeping of Artemis.³⁰¹ K. A. Rhomaios has given³⁰² a completer reading of a manumission-record from the temple of Artemis Hagemon at Thermum (ix. 1. 413-4), has republished a boundary-stone from Agri-nium (*ibid.* 427), and has discovered at Arsinoe an epigram which Wilhelm has restored. G. Klaffenbach contributes³⁰³ a fresh and, so far as can be foreseen, final reading of a spirited epigram from Thermum. Of other Aetolian finds³⁰⁴ no detailed notice is required. On the island of ITHACA a curious dedication to Odysseus has been discovered.³⁰⁵

THESSALY continues to prove remarkably prolific, and thirty-nine recent discoveries or emendations are registered in the Thessalian section of *S.E.G.* iii.³⁰⁶ M. Leumann calls attention³⁰⁷ to the frequency with which names compounded with Ἀριστο- appear in Thessalian inscriptions in the shortened form Ἀστο-.

A. S. Arvanitopoulos, to whom epigraphists owe a great and ever-growing debt for the discovery, conservation and interpretation of hundreds of inscriptions from this region, as is indicated by the bibliography which he has recently drawn up³⁰⁸ of his epigraphical articles, has published³⁰⁹ with full commentaries five further texts from Demetrias and its environs—the lower half of an important honorary decree, of which the upper part was already known (*I.G.* ix. 2. 1108), a proposal of the ἄστυνόμοι of the city, dating from about the close of the third century B.C., by which the republication of certain old regulations is ordered, a fifth-century metrical epitaph, a decree of Oloösön honouring three judges and their secretary sent by Demetrias shortly after 168 B.C. and the text engraved on the statue-

²⁹³ *Hermes*, lxxv. 223.

²⁹⁴ *B.C.H.* lii. 165, note 1.

²⁹⁵ *Byzantion*, v. 226 f.

²⁹⁶ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, x. παρ. 12.

²⁹⁷ *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lvii. 297.

²⁹⁸ Πολέμων, i. 97 ff.

²⁹⁹ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1927-8, 181 ff.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 209 f.

³⁰¹ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 76 ff.; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον,

x. παρ. 37 ff.; *B.C.H.* lii. 486; *Arch. Anz.* xliiii. 597.

³⁰² Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ix. παρ. 4 ff.

³⁰³ *Ibid.* x. 34; *S.E.G.* iii. 437.

³⁰⁴ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ix. παρ. 63 f., x. 22.

³⁰⁵ *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 311.

³⁰⁶ Nos. 452-490.

³⁰⁷ *Glotta*, xviii. 65 f.

³⁰⁸ Πολέμων, i. 28.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 28 ff., 119 ff.

base of an ex-gymnasiarch. He has also compiled a useful prosopography³¹⁰ of the Perrhaebian Tripolis (Azorus, Doliche and Pythium), has commented³¹¹ on an inscription of Oloösön (ix. 2. 1292) and has restored³¹² one from Hypata (ix. 2. 56). Another indefatigable worker in the same field, N. I. Giannopoulos, has performed a useful service in gathering into the local Museums of Larisa, Halmyros and Volo twelve Greek inscriptions from Phalanna, Gonni, Pherae, Euhydrium, Xynia and Methone,³¹³ among which the most interesting are a striking epigram (No. 1), signed by the poet Aphthonetus, commemorating the successful issue of a political revolution, the record of the erection of a statue of the proconsul Q. Acutius Flaccus by the κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν (No. 2) and an opisthographic fragment of a manumission-list (No. 12), dated in the sixteenth year of Trajan.³¹⁴ Elsewhere³¹⁵ the same scholar has published two inscribed fragments from Melitea in Phthiotis, one of which is almost a replica of *I.G.* ix. 2. 209. But his most valuable discovery, now lodged in the Halmyros Museum, is an interesting, though tantalisingly incomplete, inscription³¹⁶ from Philia in the district of Karditsa, not far from the ancient Cierium, recording the settlement of a frontier-dispute between Melitea and Lamia, brought about by an arbitral tribunal representing Colophon, Samos, and Magnesia on the Maeander. F. Hiller von Gaertringen offers³¹⁷ some suggestions for the restoration and dating of this document, and its chronology has also been investigated³¹⁸ by F. Stählin and by G. Klaffenbach, who agree in assigning it to the second half of the second century B.C. Klaffenbach also restores the opening three lines of the text. Giannopoulos has found³¹⁹ near Karditsa an inscribed statue-base erected by the Thessalian Federation.

F. Stählin, whose recent work entitled *Das Hellenische Thessalien* contains several epigraphical contributions,³²⁰ has further collected³²¹ a group of eight short Greek texts from Demetrias, Perrhaebia, Atrax and Magnesia—including a dedication Μητρὶ θεῶν Μυλαίᾳ (No. 4)—and has rediscovered a boundary-stone between the territories of Dium and Oloösön bearing a Latin text previously copied only by Heuzey (*C.I.L.* iii. 591). He also devotes a long and fruitful article³²² to the chronology and interpretation of the inscriptions of Magnesia and Demetrias, distinguishing between the decrees of the Magnesian κοινόν and those of the city of Demetrias, examining individually the twenty-seven relevant texts, all of which date from the second century B.C., and drawing up a table showing their chronological sequence and, so far as possible, their several dates. A dedication to Demeter and Core has come to light at Pyrasus³²³ and an epitaph previously discovered at the same place has been interpreted³²⁴ by J. Zingerle. W. Morel has proposed³²⁵ solutions of the difficulties raised by metrical epitaphs

³¹⁰ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1925-6, 198 ff.

³¹¹ Πολέμων, i. 122 f.

³¹² *Ibid.* 127 f.

³¹³ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, x. παρ. 49 ff.; cf. *B.C.H.* lii. 488.

³¹⁴ Wrongly dated by the editor A.D. 131-2.

³¹⁵ Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1925-6, 185 ff.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.* 1927-8, 119 ff.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* 203 f.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* 204 ff.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* 218 ff.; cf. 127.

³²⁰ *S.E.G.* iii. 464, 476, 479.

³²¹ *Ath. Mitt.* lii. 86 ff.

³²² *Ibid.* liv. 201 ff.; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiv. 492.

³²³ Πρακτικά Ἀ. Ἐ. 1928, 54; *Arch. Anz.* xliii. 600; *B.C.H.* lvi. 489.

³²⁴ *Glotta*, xix. 76.

³²⁵ *Hermes*, lxxv. 222 f. Cf. *Class. Rev.* xxix. 196 f.

of Larisa (*I.G.* ix. 2. 641) and of Zarizani, near Oloösön (*B.C.H.* xxxv. 239), and A. Wilhelm has examined and restored ³²⁶ a mutilated passage in an important document from Gonni recording the witness borne in an arbitration between that city and its neighbour Heraclea, arising from a disputed frontier. W. Peek has re-edited ³²⁷ a puzzling metrical inscription from Gomphi.

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

G. Meliades has discovered in Ambracian tombs four metal plates and a terracotta plaque bearing inscriptions, as well as a puzzling epitaph.³²⁸ Epigraphical discoveries at Buthrotum in Epirus are reported ³²⁹ by L. M. Ugolini, but we still await the actual texts. Nine Greek inscriptions from Apollonia on the Adriatic are edited ³³⁰ by E. Derenne.

From MACEDONIA ³³¹ there is little to record. R. Egger publishes ³³² a text relating to the cult of Asclepius and a broken epitaph from Stobi, and B. Saria ³³³ a bilingual dedication to Dionysus, found at the same place and dated A.D. 119. W. Morel restores ³³⁴ a metrical epitaph from Beroea. An interesting deed of sale of about 350 B.C., found at Olynthus and published ³³⁵ by D. M. Robinson, together with three other fragments, has been used ³³⁶ by P. Roussel to restore a previously known text ³³⁷ and to assign it to Olynthus. Robinson also corrects ³³⁸ the reading of a third-century decree of Cassandrea (*S.I.G.*³ 380), and W. N. Bates describes ³³⁹ two inscribed leaden bullets acquired at Galatista in Chalcidice. In an excavation at Vrastina Kalyvia, N.E. of the ancient Sermyle, S. Pelekides has unearthed ³⁴⁰ a silver ring and a fourth-century record of a duly attested and guaranteed purchase, interesting on account of its numeral signs.

THRACE ³⁴¹ has borne a more abundant harvest. V. Pisani discusses ³⁴² afresh the problem presented by the inscription on the ring of Ezerovo and offers a translation of it: he thinks it probable, though not certain, that its language is Thracian. A leading part in the collection and publication of the antiquities found on Bulgarian soil is taken by G. I. Kazarow, to whom we owe a number of valuable articles dealing with recent discoveries, among which dedications to the horseman-god and to other divinities predominate ³⁴³: other finds have been recorded ³⁴⁴ by I. Velkow. P. Collart's description ³⁴⁵ of the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods at Philippi includes the publication of four inscriptions which have rendered its identification

³²⁶ *Wien. Anz.* 1930, 102 ff.

³²⁷ *Der Isishymnus von Andros*, 133 ff.

³²⁸ *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, x. 63 ff.

³²⁹ *Riv. Fil.* lviii. 120 f.

³³⁰ *Albania*, iii. 38 ff. Cf. L. Robert, *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 41 f.

³³¹ Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 496-504; *B.C.H.* lii. 425.

³³² *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 86.

³³³ *Ibid.* xxvi. 67 ff.

³³⁴ *Hermes*, lxx. 223 f.

³³⁵ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lix. 225 ff.; cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 337; *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 570.

³³⁶ *B.C.H.* liii. 18.

³³⁷ *Ibid.* xlv. 39.

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³³⁸ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lix. 227, note i.

³³⁹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiv. 44 ff.

³⁴⁰ *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, ix. παρ. 36 ff.

³⁴¹ *S.E.G.* iii. 505-564; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1925-6. 189 f.; G. Fehér, *The Inscription of the horseman-relief of Madara*, Sofia, 1928 (Bulg.); *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 35 (on *I.G. Rom.* i. 774); *Glotta*, xix. 76 f. (on *I.G. Rom.* i. 1489).

³⁴² *Indog. Forsch.* xlvii. 42 ff.

³⁴³ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* v. 77 ff.; *Arch. Anz.* xlv. 232 ff., 303 ff.; *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. Beiblatt, 129 ff.; *Eos*, xxxii. 143 f.

³⁴⁴ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* v. 377 ff.

³⁴⁵ *B.C.H.* liii. 76 ff.

certain; the two Greco-Bulgarian inscriptions of the ninth century A.D. found at Philippi and discussed ³⁴⁶ by F. Dvornik fall outside my present scope. Some letters inscribed on the 'frieze of the divinities' at Philippopolis are utilised by G. Seure ³⁴⁷ for dating the monument, W. Morel restores ³⁴⁸ an epigram and L. Robert examines ³⁴⁹ two agonistic records of the same provenance. The excavations carried on at Constantinople in 1928 under the auspices of the British Academy laid bare two inscribed statue-bases of the fifth century A.D., two leaden seals and a large number of stamped bricks of 49 different types.³⁵⁰ A relief of Dionysus, Euripides and Skene in the Constantinople Museum is described ³⁵¹ by M. Mayer.

Especially prolific is the western coast of the Euxine, with its flourishing Greek communities. A number of its monuments have been published in Bulgarian by K. Škorpil,³⁵² and the epigraphical contents of his work have been made more accessible, as well as restored and interpreted, by G. I. Kazarow ³⁵³ and notably by G. Seure, who in one article ³⁵⁴ discusses two epitaphs from Odessus containing the phrases νέος ἥρωας and κοῦρος ἥρωας ὑμνωδός, in another ³⁵⁵ four inscriptions (including *I.G. Rom.* i. 1433) from the country of the Astae, which extends from Apollonia to the mouth of the Bosphorus, and in a third ³⁵⁶ presents, with fuller restorations and ample commentary, some thirty texts, mostly connected with the cult of the horseman-god. L. Robert shows ³⁵⁷ that a fragment found at Odessus adjoins *I.G. Rom.* i. 594, an honorary inscription for Titus and Vespasian. In a periodical inaccessible to me O. Tafrali discusses ³⁵⁸ a bilingual inscription of Callatis in honour of Antoninus Pius, and L. Robert restores ³⁵⁹ an honorary decree from that city and an inscription of Istrus.³⁶⁰

A. Š. A[rvanitopoulos] restores ³⁶¹ an epigram of Nicopolis ad Istrum, and C. Daicovici, in a study of religious syncretism at Sarmizegethusa in Dacia, deals ³⁶² with a thankoffering dedicated Ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόῳ.

Of the inscriptions of SCYTHIA registered in *S.E.G.* iii. 565–613 a number have not been mentioned in my previous bibliographies. Otherwise little has come to my notice from this district. R. Ehrlich has examined ³⁶³ two inscriptions (*I.O.S.P.E.* i². 76, 176) of Olbia. A. Semenov has mistaken the meaning of the formula used on a bronze vessel discovered in the Don area, recording the presentation of the vessel to a guild.³⁶⁴

A. Amiranashvili publishes ³⁶⁵ with full comments eight inscriptions,

³⁴⁶ *B.C.H.* lii. 125 ff.

³⁴⁷ *Rev. Arch.* xxix. 59 f.

³⁴⁸ *Hermes*, lxxv. 224.

³⁴⁹ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 152 ff.

³⁵⁰ D. T. Rice and S. Casson, *Second Report upon the Excavations carried out in Constantinople* (London, 1929), 18 ff., 49 ff. Cf. *Art and Archaeology*, xxvii. 69 ff.; *B.C.H.* lii. 493.

³⁵¹ *Jahrbuch*, xlv. 289 ff.

³⁵² *Description of the Antiquities from the Black Sea District*, II, Sofia, 1927; *Materials for an archaeological Map of Bulgaria*, v, Sofia, 1926.

³⁵³ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. Beiblatt, 129 ff.

³⁵⁴ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 241 ff.

³⁵⁵ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxi. 297 ff.

³⁵⁶ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 97 ff.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 150 ff. Cf. *B.C.H.* lii. 395 ff.; *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xcvi. 275 ff.

³⁵⁸ *Arta si Archeologia*, ii. 41; *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 563.

³⁵⁹ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 149 f.

³⁶⁰ *B.C.H.* lii. 170 ff., liii. 151, note 1. Cf. *Listy filol.* liv. 14 ff.

³⁶¹ *Πολέμων*, i. 43.

³⁶² *Anuarul Inst. de studii clasice* (Cluj, 1930), 5; *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 380.

³⁶³ *C.R. Acad. Sci. U.R.S.S.* 1928, 124 ff.; Ἀσπασμός *Tolstoi* (Leningrad, 1928), 55 ff. Cf. *Gnomon*, vi. 171.

³⁶⁴ *Phil. Woch.* l. 1006 f.

³⁶⁵ *Bull. Mus. Géorgie*, 1923, 189 ff.

including one (No. 5) previously unknown, which are, I judge, preserved in the Georgia Museum.

VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[*I.G.* xi.] For DELOS³⁶⁶ the outstanding event of the period under review is the appearance of a further volume,³⁶⁷ edited by F. Durrbach, of the definitive publication of the Delian public documents. This comprises all the temple accounts from the point reached at the close of the previous volume (cf. *J.H.S.* xlvii. 200 f.) down to 166 B.C., when Delos again became subject to Athenian domination, together with a group of twelve laws, contracts and specifications, of which the most interesting is the regulation governing the sale of wood and charcoal (*S.I.G.*³ 975). The work contains 141 texts, of which all save about thirty are published here for the first time. Among them are excellent examples of the administrative records and temple-inventories of the *ἱεροποιοί* (e.g. Nos. 372, 399, 439, 443, 461), notably that which dates from the archonship of Demares in 179 B.C. (No. 442). A table of Delian magistrates from 314 to 166 B.C. and a considerable body of addenda, due for the most part to M. Lacroix, materially enhance the value of the book.

The sumptuous publication of the archaeological discoveries made on the island under the auspices of the French School at Athens has been enriched by a fascicule,³⁶⁸ in which A. Plassart gives an exhaustive account of the sanctuaries and cults of Mount Cythnus. Though not primarily epigraphical, it contains a large number of inscriptions connected with the temple of Zeus Cythnius and Athena Cythnia on the summit of the hill and with the other shrines—especially that of Hera—which lay on its slopes. The pertinent records of the Apollo temple are utilised and four fragments³⁶⁹ of building-inscriptions found on the top of the hill are published (p. 73 ff.); but most of the texts are dedications, whether on vases (especially interesting are those on pp. 57 f., 121 f., 177 ff.), mosaic work (p. 103), stone (pp. 105 ff., 111 ff., 122 ff., 139 ff., 261 ff.) or the natural rock (pp. 218 f., 284), attesting a curious medley of worships—e.g. those of the *ἄριος θεός* (276), Heracles and Aurore of Iamnea (279), Palestinian Astarte and Poseidon of Ascalon (287)—carried on in this hospitable religious centre. Some of the documents which appear here were already known, but the great majority, over seventy in number, had not been previously published. Plassart's work has been admirably summarised and appreciatively reviewed³⁷⁰ by U. von Wilamowitz. P. Roussel has discussed³⁷¹ two Athenian families at Delos, known also from Delphian texts as participating in the cult of Pythian Apollo: he describes the two curious circular enclosures bearing the name of the *Πυρρακίδαι*, and uses two hitherto unpublished fragments to show that the priests Zenon son of Pammenes and Pammenes son of

³⁶⁶ Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 614-672, 745.

³⁶⁷ *Inscriptions de Delos: Comptes des Hiéropes* (Nos. 372-498), *Lois ou Règlements, Contrats d'Entreprises et Décrets* (Nos. 499-509), Paris, 1929. Cf. *J.H.S.* l. 351 f.

³⁶⁸ *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, xi. Paris, 1928.

³⁶⁹ *Inscriptions de Délos*, 506.

³⁷⁰ *G.G.A.* cxci. 449 ff.

³⁷¹ *B.C.H.* liii. 166 ff.; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxv. 179.

Zenon were not, as has been thought, Buzygae but Erysichthonidae, claiming descent from that Erysichthon whom legend brought into close association with Delos. In a long article,³⁷² mainly topographical and architectural, on 'the buildings of the northern group'—*i.e.* the shrine of Anius, the Letoön, the Dodekathemon, the Thesmophorion, the Ekklesiasterion and the adjacent οἶκος—R. Vallois restores a dedication to Anius (pp. 186, 193 ff.) and makes constant use of the administrative documents, as well as of the extant remains, for the reconstruction and description of the buildings in question. A. Wilhelm enriches³⁷³ four Delian inscriptions³⁷⁴ with valuable textual and historical comments and subjects to a searching criticism the over-subtle treatment of two of them in R. Laqueur's *Epigraphische Untersuchungen* (cf. *J.H.S.* xlix. 175). Delian temple-inventories play an important part in Körte's discussion,³⁷⁵ already mentioned, of the meaning of ὑπόχρυσος and kindred terms.

Three important historical articles, in which Delian records afford valuable evidence, call for mention. W. Kolbe discusses³⁷⁶ afresh the knotty problem of the neutrality of Delos: he attacks Tarn's view³⁷⁷ that Delos was a member of the Island League and that the history of that League is reflected in the establishment of festivals in turn by the Ptolemies, the Seleucids and the Antigonids, and maintains that the formula of publication in the League's decrees, of which *I.G.* xi. 1022, 1025 are especially important for this purpose, indicates that Delos remained outside the League, just as Delphi was not a member of the Aetolian League. In a brief reply Tarn maintains³⁷⁸ his previous view, which is also supported by W. H. Porter, who, re-examining³⁷⁹ the career of Aratus of Sicyon down to the death of Antigonos Gonatas in 239, traces the relations subsisting between Macedon and Egypt in the third century B.C. He also utilises for chronological purposes the series of choregic inscriptions (*I.G.* xi. 105–134), some of which assert the existence of εἰρήνη in addition to the usual ὑγίεια καὶ εὐετηρία (or πλοῦτος) in the years to which they relate.

[*I.G.* xii.] Numerous inscriptions of the remaining islands, especially Rhodes, Lesbos, Syme, Telos and Euboea, are recorded in *S.E.G.*³⁸⁰ and Sir William Gell's Note-Books³⁸¹ include three unpublished texts—an epitaph from Chios, an honorary inscription for a Samian ἀγορανόμος and a fragment of a Coan epigram (Nos. 2, 3, 15).

A. Maiuri has added³⁸² six new documents to the *corpus* of RHODES³⁸³—(a) a decree of Araxa in Lycia granting citizenship to a Rhodian, (b) an interesting list of names, according to the editor those of ἀγωνοθέται, indicating the festivals at which each functioned, (c) a catalogue of the priests of various gods, (d) the base of a statue erected in honour of a priest of Helios, Lindian Athena and (Zeus) Ὑέτιος, (e) a subscription-list for the

³⁷² *B.C.H.* liii. 185 ff.

³⁷³ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 163 ff.

³⁷⁴ *I.G.* xi. 1023 (p. 163 f.), 1038 (163 ff.), 1056 (168 ff.), 1061 (174 ff.).

³⁷⁵ *Hermes*, lxiv. 267 ff.

³⁷⁶ *J.H.S.* l. 20 ff.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.* xlv. 141 ff.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.* l. 29 ff.

³⁷⁹ *Hermathena*, xlv. 293 ff.

³⁸⁰ iii. 673–773.

³⁸¹ *B.S.A.* xxviii. 117 ff.

³⁸² *Annuario*, viii–ix. 313 ff.

³⁸³ Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 674–89.

repair of the tombs and furniture of a guild, and (*f*) an honorary inscription set up by an association of Ἡρακλείσται Ποσειδωνιασταί. C. A. Hutton publishes³⁸⁴ a relief recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, bearing a dedication to the Nymphs which justifies its assignment to the island of Rhodes (and probably the city of Camirus) as its provenance and to the first half of the first century B.C. as its date. To Powell and Barber's *New Chapters in Greek Literature* (Series ii.) G. C. Richards contributes a valuable essay (p. 76 ff.) on the famous 'Lindian Chronicle' and on Timachidas, its compiler, and J. U. Powell a note (p. 83 ff.) on two inscriptions recently published by Maiuri³⁸⁵ relating to the library at Rhodes, one of which contains a fragment of its catalogue: these two texts also form the subject of a note³⁸⁶ by H. Degering and an article³⁸⁷ by C. Wendel. A. Wilhelm discusses and restores³⁸⁸ several passages in the decree (*S.I.G.*³ 725) ordering the compilation and publication of the Chronicle, explains the significance of the document as a whole and subjects Laqueur's analysis of its contents (*Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, 80 f.) to a critical examination. F. von Hiller gives³⁸⁹ an improved reading of a Rhodian decree (*S.I.G.*³ 723) ordering the publication of a list of priests, we know not of what cult, and adds valuable comments to the second of Maiuri's new inscriptions mentioned above, which he regards as commemorating priests rather than ἄγωνοθέται: he also publishes a small fragment of the same nature, and suggests³⁹⁰ that the Sabbatios whose gravestone has been found (*B.C.H.* ix. 123) may be the Pelagian heresiarch of that name.

Among the new inscriptions from LESBOS³⁹¹ published by D. Evangelides³⁹² are dedications to Asclepius and to Hadrian and three Hellenistic epitaphs from Mytilene, two leaden weights from Methymna, and two valuable documents from Eresus, (*a*) a decree of Parium honouring the Eresian δῆμος and judges sent by it, followed by an Eresian decree directing its publication, and (*b*) a decree, also in the Aeolic dialect, honouring a certain Aglanor. L. Robert has shown³⁹³ that an inscription found at Methymna (*I.G.* xii. 2. 519) really belongs to Koulakly in Asia Minor and has corrected³⁹⁴ a rescript of Caesar from Mytilene (*ibid.* 35), while Evangelides has rediscovered³⁹⁵ a dialect text from the same place (*ibid.* 239).

L. Robert restores³⁹⁶ two passages in a decree of Smyrna found at Astypalaea (xii. 3. 172) and H. Grégoire discusses³⁹⁷ the nature of the ἄγγελος-texts of Thera (*ibid.* 933 ff.).³⁹⁸ In Calymnus a stele has come to light bearing a list, dating from the early second century B.C., of citizens belonging to the deme Panormus: ³⁹⁹ they are arranged alphabetically under their several tribes—Pamphyli, Dymanes and Hylleis—and each

³⁸⁴ *J.H.S.* xlix. 243 ff.

³⁸⁵ *Nuova silloge*, Nos. 4, 11.

³⁸⁶ *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xliii. 177 ff.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* xlvi. 1 ff.; cf. G. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 292 f.

³⁸⁸ *Wien. Anz.* 1930, 88 ff.

³⁸⁹ *Arch. Rel.* xxvii. 349 ff.

³⁹⁰ *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.* vii. 86.

³⁹¹ Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 690-712.

³⁹² Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ix. παρ. 44 ff.

³⁹³ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 132 f. Cf. *B.C.H.* liii. 151, note 1.

³⁹⁴ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 426 f.

³⁹⁵ Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ix. παρ. 46.

³⁹⁶ *B.C.H.* lii. 441 ff.

³⁹⁷ *Byz. Zeits.* xxx. 641 ff.

³⁹⁸ For Syme, Telos, Thera and Melos, cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 713-739.

³⁹⁹ *Annuario*, viii-ix. 323 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 743 f.

name is followed by patronymic, tribe and deme, the names of mother and maternal grandfather with tribe and deme, and finally the year and month of birth. To the inscriptions of Cos ⁴⁰⁰ valuable additions have been made, mainly by R. Herzog, who since 1900 has been engaged in preparations for the Coan and Calymnian fascicule of the *Corpus* (*I.G.* xii. 4). He has published and discussed ⁴⁰¹ a late third-century epigram on a child's statue, the work of the younger Lysippus (of which an imperfect text was given ⁴⁰² by F. P. Johnson, which served as the basis of restorations by D. M. Robinson and by J. D. Beazley and A. S. F. Gow ⁴⁰³), and has added two further Coan dedications of children's statues, one of the early third century and the other of about 200 B.C. To him we also owe an excellent edition ⁴⁰⁴ of a letter of Eumenes II of Pergamum and the beginning of an answering decree of the Coans, which is restored by aid of, and in turn aids in restoring, a very similar letter of the same King to Iasus, of which I shall speak below. Further, he publishes fragments of three letters—from Seleucus II, Ptolemy III and Attalus I respectively—replying to the proclamation of the Coan Asclepieia about 240 B.C. and granting ἀσυλία to the sanctuary, as well as passages from two other unpublished inscriptions, a letter of Ptolemy II and a decree of Aenus. Of prime importance for the study of Cos and of Greek ritual in general is his 'Heilige Gesetze von Kos,' ⁴⁰⁵ which comprises four sacrificial calendars, each covering one month, four ordinances (δικαγραφαί) regulating the cults of Zeus Polieus, Demeter and two other divinities, a calendar of the gymnasium, the foundation-charter of a family-cult of Heracles, rules for the protection of a cypress-grove, a law dealing with the ἀσυλία of the Asclepieum together with nineteen ὅροι of the precinct and four of sections of the city-wall, a decree ordering the construction of a θησαυρός in the temple, two regulations regarding the sacrifices at the Asclepieia and one containing the conditions governing the purchase of the priesthood of Demeter. Seven of these documents are here published for the first time, the rest with revised and improved texts; all are illuminated by an ample commentary, and the work closes with a masterly survey of the Coan state, cults, calendar and dialect. D. Levi has found ⁴⁰⁶ in the grotto of Aspripetra three fragments of a list, probably of contributors to the cult carried on there, and L. Robert has pointed out ⁴⁰⁷ that an inscription discovered in Cos must have been transported thither from Bargylia.

Of the Isis-hymn from Ios (*I.G.* xii. 5. 14) I speak below. L. Robert shows ⁴⁰⁸ that a record assigned to Naxos (*ibid.* 38) really belongs to Amorgos, and K. A. Neugebauer discusses ⁴⁰⁹ the inscribed Naxian votive of Dinagores, now in Berlin (*ibid.* 42). J. Zingerle offers ⁴¹⁰ a new restoration of a fragmentary *lex sacra* from Iulis in Ceos. To W. Peek we owe an

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 740-2.

⁴⁰¹ *Schumacher Festschrift* (Mainz, 1930), 207 ff.

⁴⁰² *Lysippos*, 70 ff.

⁴⁰³ *Class. Rev.* xliii. 120 ff.

⁴⁰⁴ *Hermes*, lxxv. 455 ff.

⁴⁰⁵ *Abh. Berl. Akad. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1928, 6;

cf. *Gnomon*, vi. 212 ff.

⁴⁰⁶ *Annuario*, viii-ix. 253.

⁴⁰⁷ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 132; cf. *B.S.A.* xxviii. 126 f.

⁴⁰⁸ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 23 ff.

⁴⁰⁹ *Die Antike*, v. 120 ff.

⁴¹⁰ *Arch. Rel.* xxvii. 281 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 746 f.

excellent edition of the Isis-hymn from Andros ⁴¹¹ with a greatly improved text, a full commentary, essays on the form and thought of the poem, and a useful *index verborum*: this is followed (p. 117 ff.) by a collection and re-edition of eight cognate texts, including the *aretalogiae* of Isis from Cyme, Ios and Cyrene (the first two in prose, the third in iambic verse), a curious hymn from Gomphi in Thessaly, the hymn of Anubis from Cius and an epigram from Cyrene. A short account and a German translation of the two most important documents of the group, those from Andros and Cyme, are given elsewhere ⁴¹² by the same scholar.

Chios contributes nothing of note, ⁴¹³ but claims a text hitherto assigned to Lemnos (see below). W. Technau publishes ⁴¹⁴ a number of inscriptions and graffiti on amphora-handles or other small objects found in the Heraeum of SAMOS. A. M. Schneider collects ⁴¹⁵ the previously known Christian and Byzantine inscriptions of the island and makes some additions to their number from Tigani, Vathy and Chora, and W. Wrede records ⁴¹⁶ epigraphical and other finds from Misokampos, including a fifth-century grave-altar. Minor contributions to Samian epigraphy are made by L. Robert ⁴¹⁷ and A. Salač. ⁴¹⁸

Amorgos, we have seen, gains a new inscription (*I.G.* xii. 5. 38) at the expense of Naxos, and a text from Minoa (*ibid.* 7. 245) is convincingly interpreted ⁴¹⁹ by L. Robert. M. Hammarström seeks to determine ⁴²⁰ the sequence of the lines in the pre-Greek inscription of Lemnos (*ibid.* 1), which also forms the subject of two noteworthy articles, in one of which ⁴²¹ S. P. Cortsen essays a translation of the text, while in the other ⁴²² P. Kretschmer maintains that the language of the Lemnian stele is cognate to, though not identical with, Etruscan. L. Robert points out ⁴²³ that *I.G.* xii. 8. 16, though found on Lemnos, must belong to Chios, where a series of similar texts has come to light, one of which ⁴²⁴ enables us to restore the inscription in question. W. Morel tackles ⁴²⁵ a problem raised by an Imbrian epigram (*ibid.* 92). A. Salač's article on the great god of Odessus and the mysteries of Samothrace ⁴²⁶ contains a fragment from that island of a decree passed by Odessus relative to the mysteries. The French excavations at THASOS have borne a valuable harvest of inscriptions. G. Daux publishes ⁴²⁷ eighteen of these, among which are an honorary decree of Lampsacus passed about 300 B.C. (No. 1), a memorial of a victory won about the same time (No. 7), a record of the sale of citizenship early in the second century B.C. (No. 2), and a number of dedications made by public officials to various deities, and corrects some previously published texts. H. Seyrig

⁴¹¹ *Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte*, Berlin, 1930. Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 749; *Gott. Gel. Anz.* xcii. 198 ff.; *Deutsche Lit.ztg.* 1930, 2025 ff.

⁴¹² *Die Antike*, vi. 324 ff. For Andros cf. also *S.E.G.* iii. 748; for Leros, *ibid.* 750-2.

⁴¹³ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 126; 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, ix. παρ. 51 f.

⁴¹⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* liv. 58 ff.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.* 137 ff.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.* 90 ff.

⁴¹⁷ *B.C.H.* lii. 178; *Rev. Phil.* iii. 125 f.

⁴¹⁸ *Listy filol.* liv. 14 f. (on *C.I.G.* 3091).

⁴¹⁹ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 20 ff.; cf. *Riv. Fil.* lviii. 69 f.

⁴²⁰ *Ath. Mitt.* liii. 160 ff.

⁴²¹ *Glotta*, xviii. 101 ff.

⁴²² *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (Utrecht, 1929), 277 ff.; cf. *Glotta*, xviii. 110 f.

⁴²³ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 32 ff.

⁴²⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* xiii. 170.

⁴²⁵ *Hermes*, lxxv. 224.

⁴²⁶ *B.C.H.* lii. 395 ff.; cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 753-5.

⁴²⁷ *B.C.H.* lii. 45 ff.; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 560.

discusses ⁴²⁸ the gladiatorial contests held at Thasos, explaining the phrase δις ἀρχιερέα δι' ὀπλῶν in a Thasian dedication and adding two new documents, the epitaph of a gladiator couched in a curious poetic diction, and a fragment of a catalogue of gladiators; he also deals with a bronze *tessera iudicialis* found in a Thasian tomb, the sole example of this type discovered outside Attica. A. Bon and H. Seyrig describe ⁴²⁹ the sanctuary of Poseidon at Thasos, in which were found two dedications to that god dating from about 380–350 B.C., two honorary decrees of guilds of Posidoniasts and a late copy of a ritual regulation, in which the old Parian alphabet is still retained. ⁴³⁰

The inscriptions of EUBOEA in *S.E.G.* iii. 758–73 include eleven texts, copied by E. Ziebarth or N. G. Pappadakis, not elsewhere published: most are epitaphs, but one (No. 758) is the opening of a decree of Carystus honouring Hadrian. Another (No. 760), a *lex sacra* from Dystus, is discussed in an article ⁴³¹ by E. Weiss. C. Karouzos reports ⁴³² the discovery of two grave-stelae and an honorary inscription for Claudius at Politika, in the territory of Chalcis. I. C. Ringwood devotes an article, ⁴³³ based mainly on epigraphical evidence, to the local festivals of the island; these show a close affinity with those of Boeotia and Attica, though marked by an essential conservatism, and include no festivals confined to Euboea alone.

[*I.G.* xiii.] Federico Halbherr's death has removed one who had an unrivalled knowledge of CRETE and its inscriptions and may, we fear, still further delay the publication of the Cretan *corpus*: good work has, however, been done in the exploration and exploitation of the epigraphical wealth of the island. ⁴³⁴ A. Kocevalov, whose Russian article ⁴³⁵ on κόσμος and κόσμοι in the Cretan dialect-inscriptions is inaccessible to me, has dealt in German ⁴³⁶ with the use of the word κόσμος in such inscriptions to denote the college of κόσμοι, maintaining that this usage survives sporadically down to the close of the first century B.C. M. Guarducci examines ⁴³⁷ the documents of Olus and Polyrrenia (*S.G.D.I.* 5104, 5117) in which δαμοργοί appear, in place of the usual Cretan κόσμοι, as eponymous magistrates, traces their emergence to the influence of Rhodes and of the Achaean League in the two cities respectively, and seeks to determine the historical circumstances which led to the temporary adoption of the title in question. She also publishes two interesting texts from Aptera; (a) the first is a fragment ⁴³⁸ containing two Dorian proxeny-decrees, one of them in favour of L. Scipio, the conqueror of Antiochus the Great, his younger but more illustrious brother P. Scipio Africanus, a third member of the same family and L. Aemilius Regillus, the admiral of the Roman fleet: this text, which leads to a discussion of the appearances of the Scipios in Greek inscriptions generally, must be dated in summer 189 and suggests an un-

⁴²⁸ *B.C.H.* lii. 388 ff.; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiv. 208 f.

⁴²⁹ *B.C.H.* liii. 337 ff.; cf. *Rev. Belge*, x. 373 f.

⁴³⁰ For Thasos cf. also *S.E.G.* iii. 756 f., *B.C.H.* lii. 407, note 2.

⁴³¹ *Byz. Zeits.* xxx. 638 ff.

⁴³² *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, x. παρ. 16.

⁴³³ *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 385 ff.

⁴³⁴ Cf. *S.E.G.* iii. 774–87.

⁴³⁵ *C.R. Acad. Sci. U.R.S.S.* 1928, 150 ff.

⁴³⁶ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxvii. 289 ff.

⁴³⁷ *Riv. Fil.* lviii. 54 ff.

⁴³⁸ *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 60 ff.; cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 376.

recorded visit of the Scipios to Crete on their return from Asia Minor to Rome; (b) the second ⁴³⁹ is an epitaph of the third or fourth century A.D., 'perhaps the most singular of the funerary inscriptions of Crete,' in which a husband laments the loss of his wife in a curious rhythmical prose, the laboured artificiality of which cannot blind us to the deep sincerity of the underlying thought. On two points of interest M. Galdi adds further comments.⁴⁴⁰ Another inscription, dated A.D. 120, in which a letter of Nero relating to the administration of the shrine of Zeus Σκύλιος is quoted, confirms, as Guarducci shows,⁴⁴¹ Spratt's determination of the site of Rhytion and shows that to it belongs the cult in question.

But it is GORTYN which provides the richest harvest, and here also Guarducci is in the forefront of the reapers. She publishes ⁴⁴² an honorary inscription, assignable to the second half of the first century B.C., for a certain C. Rubellius Blandus, administrator of Crete, whom she identifies with the famous professor of rhetoric of that name. The inscriptions of the Gortynian *praetorium*, whose excavation will, it is hoped, soon be completed, are collected and discussed in an admirably illustrated article.⁴⁴³ They number twenty-six, of which thirteen are here first published, and date from the latter part of the second century A.D. to late Roman times, a large group being connected with the restoration of the *praetorium* in the reign of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius; an appendix (p. 178 ff.) is devoted to the seven inscriptions found in the Nymphaeum. Elsewhere ⁴⁴⁴ a fresh text is added and some new restorations and comments on these inscriptions are recorded. Finally, Guarducci offers ⁴⁴⁵ some contributions to Roman prosopography based on Gortynian inscriptions, of which three are published for the first time. Of capital importance is L. Pernier's account ⁴⁴⁶ of the 'Odeum' in the 'Agora' near the Leteum. This opens with a description of the topography and history of the excavations of this part of the ancient city, discusses (p. 9 ff.) the nature of the building on whose wall the famous Code of Gortyn was engraved, gives (p. 16 ff.) photographs or drawings of twenty-three poros fragments with archaic inscriptions and of four texts of the classical period, and publishes (p. 32 ff.) four dedications of the first century B.C. The section on the Odeum in Roman Imperial times concludes (p. 55 ff.) with a list of donors(?), a dedication and a number of minor fragments of inscriptions on marble or terracotta. L. Robert takes a misunderstood Gortynian text as the starting-point of his discussion ⁴⁴⁷ of the use of πυκτεῖω to denote gladiators as well as pugilists. A. Olivieri's article ⁴⁴⁸ on an archaic inscription of Gortyn is still inaccessible to me.

VII. WESTERN EUROPE

[I.G. xiv.] Vol. IV of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* contains ⁴⁴⁹ the texts of 133 recently published inscriptions of Sicily, Italy and

⁴³⁹ *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 378 ff.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.* lviii. 352 ff.

⁴⁴¹ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* ii. 62 ff.

⁴⁴² *Bull. com. arch. com.* lvi. 275 ff.; cf. *Rev. Arch.*

xxxii. 355.

⁴⁴³ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* i. 143 ff.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 88 ff.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 76 ff.

⁴⁴⁶ *Annuario*, viii-ix. 1 ff.

⁴⁴⁷ *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 24 ff.

⁴⁴⁸ *Atti Napoli*, n. s. xi.

⁴⁴⁹ iv. 1-165.

Spain, and notes of new readings, restorations or discussions of thirty-two others. In commenting upon the Greek ἀγῶνες celebrated in Italy, L. Robert points out ⁴⁵⁰ that the supposed Eusebeia at Naples and Hadrianeia at Rome rest upon misunderstandings of an Attic inscription (*I.G.* iii. 128).

SICILY affords little for record. W. Vollgraff proposes ⁴⁵¹ a new restoration of a famous fifth-century dedication of Selinus (xiv. 268 = *S.I.G.*³ 1122), and U. von Wilamowitz draws attention ⁴⁵² to the significance of the recent epigraphical discoveries from that site and suggests new readings of two of them. A group of curious painted grave-stelae from Lilybaeum, now in the National Museum at Palermo, has been published ⁴⁵³ by E. Gåbrici: seven of them bear brief epitaphs of the form Διόδωρος ἡρως (or, in the feminine, ἡρως) ἀγαθός. G. De Sanctis offers ⁴⁵⁴ a new restoration of an *obligatio praedii* (*S.E.G.* iv. 62) found at Serra Orlando, perhaps the ancient Herbita. P. Orsi's discoveries ⁴⁵⁵ on the Aeolian Islands have added to the Greek inscriptions collected by Kaibel (*I.G.* xiv. 383 ff.) and by G. Libertini ⁴⁵⁶ twenty-three short epitaphs, ranging from the fifth or fourth century B.C. to Roman Imperial times, a Christian grave-inscription of A.D. 470 and a stamped lamp from the island of Lipara and two inscribed gravestones from that of Salina (Didyme).

Turning to ITALY we note a fragmentary list of a well-known type (xiv. 617 ff.) found at Rhegium by S. Ferri,⁴⁵⁷ a corrected reading in the first of the *Tabulae Heracleenses* (xiv. 645) due to E. Schwyzler,⁴⁵⁸ S. Brasso-loff's convincing reading ⁴⁵⁹ of a bilingual epitaph of Venusia (*C.I.L.* ix. 6203), a number of graffiti and stamped amphorae from Pompeii,⁴⁶⁰ L. Robert's identification ⁴⁶¹ of a victorious wrestler commemorated at Neapolis (xiv. 739) and A. Wilhelm's explanation ⁴⁶² of a difficulty in the letter addressed to Tyre by the Tyrians resident at Puteoli (xiv. 830).

H. J. Leon has carried out several investigations into the inscriptions found in the six Jewish catacombs discovered at ROME. In one article ⁴⁶³ he discusses the phonetics of 494 such inscriptions, dating chiefly from the second and third centuries A.D., of which 366 are in Greek, 120 in Latin and eight in Hebrew or Aramaic: he concludes that 'the Jews of ancient Rome spoke essentially the same Greek that was prevalent among the lower classes in the first few centuries of the Christian era' (p. 233). In another ⁴⁶⁴ he deals with the names of the 517 persons mentioned in these texts, showing that, though the Jews were a Greek-speaking community, a large majority of the names they bore were Latin, while Greek names in turn greatly outnumber Semitic. In a third study ⁴⁶⁵ he determines the proportions of the Greek, Latin and Semitic languages in the inscriptions under review,

⁴⁵⁰ *Rev. Phil.* iv. 36 ff.

⁴⁵¹ *Mnemosyne*, lvii. 439.

⁴⁵² *Hermes*, lxxv. 257 f.

⁴⁵³ *Mon. Ant.* xxxiii. 41 ff., Pls. 1-7. Cf. *S.E.G.* iv. 40-43, *J.H.S.* xlix. 202.

⁴⁵⁴ *Rev. Fil.* lvi. 525 ff.

⁴⁵⁵ *Notizie*, 1929, 61 ff.; cf. *Arch. Inst.* xlv. 416.

⁴⁵⁶ *Le isole Eolie nell' antichità gr. e. rom.*, Florence, 1921.

⁴⁵⁷ *Rev. Fil.* lvii. 388 f.

⁴⁵⁸ *Rhein. Mus.* lxxviii. 215 f.

⁴⁵⁹ *Wien. Stud.* xlviii. 111 f.

⁴⁶⁰ *Notizie*, 1929, 453 ff.

⁴⁶¹ *Rev. Phil.* iv. 42 ff.

⁴⁶² *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 195 f.

⁴⁶³ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lviii. 210 ff.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.* lix. 205 ff.

⁴⁶⁵ *Harvard Studies*, xxxviii. 147 f.

concluding that the Greek texts outnumber the Latin by more than three to one. Elsewhere ⁴⁶⁶ he examines an epitaph from the Jewish catacomb on the Appian Way, which has been held by some scholars to prove the existence at Rome of a Synagogue of the Rhodians, by others that of a Synagogue of the Herodians: Leon argues that the name of the synagogue is lost and that the letters ΡΟΔΙΩΝ record the name of the man who erected this tombstone. J. B. Frey publishes ⁴⁶⁷ eleven newly-found Greek inscriptions—ten certainly Jewish in origin, one probably pagan—from the catacomb on the Via Appia. F. Fornari reports ⁴⁶⁸ on the epigraphical and other discoveries made in the catacomb of S. Callisto, including a striking metrical epitaph commemorating a certain Euproseductus, and in a new subterranean system at S. Lorenzo, ⁴⁶⁹ where thirteen Greek inscriptions have been found. O. Marucchi discusses some of the epitaphs so discovered, notably that of Euproseductus, ⁴⁷⁰ which he is disposed to regard as Christian, those of two σχολαστικοί in the same catacomb, ⁴⁷¹ and that of Theodulus ⁴⁷² (*S.E.G.* iv. 127). H. Wollmann publishes ⁴⁷³ two Christian epitaphs from the Via Nomentana, E. Josi two others ⁴⁷⁴ from the catacomb of Pretestato, A. M. Schneider one ⁴⁷⁵ from that of SS. Pietro e Marcellino. O. Marucchi describes ⁴⁷⁶ two epitaphs in the Christian Collection of the Capitoline. L. Curtius puts forward ⁴⁷⁷ an explanation of the occurrence of the title Σαρδανάπαλλος on a statue of Dionysus-Sabazius in the Vatican, M. Mayer discusses ⁴⁷⁸ the relief of the apotheosis of Homer, the work of Archelaus of Priene (*I.G.* xiv. 1295), found at Bovillae and now preserved in the British Museum, A. Wilhelm explains ⁴⁷⁹ two difficulties in a letter of A.D. 224 relative to the tomb upon which it is engraved (xiv. 2090), E. Honigmann seeks ⁴⁸⁰ to locate the Syrian village of Magarataricha, mentioned in an epitaph from Concordia (xiv. 2334), and A. Deggrassi publishes ⁴⁸¹ a votive altar from the Karst.

Two collections of Roman antiquities containing some Greek inscriptions—one in the Archaeological-Epigraphical Seminar of the German University at Prague, the other in Pusey House, Oxford—have been published by A. Stein ⁴⁸² and by T. B. L. Webster ⁴⁸³ respectively.

VIII. ASIA MINOR

So many inscriptions of Asia Minor have been restored or interpreted in L. Robert's numerous articles ⁴⁸⁴ that it would swell this survey unduly

⁴⁶⁶ *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* xlix. 318 ff.; cf. *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1930, 217.

⁴⁶⁷ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* v. 279 ff.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.* iv. 21 ff., 34.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.* vi. 214 ff.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.* iv. 104 ff., v. 123 ff.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.* v. 127 f.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.* vii. 19 f.

⁴⁷³ *Rom. Quartalschrift*, xxxvi. 322.

⁴⁷⁴ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* iv. 209 ff.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 163.

⁴⁷⁶ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lvii. 286 ff., 307 f.

⁴⁷⁷ *Jahrbuch*, xliii. 281 ff.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.* xlv. 289 ff.

⁴⁷⁹ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 196 f.

⁴⁸⁰ *Syria*, x. 282 f., xii. 99 f.

⁴⁸¹ *Phil. Woch.* l. 881 f.

⁴⁸² *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lvi. 302 ff., 325 f.; cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 356.

⁴⁸³ *J.R.S.* xix. 150 ff.

⁴⁸⁴ *B.C.H.* lii. 158 ff., 407 ff., 426 ff., 511, liii. 151 ff., 535; *Rev. Et. Anc.* xxxi. 13 ff., 225 f.; *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 426 ff.; *Rev. Phil.* iii. 122 ff., iv. 25 ff.; *Rei. Hist. Rel.* xcvi. 56 ff.; *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 24 ff.; *Hermes*, lxx. 106 ff. Cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiv. 207 f.

were I to record them all: I must therefore content myself with mentioning the most important of Robert's contributions, leaving to forthcoming volumes of *S.E.G.* to provide a complete register. Vol. IV of that periodical is mainly devoted to the western and northern portions of the peninsula; the remainder will form the scope of Vol. VI. E. Hanton has compiled a useful explanatory dictionary⁴⁸⁵ of officials, professions and titles mentioned in Grégoire's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*. Of S. Lambrino's work,⁴⁸⁶ in Roumanian, on Anatolian epigraphy, I know nothing.

The Greek cities of CARIA⁴⁸⁷ are, as usual, well represented. Of a Troezenian decree of the third or second century B.C., found at Theangela and now preserved at Paris, the text has not yet been published.⁴⁸⁸ N. Greipl offers⁴⁸⁹ a new restoration of an important Halicarnassian document in the British Museum (*O.G.I.* 16), the date of which has been much disputed, and shows that it must be later than 271 B.C.; her solution of the problem is, in the main, accepted by U. Wilcken,⁴⁹⁰ who, however, doubts part of her restoration of the text and criticises her discussion of the introduction of the Serapis-cult under Ptolemy I. Gell's Note-Book gives an improved version⁴⁹¹ of another Halicarnassian text (*C.I.G.* 2666). S. Lambrino publishes⁴⁹² a stone from Iasus, now in the Louvre, containing a letter of 182-1 B.C. from Eumenes II of Pergamum announcing the renewal of the Nicephoria and a decree of Iasus in response to it; R. Herzog has shown⁴⁹³ how this and a letter written by Eumenes to Cos on the same occasion mutually supplement each other and gives a revised restoration of the Iasian text. A misunderstood inscription from Iasus has been explained⁴⁹⁴ by L. Robert, who also corrects a number of errors in the reading or interpretation of texts from Stratonicea,⁴⁹⁵ Aphrodisias⁴⁹⁶ and Tralles.⁴⁹⁷ To Cnidian epigraphy Gell's notes make several contributions,⁴⁹⁸ and Wilhelm deals⁴⁹⁹ with two published inscriptions of Nysa.

Among the cities of IONIA⁵⁰⁰ Miletus and Ephesus claim our chief attention. G. De Sanctis returns⁵⁰¹ to the famous $\mu\omicron\lambda\pi\omicron\iota$ -inscription of Miletus (*S.I.G.*³ 57), maintaining, against von Wilamowitz and Luria, that the eponymous position of the $\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\nu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\lambda\pi\omicron\iota\omega\upsilon$ proves not the power but the powerlessness of the $\mu\omicron\lambda\pi\omicron\iota$ and uttering a warning against the obscuration of the early constitutional history of Miletus by 'hypotheses drawn from the condition of peoples utterly different in race and culture' from the Milesians. S. Lambrino corrects⁵⁰² the reading of an interesting *lex sacra* (*G.D.I.* 5497), J. Zingerle argues⁵⁰³ that the regulations for the

⁴⁸⁵ *Byzantion*, iv. 53 ff.

⁴⁸⁶ *Contrib. epigr. priv. la Asia Mică*, Bucharest, 1928.

⁴⁸⁷ *S.E.G.* iv. 166-424.

⁴⁸⁸ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1930, 73.

⁴⁸⁹ *Philologus*, lxxxv. 159 ff.; cf. *Riv. Fil.* lviii. 261.

⁴⁹⁰ *Arch. Pap.* ix. 223 ff.

⁴⁹¹ *B.S.A.* xxviii. 127.

⁴⁹² *Rev. Arch.* xxix. 107 ff.; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 549; *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 432, note 4.

⁴⁹³ *Hermes*, lxxv. 455 ff.

⁴⁹⁴ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 142 f.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 144 ff.; *B.C.H.* lii. 426.

⁴⁹⁶ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 126, iv. 25 ff.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 138 ff., iv. 31 ff.

⁴⁹⁸ *B.S.A.* xxviii. 126 f.; cf. *Glotta*, xix. 73 f.

⁴⁹⁹ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 191, 195.

⁵⁰⁰ *S.E.G.* iv. 425-630.

⁵⁰¹ *Studi in onore di P. Bonfante*, ii. 669 ff.

⁵⁰² *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xcvi. 278 ff.

⁵⁰³ *Arch. Rel.* xxvii. 278 ff.

cult of Artemis Kithone (*Milet*, i. 7. 202) fall into line with other extant rules regarding purification, and K. Latte inquires ⁵⁰⁴ into the function of Ζεὺς Τελεσιουργός at Miletus (*ibid.* i. 7. 203, 204). S. A. Žebelev dates ⁵⁰⁵ the Milesian renewal of ἰσοπολιτεία to Olbia (*S.I.G.*³ 286) about 330 B.C., W. W. Tarn re-examines ⁵⁰⁶ from the chronological point of view an important historical document (*Milet*, i. 3. 139), confirming his previous attribution of it to about 275 B.C., and L. Robert corrects and enlarges ⁵⁰⁷ the record of a Milesian athlete (*ibid.* i. 9. 369). F. Cumont comments ⁵⁰⁸ on the *cursus* of a Roman official, found at Didyma, where Gell also copied a number of texts,⁵⁰⁹ some of which have not been otherwise recorded. S. Lambrino publishes,⁵¹⁰ from Rayet's copy and squeeze made in 1874, a metrical dedication from Priene (*I. v. Priene*, 288), and other inscriptions of that same city are restored by A. Wilhelm ⁵¹¹ and L. Robert ⁵¹² (*ibid.* 37, 113). A. Oguse has made a series of valuable contributions ⁵¹³ to the study of the records of Magnesia on the Maeander. Numerous inscriptions excavated at Ephesus are provisionally published in J. Keil's reports.⁵¹⁴ Among them special attention may be called to a dedication ⁵¹⁵ to Hadrian dated A.D. 118, a long text ⁵¹⁶ of A.D. 246 celebrating the successes won against the Persians by Gordian III, a valuable sarcophagus-inscription ⁵¹⁷ of A.D. 204 quoting a letter granting permission for the use of the tomb (to which L. Wenger has devoted a special study ⁵¹⁸), and a building-record ⁵¹⁹ of the τελωνεῖον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς, dedicated to Nero, Agrippina, Octavia and the Roman and Ephesian δῆμος, followed by a list of those who contributed to its erection. Other problems of Ephesian epigraphy are tackled by H. Box ⁵²⁰ and L. Robert,⁵²¹ who has also restored ⁵²² a decree of Lebedus. W. Morel comments ⁵²³ on an epigram of Notium, A. Wilhelm corrects ⁵²⁴ the text of a decree (*O.G.I.* 309) from Teos, E. Ziebarth essays ⁵²⁵ a restoration of a long decree of a Tean θίασος, now in the British Museum (*B.M. Inscr.* 1032), and Y. Béquignon argues ⁵²⁶ that the πύργοι of Teos (*C.I.G.* 3064, 3081) are military rather than civil and territorial divisions. L. Robert restores inscriptions of Erythrae,⁵²⁷ of Magnesia ad Sipylum ⁵²⁸ and of Smyrna,⁵²⁹ which is probably the place of origin of a votive relief ⁵³⁰ recently added to the Ashmolean Museum.

⁵⁰⁴ *Philologus*, lxxxv. 225 ff.

⁵⁰⁵ *Bull. Acad. Sci. U.R.S.S.* 1929, 427 ff.; cf. *Phil. Woch.* l. 242 f.

⁵⁰⁶ *Hermes*, lxxv. 446 ff.

⁵⁰⁷ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxi. 14, 19 f.

⁵⁰⁸ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 88 f.

⁵⁰⁹ *B.S.A.* xxviii. 118 ff.

⁵¹⁰ *B.C.H.* lii. 399 ff.; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiv. 208.

⁵¹¹ *Wien. Anz.* 1930, 106 ff.

⁵¹² *Hermes*, lxxv. 114 ff.

⁵¹³ *Rev. Phil.* ii. 313 ff.; *B.C.H.* liii. 129 ff. Cf. *Hermes*, lxxv. 117 f.

⁵¹⁴ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. Beiblatt, 5 ff., xxv. Beiblatt, 5 ff., xxvi. Beiblatt, 5 ff. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 361 ff.; *Byz. Zeits.* xxix. 451 f.

⁵¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, xxv. 15 f.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.* 17 ff.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.* 47 ff.

⁵¹⁸ *Zeits. d. Savignystiftung*, Rom. Abt. xlix. 328 ff.

⁵¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, xxvi. 48 ff.

⁵²⁰ *Class. Rev.* xliii. 214 f.

⁵²¹ *Hermes*, lxxv. 113 f.; *Rev. Phil.* iv. 38 ff.

⁵²² *B.C.H.* lii. 165 ff.

⁵²³ *Hermes*, lxxv. 225.

⁵²⁴ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 162.

⁵²⁵ *S.E.G.* iv. 598.

⁵²⁶ *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. 185 ff.

⁵²⁷ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 148 f.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.* iv. 42 ff.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 126, 135 f.; *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 428 ff.; *B.C.H.* lii. 169 f.

⁵³⁰ *J.H.S.* xlix. 240 ff. Cf. *S.E.G.* iv. 630.

An inscription (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 1638) of Philadelphia in LYDIA ⁵³¹ affords L. Robert a basis for his study ⁵³² of the agonistic εἰσαγωγεῖς in the Imperial period, and the same scholar has also dealt ⁵³³ with three inscriptions of Thyatira. The copy of the Isis-hymn recently found at Cyme is the subject of a thorough and fruitful examination ⁵³⁴ by P. Roussel, who compares it with the other extant versions, discusses its style and origin, and points out how, though composed by a Greek, it preserves the character of Isis as an Egyptian goddess: W. Peek too has re-edited it in his work on the Andrian hymn. Otherwise there is little to record from MYSIA and the Troad. ⁵³⁵ L. Robert emphasises ⁵³⁶ the importance of the cult of Ζεὺς Τροπαιῖος at Pergamum (*O.G.I.* 300): Wilamowitz comments ⁵³⁷ on an epigram from Ilium, now in the British Museum (*B.M. Inscr.* 1004); Tarn uses ⁵³⁸ a decree of that city (*O.G.I.* 219) for chronological purposes; decrees of Lampsacus and Parium are restored ⁵³⁹ by L. Robert, and a religious record of Apollonia on the Rhyndacus is explained ⁵⁴⁰ by J. Zingerle. A. Wilhelm offers ⁵⁴¹ a new restoration of part of the decree of Cyzicus in honour of Antonia Tryphaena (*I.G. Rom.* iv. 144), and L. Robert ⁵⁴² of a fragment relative to the sale of priesthoods.

The Anubis-hymn from Cius in BITHYNIA ⁵⁴³ has been re-edited by W. Peek, ⁵⁴⁴ and V. Laurent has published ⁵⁴⁵ two third-century decrees, of Phocaea and Tenedos, accepting the ἀσουλία of Chalcedon.

In the discovery and exploitation of the epigraphical wealth of central Asia Minor British and American scholars have taken the leading part. The veteran explorer, W. M. Ramsay, has contributed, in conjunction with A. M. Ramsay, two articles ⁵⁴⁶ on 'Roman Garrisons and Soldiers in Asia Minor,' based upon epigraphical evidence and containing new or revised texts from Ancyra, Iconium and Salarama, E. of Iconium. He has questioned ⁵⁴⁷ the authenticity of an interesting document of Konia, evoking a reply ⁵⁴⁸ from W. M. Calder, who supports its genuineness; Calder has further given an account ⁵⁴⁹ of a Galatian *saltus* of the Sergii Paulli, attested by inscriptions found at Sinanlı, Emirler and elsewhere, which in the later third century seems to have been a centre of persecution of the Christians, and discusses ⁵⁵⁰ the custom, apparently common in Phrygia, of the adoption of an intended son-in-law. In another article ⁵⁵¹ he describes the work of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor and the everyday experiences of the epigraphist in central

⁵³¹ *S.E.G.* iv. 631-655. Cf. *B.C.H.* lii. 413; *Glotta*, LV. 72 f.

⁵³² *Rec. Phil.* iii. 140 ff.; cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 33 f.

⁵³³ *Rec. Phil.* iii. 135 ff.; cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 31 f.

⁵³⁴ *Rec. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 137 ff.; cf. *Rev. Hist. Rel.* c. 86 ff.; *Rev. Fil.* lvii. 570 f.

⁵³⁵ *S.E.G.* iv. 656-713. Cf. *Hermes*, lxxv. 227.

⁵³⁶ *B.C.H.* lii. 438 ff.; cf. *Ibid.* 151 f.

⁵³⁷ *Hermes*, lxxv. 254.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.* 451 ff.; cf. *B.C.H.* lii. 158, note 3.

⁵³⁹ *B.C.H.* lii. 158 ff.

⁵⁴⁰ *Arch. Rel.* xxvii. 55 f.

⁵⁴¹ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 188 ff.

⁵⁴² *B.C.H.* lii. 434 ff. Cf. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 427 f.;

Rev. Phil. iii. 127.

⁵⁴³ *S.E.G.* iv. 714-726. I do not know K. Magirus, *Chora interlimitane*, Ulm, 1929.

⁵⁴⁴ *Der Isishymnus von Andros*, 137 ff.

⁵⁴⁵ *Échos d'Orient*, xxxi. 24 ff.; *S.E.G.* iv. 720. Cf. *Byzantion*, iv. 461 ff.

⁵⁴⁶ *J.R.S.* xviii. 181 ff., xix. 155 ff.; cf. *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 369.

⁵⁴⁷ *Klio*, xxiii. 20 ff. Cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lviii. 234.

⁵⁴⁸ *Klio*, xxiv. 100 f.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 59 ff.

⁵⁵⁰ *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xxxi. 372 ff.

⁵⁵¹ *Bull. Rylands Library*, xlii. 254 ff.

Anatolia, discusses the epitaph of Helix, an early Christian athlete, at Eumenia, and makes valuable additions to his own previous accounts of the heresies which flourished in the Tembris Valley, at Laodicea Combusta and at Cotiaecum: elsewhere ⁵⁵² he treats separately three encratite epitaphs, one of them previously unpublished, from the district of Laodicea. In collaboration with W. H. Buckler and C. W. M. Cox, he has continued the publication ⁵⁵³ of the fruits of an expedition made by Cox and himself in 1924 to the Upper Tembris Valley: these comprise 22 texts, almost all epitaphs, of which ten are here published for the first time and twelve in revised versions. H. Grégoire reviews ⁵⁵⁴ in considerable detail the Byzantine inscriptions in Calder's *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, i, and devotes a separate discussion ⁵⁵⁵ to one of them (No. 323). Buckler deals ⁵⁵⁶ with gate-inscriptions at Orcistus and at Akdja-Shahr, near Suwerek; J. Zingerle examines, ⁵⁵⁷ with a wealth of linguistic parallels, three expiatory records from the shrine of Apollo Lairbenos, in which the misdeeds confessed are transgressions against god rather than wrongs done to men; A. Wilhelm restores and interprets ⁵⁵⁸ texts from Aludda and Aezani (*O.G.I.* 475), and M. N. Tod ⁵⁵⁹ a metrical epitaph from Gozlu. The inscription of Abercius, bishop of Hieropolis, 'the unchallenged queen of all Christian inscriptions,' maintains its perennial interest. A. Greiff, accepting, with the great majority of scholars, its Christianity, seeks ⁵⁶⁰ to solve some remaining problems of reading and exegesis and offers a translation of the whole; R. Fausti confines himself to an examination ⁵⁶¹ of its references to Rome: other textual contributions are made ⁵⁶² by V. Šmialek.

G. de Jerphanion edits ⁵⁶³ fifty-seven Greek and ten Latin inscriptions of Ancyra, with a valuable bibliography, revisions of many texts and some added notes by R. M[outerde]: five Ancyran documents of special interest for Byzantine history are critically examined ⁵⁶⁴ by H. Grégoire. Otherwise there is nothing to report from Galatia save a series of works on the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the study of which has received a fresh impetus from the discovery of the Latin version of the *Res gestae* at Antioch ⁵⁶⁵ and has, indeed, become inseparable from that of the *Monumentum Antiochenum*. Textual and exegetical comments are made by F. Gottanka ⁵⁶⁶ and H. Markowski, ⁵⁶⁷ A. Fridrichsen comments ⁵⁶⁸ on the general character of the record, and full-dress editions are presented by C. Barini, ⁵⁶⁹ C. Ricci ⁵⁷⁰ and H. Malcovati, ⁵⁷¹ who is to be congratulated upon the demand, within two years, of a

⁵⁵² *Byz. Zeits.* xxx. 645 f.

⁵⁵³ *J.R.S.* xviii. 21 ff.

⁵⁵⁴ *Byzantion*, iv. 692 ff.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 460 f.

⁵⁵⁶ *Byz. Zeits.* xxx. 646 ff.

⁵⁵⁷ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. Beiblatt. 107 ff.

⁵⁵⁸ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 186 ff., 192 f. For Aezani see also *B.C.H.* lii. 418 f.

⁵⁵⁹ *Class. Quart.* xxiii. 5 f.

⁵⁶⁰ *Theol. Quartalschrift*, cx. 242 ff., 447 ff.

⁵⁶¹ *Att. I Congresso Naz.* i. 317 ff.

⁵⁶² *Eos*, xxxii. 701 ff. Cf. *Rev. Belge*, viii. 1343.

⁵⁶³ *Mél. Beyrouth*, xiii. 228 ff., 298 ff. Cf. *J.H.S.*

1. 345; *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 381.

⁵⁶⁴ *Byzantion*, iv. 437 ff.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. *Rev. Phil.* ii. 391 ff.

⁵⁶⁶ *Bayer. Blätter*, lxxv. 139 ff., 246 ff., 335 ff., lxxvi. 23 ff., 329 ff. Cf. *Phil. Woch.* xlix. 1063 f., 1334, l. 85, 358.

⁵⁶⁷ *Eos*, xxxi. 219 ff., xxxii. 347 ff.

⁵⁶⁸ *Symbolae Osloenses*, viii. 78 ff.

⁵⁶⁹ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, Milan, 1930. Cf. *Journ. d. Savants*, 1930, 230 f.; *Historia*, v. 60 f.; *J.R.S.* xxi. 169 f.

⁵⁷⁰ *El Monumentum Ancyranum*, Buenos Aires, 1928.

⁵⁷¹ *Caesaris Augusti Imp. operum fragmenta* ² (Turin,

second edition of her useful collection of Augustus' extant works. From PAPHLAGONIA and PONTUS ⁵⁷² there is less to record: J. Zingerle suggests ⁵⁷³ a restoration in a text of Amastris (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 84), and G. de Jerphanion gives a fresh reading ⁵⁷⁴ of the epitaph of a high-priest at Amasia and an unpublished grave-inscription from Sebastea.

An epitaph from LYCIA appears in the Hamburg Museum, ⁵⁷⁵ and L. Robert corrects ⁵⁷⁶ an inscription of Oenoanda (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 1506) and collects ⁵⁷⁷ the epigraphical evidence for the cult of the goddess Isis-Eleuthera in this region. A further fascicule ⁵⁷⁸ of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris* has been issued by E. Kalinka, under the auspices of the Vienna Academy, containing the Greek and Latin texts of the Xanthus basin with the exception of the city of Xanthus. Of the 323 inscriptions here collected, chiefly from Patara, Pinara, Tlos and Cadyanda, 5 are Latin, 4 bilingual and 314 Greek, and of this last class 113 appear here for the first time. The great majority of the texts are reproduced in facsimile, and there are excellent introductions describing the history, topography and archaeological remains of each site.

The activities of the Italian Mission in PAMPHYLIA and PISIDIA during 1922 are described ⁵⁷⁹ by V. Viale, who publishes a number of stones collected at Adalia, of which the most interesting are an honorary inscription about 7-4 B.C. for M. Plautius Silvanus, Imperial *propraetor* (No. 2), and a *cursus honorum*, probably that of Maximus, a friend of the younger Pliny (No. 3): fourteen other inscriptions have been discovered at Perga, in the caves of Duden and Gurma, and elsewhere in the district. Wilhelm ⁵⁸⁰ and Robert ⁵⁸¹ deal with texts of Attalia, Robert ⁵⁸² and Salač ⁵⁸³ correct an agonistic record of Perga, Robert throws light ⁵⁸⁴ on a number of graffiti from one of the great Pisidian caves, and he ⁵⁸⁵ and Zingerle ⁵⁸⁶ attack a gladiatorial problem presented by an inscription of Sagalassus (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 360), while E. N. Gardiner shows ⁵⁸⁷ the meaning and interest of the regulations governing the local sports held at Mithia. Valuable work has been done for the inscriptions of Termessus major by R. Heberdey, who will publish the relevant fascicule of *T.A.M.* He has restored ⁵⁸⁸ an epigram from Termessian territory and has, in his comprehensive *Termessische Studien*, ⁵⁸⁹ discussed some of the important questions not suited for *T.A.M.* yet indispensable for the understanding of Termessian history and chronology—the extent of its territory, the effect of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, the priesthoods of Rome and the Imperial house, the chronology of the ἀγῶνες, a series of seventeen leading families, and the eponymous officials

1928), liv ff., 78 ff., 156 ff. Cf. *Boll. fil. class.* xxxvi. 95 ff.; *Riv. indo-greco-ital.* xii. 236.

⁵⁷² *S.E.G.* iv. 727 ff.; *Hermes*, lxx. 225 f.; *Byzantion*, iv. 454.

⁵⁷³ *Jahreshefte*, xxvi. Beiblatt, 175 f.

⁵⁷⁴ *Mél. Beyrouth*, xiii. 11 ff., 89 ff.

⁵⁷⁵ *Griech. u. rom. Altertümer*, 171, No. 880.

⁵⁷⁶ *B.C.H.* lii. 416.

⁵⁷⁷ *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xcvi. 56 ff.

⁵⁷⁸ Vol. II. fasc. 2, Vienna, 1930.

⁵⁷⁹ *Annuario*, viii-ix. 357 ff.

⁵⁸⁰ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. 188.

⁵⁸¹ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 122 f., 131.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.* 128 ff.

⁵⁸³ *Listy filol.* liv. 14 ff.

⁵⁸⁴ *B.C.H.* lii. 407 ff.

⁵⁸⁵ *Rev. Arch.* xxx. 29 ff.

⁵⁸⁶ *Glotta*, xix. 80 ff.

⁵⁸⁷ *Class. Rev.* xlii. 210 ff.

⁵⁸⁸ *Wien. Stud.* xlvii. 43 ff.

⁵⁸⁹ *Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad.* lxix. 3; cf. *Wien. Anz.* 1929, 71 f.

of the state. F. Schehl examines ⁵⁹⁰ an interesting honorary inscription of Termessus.

In the second volume of the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*,⁵⁹¹ E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer give an exhaustive account of two Christian sites in CILICIA Trachea, but the epigraphical results (pp. 28, 107, 116) are slight: the Byzantine inscriptions of Adana have been examined ⁵⁹² by H. Grégoire.

Wilamowitz comments ⁵⁹³ on a Cyprian inscription in the British Museum (*B.M. Inscr.* 978), and attributes ⁵⁹⁴ to fifth-century Attica a striking metrical epitaph of unknown provenance in the same collection (*ibid.* 1107).

IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

SYRIA is probably the provenance of a curious bronze money-box,⁵⁹⁵ now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, bearing a dedication τῇ κυρίῃ Ἀταργάτι. An important enterprise has been inaugurated by the issue of the first fascicule of what is, in effect if not in claim, a *Corpus* of Greek and Latin inscriptions of Syria: ⁵⁹⁶ it contains 210 Greek and 48 Latin inscriptions (of which 42 and four respectively were previously unpublished), edited with admirable thoroughness by L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde and covering the provinces of Commagene, and Cyrrhestica. Preparations for the continuation of the work are going forward.⁵⁹⁷ A. Wilhelm has proposed ⁵⁹⁸ an improved restoration of a passage in an inscription of Samosata (*B.M. Inscr.* 1048a) honouring Antiochus I of Commagene. An inscription of Septimius Severus has come to light ⁵⁹⁹ at Ma'ad, two Byzantine texts of Beyrout mentioning artisans have been discussed ⁶⁰⁰ by R. Mouterde, and a sixth-century document, found probably near Tyre and now housed in the Louvre, petitioning Tiberius to accord the privilege of ἀσυλία to an oratory (εὐκτηήριος οἶκος), is investigated ⁶⁰¹ by A. Dain and G. Rouillard. W. Spiegelberg questions ⁶⁰² Deissmann's rendering of the phrase ἐφ' ὃ πάρει on a number of Syrian glass vessels and in St. Matthew, xxvi. 50, regarding the ὃ as relative and not interrogative (*Also dazu bist du hier!*), and F. M. Abel discusses ⁶⁰³ the name Ζόναινος found in a number of Syrian inscriptions.

J. Cantineau has edited ⁶⁰⁴ six Greco-Palmyrene bilingual epitaphs discovered at or near Palmyra, dating from the first and second centuries A.D. Other epigraphical finds, not yet published, have been made ⁶⁰⁵

⁵⁹⁰ *Jahreshefte*, xxiv. Beiblatt, 95 ff. Cf. *Rev. Phil.* iii. 124 f.

⁵⁹¹ *Meriamlik und Korykos*, Manchester, 1930. Cf. *Syria*, xii. 82 ff.; *J.R.S.* xxi. 153 f.

⁵⁹² *Byzantion*, iv. 465 ff.

⁵⁹³ *Hermes*, lxxv. 254.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 253 f.

⁵⁹⁵ F. Cumont, *Aréthuse*, 1930, 41 ff. Cf. *Syria*, xi. 206; *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 344.

⁵⁹⁶ *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Paris, 1929. Cf. *J.H.S.* l. 152 f.; *J.R.S.* xix. 267; *Syria*, x. 362 f.; *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 307 ff.; *Am. Journ. Phil.*

li. 87 ff.; *Rev. Phil.* iv. 382; *Theol. Litztg.* lv. 254 f.; *Rev. Arch.* xxxi. 208 f.

⁵⁹⁷ *Syria*, x. 126 ff.

⁵⁹⁸ *Wien. Stud.* xlvii. 127 ff.

⁵⁹⁹ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1928, 245.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 1929, 96 ff.

⁶⁰¹ *Byzantion*, v. 315 ff.

⁶⁰² *Zeits. Neutest. Wiss.* xxviii. 341 ff., xxix. 311.

⁶⁰³ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 566 f.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 520 ff. Cf. *Syria*, ix. 313.

⁶⁰⁵ *Syria*, x. 179 f.

by H. Ingholt, and a bilingual decree of Palmyra, honouring with seven public statues a wealthy citizen who had rendered services to merchants and to caravans, has been found on the road from Palmyra to the Euphrates.⁶⁰⁶

Steady progress is being made, under the auspices of Yale University, with the excavation of Dura-Europos (Sâlihîyeh) on the Euphrates, and the results are published with exemplary promptitude by M. Rostovtzeff and his collaborators. In the report on the first season's work, he devotes a chapter⁶⁰⁷ to the inscriptions found on or close to the Palmyra-Gate of the city, dealing with some of the very numerous short texts roughly cut, mostly by soldiers of the garrison, on the lower parts of the inner walls of the gate, as well as with the more formal inscriptions engraved on monumental altars or on votive and funeral monuments, and summing up the significance of these records for the history of Dura. To the same scholar we owe an attractive summary⁶⁰⁸ of 'Yale's Work at Dura,' in which a dedicatory inscription on an altar of the god Iaribol is described and illustrated, as well as an exhaustive edition,⁶⁰⁹ in which he collaborates with C. B. Welles, of a loan-contract, dated A.D. 121, written on a parchment found in 1929 at the Palmyra-Gate.

Among recently published inscriptions from PALESTINE the most important is unquestionably a διάταγμα Καίσαρος acquired by Froehner in 1878 and now added to the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. It apparently comes from Nazareth, and F. Cumont, its first editor,⁶¹⁰ assigns it to the reign of Augustus or possibly that of Tiberius. It is the translation of a Latin rescript, addressed to the legate of Syria or the procurator of Judaea, and deals with the violation of tombs and the trial and punishment of those guilty of this crime in a way which, in Cumont's view, 'is calculated to produce a striking modification in the ideas which have been expressed regarding the evolution of penal law in the matter of the protection of tombs,' a development which he traces in some detail. If it belongs to Tiberius' reign, it may possibly, he suggests, have been evoked by the stir consequent upon the empty tomb of Christ. To the study of this interesting document valuable contributions are made by F. M. Abel and M. J. Lagrange,⁶¹¹ by E. Cuq⁶¹² and by G. De Sanctis,⁶¹³ who call in question some of Cumont's judgments.

A mosaic commemorative inscription has been found⁶¹⁴ in the synagogue of Beit Alpha, near Beisan, while at Nablus twenty-two stone seats, in two roughly semicircular rows, have been discovered,⁶¹⁵ eleven of which bear dedicatory inscriptions in Greek. A Byzantine mosaic has

⁶⁰⁶ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1930, 182 f.

⁶⁰⁷ P. V. C. Baur and M. Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, New Haven, 1929. Cf. *Rev. Belge*, ix. 195 ff.; *Journ. d. Savants*, 1929, 143, 1930, 128 f., 393 f.; *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 47 f. For a survey of the Dura-literature see R. Mouterde, *Mél. Beyrouth*, xiv. 179 ff.

⁶⁰⁸ *Bull. of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale Univ.*, Feb., 1930, 75 ff.

⁶⁰⁹ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1930, 158 ff.; *Yale Classical*

Studies, ii. 1 ff.

⁶¹⁰ *Rev. Hist.* clxiii. 241 ff.; cf. *Syria*, xi. 306 f.; *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 375.

⁶¹¹ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 567 ff.

⁶¹² *Rev. Hist. de Droit*, ix. 383 ff.

⁶¹³ *Riv. Fil.* lviii. 260 f.

⁶¹⁴ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 269 f.

⁶¹⁵ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1929, 104 ff.; cf. *Rev. Bibl.* xxxviii. 635 f.

come to light ⁶¹⁶ in the excavations on Ophel and other minor finds ⁶¹⁷ in the Wilderness of Judah. An epigram of El 'Audje serves as the starting-point of A. Alt's investigation ⁶¹⁸ of the Palestinian *limes*, and the famous mosaic map of Madaba forms the subject of a scholarly essay ⁶¹⁹ by P. Thomsen dealing primarily with its representation of Jerusalem, and also enters into A. E. Mader's article ⁶²⁰ on the basilica of Mamre, near Hebron. S. Brassloff seeks ⁶²¹ to solve the riddle of an epitaph from Ascalon, and A. Alt reconstitutes ⁶²² a broken seventh-century epitaph of Gaza and subjects to a searching scrutiny ⁶²³ a mosaic inscription, probably of A.D. 561 or 562, unearthed during the War some 21 km. south of Gaza and wrongly supposed to mark the tomb of St. George, the patron saint of England.

The oft-disputed question of the identity or difference of the sites Kanata and Kanatha is reopened ⁶²⁴ by M. Dunand, who shows, by reference to five new stelae commemorating a hydraulic undertaking of the legate Cornelius Palma (A.D. 104-8), that Kanatha (Qanawat, to the N. of the Jebel Druz) is to be distinguished from Kanata (Kerak, some 20 km. W. of Souéida). A late epitaph from Kerak is published by Abel ⁶²⁵ and a mosaic from Souéida by C. Diehl. ⁶²⁶ J. Zingerle explains ⁶²⁷ the puzzling word εὐκνοναῖζω found in a bilingual dedication from Kalat Ezraq (*I.G. Rom.* iii. 1339). At Gerasa (Jerash) many new texts have been unearthed, while others, previously known, have been more accurately copied and restored. With a few of these J. W. Crowfoot deals, ⁶²⁸ but the great majority are edited by A. H. M. Jones in three articles, in one ⁶²⁹ of which he completes two already known documents, while in the other two ⁶³⁰ he publishes 72 inscriptions (nine Latin and the rest Greek or bilingual), dating from the first to the sixth century A.D. and comprising a wide variety of types, among which dedicatory and honorary inscriptions predominate while epitaphs are few: Nos. 14, 16 and 33 may be singled out as specially interesting. H. J. Cadbury contributes a note ⁶³¹ on the word θεατρῖζω, which occurs in No. 14.

A Greek text discovered at Nineveh in 1904-5 still awaits publication. ⁶³² In an article on the sculptured ἀστραγαλίζοντες seen by Pliny in the atrium of Titus, C. Picard discusses ⁶³³ an inscribed bronze astragalos of the sixth century B.C., found at Susa, to which it was probably carried by Darius after the fall of Miletus in 494. K. F. Johansen describes ⁶³⁴ a group of clay sealings of the Seleucid period from Warka (Uruk), and A. Wilhelm

⁶¹⁶ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1929, 9 ff.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.* 178; *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* ix. 122 ff.

⁶¹⁸ *Palastinajahr.* xxvi. 43 ff.

⁶¹⁹ *Zeits. D. Pal.-Vereins*, lii. 149 ff.

⁶²⁰ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* vi. 257, 303 f.

⁶²¹ *Wien. Stud.* xlviii. 113.

⁶²² *Zeits. D. Pal.-Vereins*, li. 268 ff.; *Rev. Bibl.* xxxviii. 633.

⁶²³ *Zeits. D. Pal.-Vereins*, lii. 99 ff.; *Rev. Bibl.* xxxviii. 634. Cf. *Palastinajahr.* xxv. 89 ff.; *Rev. Phil.* iii. 127 f.

⁶²⁴ *Syria*, xi. 272 ff.

⁶²⁵ *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 565 f.

⁶²⁶ *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 42 ff.; *Rom. Quartalschrift*, xxxvii. 461.

⁶²⁷ *Glotta*, xix. 74 ff.

⁶²⁸ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1929, 17 ff., 180, 216. Cf. *Syria*, xi. 207; *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 257 ff.

⁶²⁹ *Pal. Expl. Fund Q.S.* 1929, 110.

⁶³⁰ *J.R.S.* xviii. 144 ff., xx. 43 ff. Cf. *Rev. Bibl.* xxxix. 309 ff.; *Syria*, xi. 205 f.; *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. 366 ff.

⁶³¹ *Zeits. Neutest. Wiss.* xxix. 60 ff.

⁶³² R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, 139.

⁶³³ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 121 ff.

⁶³⁴ *Acta Archeol.* i. 41 ff.

corrects ⁶³⁵ a misinterpretation of an apotropaic formula from Turkestan (*C.I.G.* 4673).

X. AFRICA

With the Greek inscriptions of Egypt I deal in my biennial bibliography in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

E. Boehringer's account ⁶³⁶ of recent archaeological research in the Cyrenaica contains a number of the shorter texts already published. V. Groh's article ⁶³⁷ on some noteworthy Cyrenean inscriptions I know only in a brief summary. ⁶³⁸ The admirably illustrated report ⁶³⁹ of G. Oliverio on the work carried out at Cyrene in 1927 includes a preliminary publication of twenty-one texts, among which we may note (*a*) the dedication of a temple and porticoes in honour of Trajan's final subjugation of Dacia, (*b*) a bilingual inscription recording Hadrian's restoration of a building destroyed in the great Jewish rising, and (*c*) the inscription on the base of a statue of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, consul in 56 B.C. Among the epigraphical discoveries not yet published is the will ⁶⁴⁰ whereby Ptolemy Euergetes II left his kingdom to Rome.

Several of the published inscriptions of Cyrene have been the objects of closer study. I am unable to read A. Dovatour's article ⁶⁴¹ in Russian on the 'Founders' Stele,' while that ⁶⁴² of S. A. Žebelev on the grants of grain, which he regards not as free gifts but as sales at normal price in times of famine, I know only in E. Bickermann's review. ⁶⁴³ S. Ferri also comments ⁶⁴⁴ upon these two inscriptions, as well as upon the 'Decretals.' ⁶⁴⁵ L. Robert contributes ⁶⁴⁶ to the restoration and interpretation of the decree in honour of Barcaeus and another decree (*O.G.I.* 767), P. Roussel discusses ⁶⁴⁷ the Cyrenean iambic Hymn of Isis, which represents her as 'the unique goddess, common to humanity, summing up in herself all powers over the world,' and W. Peek re-edits ⁶⁴⁸ both this hymn and also a cognate epigram from Cyrene, while von Wilamowitz comments ⁶⁴⁹ on a group of texts which attest a cult of Ζεύς Μηλίχιος and the Eumenides there. Two dialect forms have been discussed by P. Maas ⁶⁵⁰ and W. Schulze. ⁶⁵¹ G. La Pira has devoted a long and careful study to the private nature of the procedure introduced by the *senatus consultum de repetundis* recorded on the 'Stele of Augustus' and to the processual content of the enactment in general, ⁶⁵² and attention may also be called to W. von Uxkull-Gyllenband's able review ⁶⁵³ of the treatment of the Augustan edicts by Stroux and Wenger, von Premerstein and Arangio-Ruiz (see *J.H.S.* xlix. 215).

⁶³⁵ *Class. Rev.* xliii. 53 ff., 125.

⁶³⁶ *Arch. Anz.* xlii. 398 ff.

⁶³⁷ *Listy filol.* lv. 83 ff., 200 ff.

⁶³⁸ *Phil. Woch.* xlix. 855.

⁶³⁹ *Africa Italiana*, ii. 111 ff.

⁶⁴⁰ *Riv. Fil.* lvii. 569 f.

⁶⁴¹ *C.R. Acad. Sci. U.R.S.S.* 1928, 233 ff.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.* 1929, 97 ff.

⁶⁴³ *Phil. Woch.* l. 241 f.

⁶⁴⁴ *Historia*, iii. 389 ff.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 397 ff.

⁶⁴⁶ *Rev. Phil.* iii. 155 ff.

⁶⁴⁷ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xlii. 149 ff.

⁶⁴⁸ *Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte*, 127 ff., 149 ff.

⁶⁴⁹ *Hermes*, lxxv. 257.

⁶⁵⁰ *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lvi. 138.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.* 308.

⁶⁵² *Studi Ital. Fil. Class.* vii. 59 ff.

⁶⁵³ *Gnomon*, vi. 121 ff.: cf. L. R. Taylor, *Class. Phil.* xxv. 389 f.; H. Malcovati, *Caes. Augusti Imp. Op.* 2 39 ff., 146 f.

But it is the constitutional διάγραμμα which has aroused the greatest interest and evoked the warmest controversy. In our own language the document is discussed⁶⁵⁴ by M. Cary, who examines it paragraph by paragraph from the constitutional standpoint, concluding that it belongs to 322-1 B.C. and represents 'a fair compromise between oligarchy and democracy,' with little trace of dictation on the part of Ptolemy I, whose constitutional prerogative compares favourably with that of Demetrius Poliorcetes in his κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, and by J. A. O. Larsen,⁶⁵⁵ who also supports a date about 322, but regards the constitution as oligarchic, though not excessively narrow: the διάγραμμα made, he holds, ample provision for Ptolemy's supremacy over the city, which retained only so much independence as he chose to leave it. A. Segrè, too, argues⁶⁵⁶ in favour of a date about 322, as do also S. A. Žebelev⁶⁵⁷ and P. Zancan,⁶⁵⁸ whose discussion is summarised by L. Robert.⁶⁵⁹ On the other hand, S. Ferri,⁶⁶⁰ who gives a facsimile of the inscription and some textual notes, and G. De Sanctis⁶⁶¹ maintain their original dating of the document in or about 248 B.C. Segrè agrees with De Sanctis in regarding the διάγραμμα not as a royal rescript but as 'a collection of laws emanating from the city itself, or, more precisely, from an extraordinary constituent authority, or from a legislator to whom assembly and βουλή or the gerusia had accorded the necessary powers.' V. Ehrenberg, indeed, goes so far as to deny⁶⁶² the name διάγραμμα to the document before us, which 'builds upon a διάγραμμα, by which it is promoted and influenced, but is in itself the work of a Cyrenean authority, in all probability the νομοθέται.' Both he and F. Taeger,⁶⁶³ to whom we owe a text of the inscription accompanied by an excellent historical commentary, question the applicability of De Sanctis' phrase 'Magna Charta of Cyrene' to a 'regulation forced by a Ptolemy upon a city subjugated in war': De Sanctis replies that it was a treaty in which Cyrene safeguarded its autonomy to the best of its power.

The epigraphical discoveries made elsewhere in North Africa—an inscribed vase at Gurgi,⁶⁶⁴ near Tripoli, six Greek epitaphs in a Christian catacomb at Sirte,⁶⁶⁵ a semi-metrical tomb-inscription at Leptis Magna,⁶⁶⁶ two leaden seals, a *defixio* and seventeen amphora-handles at Carthage,⁶⁶⁷ and an epitaph from Dugga (Thamugadi)⁶⁶⁸—do not call for detailed notice here.

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⁶⁵⁴ *J.H.S.* xlviii. 222 ff.; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.* xxxiii. 565.

⁶⁵⁵ *Class. Phil.* xxiv. 351 ff.

⁶⁵⁶ *Bull. ist. dir. rom.* xxxvi. 1 ff.

⁶⁵⁷ *C.R. Acad. Sci. U.R.S.S.* 1929, 77 ff.; cf. *Phil. Woch.* l. 241.

⁶⁵⁸ *Atti. R. Ist. Veneto*, lxxxviii. 2.

⁶⁵⁹ *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxii. 202 f.

⁶⁶⁰ *Historia*, iii. 382 ff.

⁶⁶¹ *Riv. Fil.* lviii. 119, 261 ff.

⁶⁶² *Hermes*, lxxv. 332 ff., 477.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.* lxxiv. 432 ff.

⁶⁶⁴ *Arch. Anz.* xlv. 373.

⁶⁶⁵ *Africa Italiana*, ii. 187 ff.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 259 ff.

⁶⁶⁷ *Bull. Archéol.* 1926, 205 ff.; *Riv. Arch. Crist.* v. 368; *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* 1929, 29, 1930, 33 ff.

⁶⁶⁸ *Bull. Archéol.* 1927, 87.

AMASEA

[Pls. VII–XIII.]

I

NEW VASES BY THE AMASIS PAINTER

IN my *Attic Black-figure: a Sketch* I gave a short account of the Amasis painter, and a list of his works.¹ Since then, I have published a vase by him, and fragments of six or seven others;² and Dr. Kraiker has prefixed an important study of him to his *Epiktetos*.³ One or two of the following vases are mentioned in my *A.B.S.* list: but most of them are new.

My thanks are due to Senator Marchese Giorgio Guglielmi di Vulci and to Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill for their kind permission to publish vases in their collections; to Captain J. E. Acland, Dr. L. D. Caskey, Prof. A. von Salis, Dr. A. Maiuri, Dr. P. Marconi, Mr. H. W. Maxwell, Mr. A. Merlin, Dr. A. Minto, Dr. B. Nogara, and Mr. E. Stefani for their kind permission to publish vases in Dorchester, Boston, Heidelberg, Naples, Palermo, Bristol, the Louvre, Florence, the Vatican, and the Villa Giulia; to Mrs. Ure for sending me photographs of the Dorchester fragments and allowing me to publish them; to Prof. C. Albizzati for generously waiving his claim to publish the Vatican fragments; to Mr. G. R. Stanton for help at Bristol; to my wife for all the photographs reproduced except fifteen.

AA (Pl. VII and Figs. 1–2). Amphora, from Vulci, in the collection of Senator Marchese Giorgio Guglielmi di Vulci, at Rome.

This vase belongs to the same class as the fourteen amphorae Nos. 3 to 16 in my list (*A.B.S.* pp. 32–3). Most of those, however, are small, thirty centimetres high or less, whereas the new amphora is full-sized—I omitted to measure it, but it must be about the same height as the New York amphora, which is forty centimetres high. A red line on the topside of the mouth at each edge, a pair below the picture, a pair above the base-rays, none above the pictures or on the neck. Above the pictures, a floral pattern, the same to every detail as in the Munich amphora.⁴ At each side, not the single line which is normal in this part of the amphora, but a double, as in nearly all Amasian amphorae. Below the picture, a brown

¹ *A.B.S.*, pp. 17, 21–2, and 31–6.

² *B.S.R.*, 11, pp. 3–4 and Pl. 2, 1–3 (vase in Castle Ashby); *J.H.S.*, 49, Pl. 16, 14, Pl. 15, 29, Pl. 15, 26, and pp. 264 and 269 (fragments of three vases in London); *C.I.* Oxford, III, He, Pl. 3, figs. 14, 16, 17 and 28, and text, pp. 96–7 (fragments of three or four in Oxford).

Jahrbuch, 44, pp. 141–50. See also Schweitzer,

ibid., pp. 112–15.

⁴ *F.-R.* Pl. 154, 1 and iii, p. 224. Note, by the way, that there is a good deal of restoration in this vase: for instance, the left-hand figure on the Dionysos side is modern from the waist down, the right hand included, and the legs of his neighbour are modern though not the feet.



FIG. 1.—AMPHORA IN THE GUGLIELMI COLLECTION AT ROME (AA).

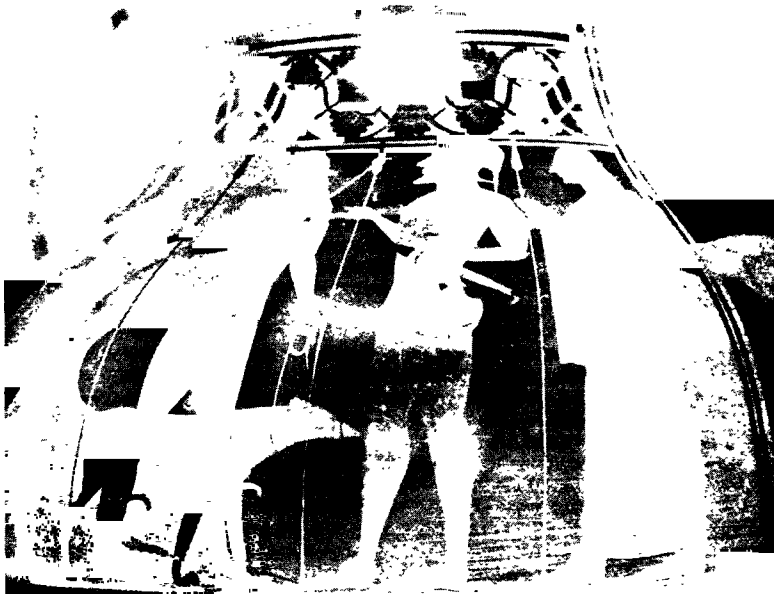


FIG. 2.—AMPHORA IN THE GUGLIELMI COLLECTION AT ROME (AA).

line. The topside of the mouth is black. Underneath the foot, a black dipinto, A.

On one side of the vase, Dionysos, kantharos in hand, greets a young man. The god is preceded by a small satyr, who strikes a dance-attitude: knees bent, right arm extended downwards, the left at right angles to the body, with the forearm turned down. The young man is naked: his right forearm is raised in greeting; his left forearm is lost, but it was extended downwards. Hermes is behind him; wearing short chiton, fawnskin, hat, and boots. These three figures, or four, are the pith of the picture; but they are eked out by two others, both of youths. One follows Dionysos: he is naked, and holds a spear in his left hand, a little oil-pot in his right.

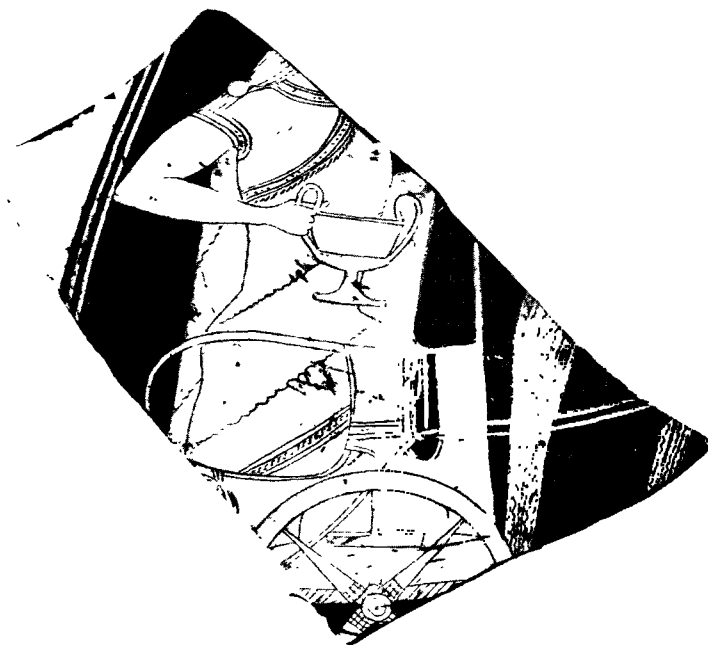


FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF AN AMPHORA, IN PALERMO (BB).

The other follows Hermes, dressed in long chiton and mantle, and using a spear as a staff.

It is probably the arrival of Dionysos among mortals, bearing the gift of wine. The subject is not uncommon in vases of the time: it is a special favourite of an artist who is connected with the Amasis painter—the Affecter.⁵ The youth on the Guglielmi vase, the bearded men on the Affecter's, may be Ikarios, who welcomed Dionysos into Attica, and received from him wine and the vine.⁶ This is an old suggestion, which awaits confirmation from inscriptions. As to the flanking figures, the young man

⁵ Munich 1441 (Pfühl, Fig. 225); Northwick, Spencer-Churchill collection (mentioned *J.B.S.* p. 38, top); Würzburg 313; B.M. B 153 (*C.I.* B.M. 3,

Pl. 25, 2b); B.M. B 149 (*ibid.*, 4b); Boston 01.8053 (here Hermes escorts Dionysos).

⁶ Apollodorus iii, 14, 7.

with the spear is repeated almost unaltered on the other side of the vase, and elsewhere in our painter's work; and another favourite of his is the naked youth holding a round aryballos, of Corinthian type, by its cord.⁷ It would be idle to seek names for these two: they are onlookers, courtiers, retinue: let us call them Rosincrantz and Guildenstern.

In the middle of the other picture, a herald (not necessarily Hermes) is walking with a dog on the lead. His costume and caduceus are the same as in the Hermes on the other side of the vase, but he is bearded. He looks round towards a warrior who is dressed in a short chiton belted, and a helmet, and holds his sheathed sword in his right hand and his spear in his left. On the other side of Hermes is just such another warrior, his legs a little closer together, and his head tilted up. To the left of the trio is Guildenstern; to the right, Rosincrantz.

This picture brings to mind the little amphora by the Amasis painter in the Louvre, where a warrior is walking away with a dog on a chain.⁸ Pottier has called the Paris warrior either Pandareos stealing the Golden Hound, or Herakles with Cerberus.⁹ Pfuhl has pointed out that both interpretations are impossible.¹⁰ The painter likes dogs, and gives his warrior one. The warrior is taking his dog to the battlefield like the Athenian in Mikon's picture of Marathon.^{10a} It seems likely that the Paris picture is primarily 'a warrior leaving home':—soldier, father or counsellor, mother or wife. But the painter has spiced it with a trident, and if the purchaser calls the figures Ares, Poseidon, and Aphrodite, will not complain. In our vase also, the dog is probably without mythical import. I take the subject to be a meeting of two heroes:¹¹ one of them being escorted by a herald (whether Hermes or a mortal). The tilted chin of the right-hand warrior is not without significance: he is the nobler of the two, and the other is being ushered into his presence.

In style our vase has much in common with the Munich amphora 1383, No. 6 in my list (F.-R. Pl. 154, 1, and iii, p. 224),^{11a} but even more with the ovoid neck-amphora in Castle Ashby, in my list No. 17 (*B.S.R.*, 11, Pl. 2, 1-3, and p. 3). It belongs to the painter's early period.

BB (Fig. 3). Fragment of an amphora, from Selinus, in Palermo. Published in *Mon. Lincei*, 32, Pl. 92, 8; and here from a new photograph.

Gábrici calls it 'part of a small hydria,' but it must come from a one-piece amphora (amphora type A or B) of considerable size. Dionysos is mounting his chariot. His right hand holds the kantharos, his left held goad and reins. On the left of the fragment, part of the two-line side-border. Beautiful drawing.

⁷ Cf. his Munich amphora, F.-R. iii, p. 224, and see *B.S.A.*, 29, p. 196, note 4.

⁸ F 25, C.V. Louvre, Pl. 16, 4.

⁹ *Vases antiques du Louvre*, p. 90; text to C.V.

¹⁰ *Malerei*, p. 262. See also Karo in *J.H.S.*, 19, p. 138, and cf. Furtwangler, *Ant. Gemmen*, iii, p. 106.

^{10a} Aelian, *Nat. An.* 7, 38, συστρατιώτην δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐπήγετο κύνα, καὶ

γραφῇ εἰκασται ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ ἑκάτερος.

¹¹ On such meetings, see von Massow in *A.M.*, 41, p. 72.

^{11a} On the restorations see p. 256, note 4. I may add here that in the signed vase in the Cabinet des Médailles, the face of the hither maenad, and the earring of her companion, are repainted; see also *J.H.S.* 48, p. 256.

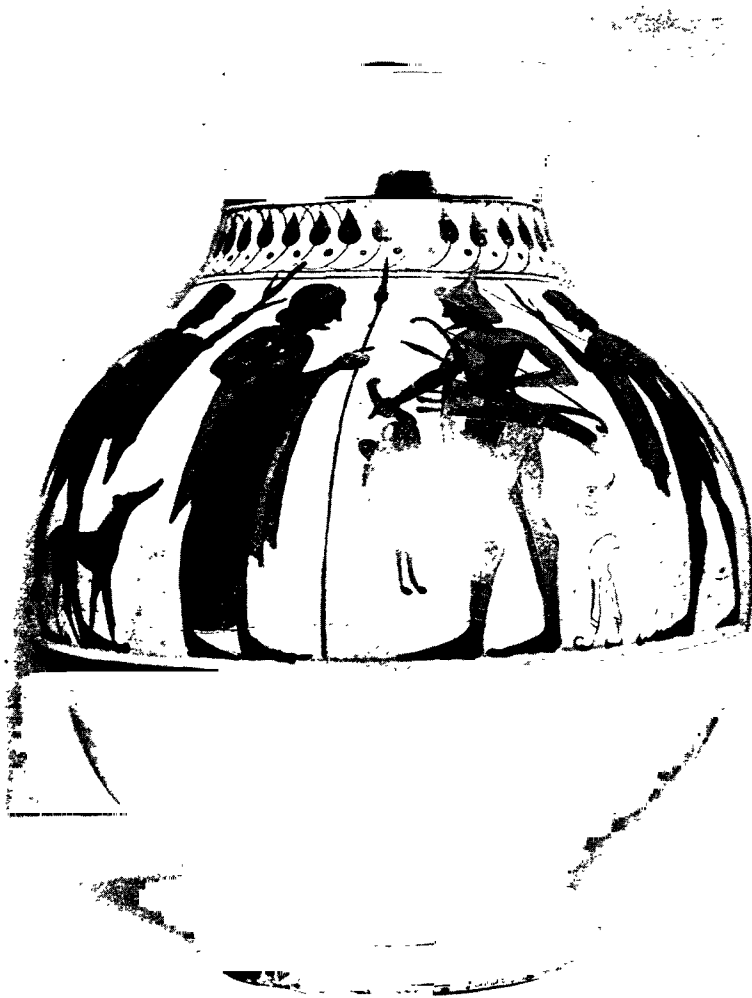


FIG. 4.—OINOCHOE IN BRISTOL (EE).



FIG. 5.—OINOCHOE IN BRISTOL (EE).

CC. A small, very fine fragment of a neck-amphora, from Cumae, in Naples. It seems, from the special curve, to be part of just such a vase as the three signed neck-amphorae in Paris and Boston. What remains of the picture is the upper part of a female head, facing right, and a bit of the upper border. The diadem, a red band bordered with black and surmounted by a row of black triangular ornaments, is exactly the same as in the Thetis of the Boston Achilles vase; the fringe of hair over the forehead is the same; the pattern above the picture is the same spiral, and the spiral is extremely rare in this position on neck-amphorae. The hair-fringe recurs on the Munich amphora 1383, in the Helen (F.-R. iii, p. 224: No. 6 in my list), and on the Louvre amphora F 36, in the left-hand woman on the Kyknos side, although this detail is not visible in the publication (C.V. Louvre, III, He, Pl. 15, 5 and 8, and Pl. 17, 3: No. 5 in my list).

DD. Oinochoe in Würzburg, inv. 969. The shape is unusual: a sort of olpe, with flat mouth and low handle; but very fat, almost as fat as an oinochoe shape III. Two men: one playing the flute, the other facing him, with two branches of ivy. Slight work, late. Compare II, below.

EE (Figs. 4-5 and Pl. VIII, 1). Oinochoe, shape III, in Bristol, H 803. That there were vases in the Bristol Museum I learned many years ago from Mr. E. S. G. Robinson; photographs were given me by Mr. J. W. Lawrence; those here reproduced are my wife's. The patterns are lotus-bud above the picture, a black line at each side, and a brown line below: the regular patterns in oinochoai of this shape at this time. A red line runs round the vase below the picture. At the lower junction of the handle there is a black palmette, with a red heart, a black line with white dots just outside the heart, and a pair of short red horizontal lines linking the volutes. The subject is the hunter's return. An archer, bearded, wearing Oriental costume, has shot a hare, and brings it to a signior who is dressed in chiton and himation and uses a spear as a staff. To left and right, our Danish friends, one bearded, one almost smooth-faced, but both wearing cloaks and holding spears, and with dogs beside them. Nearly everything shows in the photographs: but not the white belly-stripe of the hare; and the spotting of his coat, and of half the harlequin-suit, with pairs of little incised strokes. The white dog has a red eye. A rather late work and not very careful. The subject recalls the London olpe B 52, No. 24 in my list (*Rev. arch.* 1891, ii, 8, 367: Cloché, *Les classes*, Pl. 15, 1) and the Louvre amphora F 26, No. 4 in my list (C.V. Louvre, III, He, Pl. 14, 1 and 4, and Pl. 18, 2-3). The subject of the olpe is undoubtedly the hunter's return. In the Louvre picture, the two middle figures are very like ours, but the boy is by no means certainly a hunter—the hare may be a gift from an admirer, as in our painter's Paris cup-kotyle (Pottier, Pls. 17-18, A 479).

FF (Figs. 6-8 and Pl. VIII, 2). Oinochoe, shape III, in the collection of Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill at Northwick Park; formerly in the Rycroft collection. This is No. 33 in my list (*A.B.S.*, p. 35), but as it has never been published, I return to it. The upper edge of the vase is red. Behind the

vase, a black palmette just like that of the Bristol jug, except that there are no white dots. The subject is a revel. A woman is playing the flute, and a youth, dressed in a himation and holding a branch of ivy in his hand, treads a measure. Two naked youths are dancing one on each side of the pair. They wear garlands—hypothymides—bandolier-wise: a red band edged above with white dots. Their bellies protrude: not, I fancy, because the painter thinks of the boys as fat, but because the dance they are executing comprises, besides movements of the legs and arms, abominable contortions of the belly and the rump.



FIG. 6.—OINOCHOE IN THE SPENCER-CHURCHILL COLLECTION (FF).

The flute-girl wears a sleeved chiton, and a himation. The sleeves reach half-way down the forearm and fit quite close to the arm. The sleeved chiton is a rarity at this time.¹²

I spoke of the Northwick vase in my list as perhaps a school-piece. It is hastier than sometimes, and not of fine quality, but I believe it to be by the painter himself, in his laxer later style.

¹² See Amelung in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. χειριδωτός χιτών, and Bieber in *Jahrbuch*, 32, p. 17. An early example, not given by Amelung, for discovered since

he wrote, is the ivory statuette from Ephesus in Constantinople (Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. XXII).

The left arm of the right-hand youth is in part repainted, and so are portions of the flute.



FIG. 7.—OINOCHOE IN THE SPENCER-CHURCHILL COLLECTION (FF).



FIG. 8.—OINOCHOE IN THE SPENCER-CHURCHILL COLLECTION (FF).

GG. Fragment of an oinochoe (probably shape III rather than an olpe), from the Acropolis, in Athens. It is not figured by Graef and Langlotz, nor can I find it in their text. Above, triple net-pattern, with interdots: the left side-border a relief-line. What remains of the picture is part of the two left-hand figures. The second figure is a woman standing

to the right and playing the flute: head and shoulders are preserved, and part of the flute. To her left, forehead and raised left hand of a male. These two figures were evidently replicas, with slight variations, of the two left-hand figures on the Northwick oinochoe. Three details: the earring is the same red dot, some way below the ear, as in the Northwick flute-girl; the necklace is the same crinkled line; and the feminine eye in both is particularly narrow, with the lower line convex to the upper instead of concave. This fragment is not figured by Langlotz: he does figure a fragment which I have not seen, but which is equally Amasian and may belong to the same vase. 2239 (Graef and Langlotz, Pl. 95) gives the upper part of two figures turned to the left. One is bearded, and wears a himation; the other is naked, raises his right arm and sticks out his belly. Now these correspond to the two *right*-hand figures on the Northwick vase, except that in ours the left-hand one is bearded. Langlotz speaks of a red stripe, bordered by dots, running diagonally across the dancer's breast: this is evidently the hypothymis of the Northwick dancers. Langlotz says of the dancer: 'Behind, a tunbelly. The curve, however, might equally well represent a rump.' But I see a navel on it, which would be unusual.

No. 2240 in the catalogue is described as 'very like 2239 and possibly from the same vase.' I have not seen it.

HH (Pl. IX). Oinochoe, from Vulci, in the Vatican. *Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 1, 2. I had noticed that this vase was connected with the Amasis painter, but it was Webster who persuaded me that it should be by the painter himself. I have now examined it again, and had it photographed: and I have no doubt that it is a late work of the Amasis painter. A man, dressed in chiton and himation, and ivy-wreathed, sits on a camp-stool, holding a staff in his left hand, and a flower close to his nostrils in his right. To him a youth, ivy-wreathed, and wearing the himation only, with an ivy-branch in each hand and a lyre in his left. Behind the man, a youth in a short cloak, with a spear-staff, and beside him a dog; behind the youth with the lyre, a woman, wearing peplos, cloak, and earrings of three red dots; and a fawn. The shape of the vase is a variety of 'oinochoe shape I': the body very fat, the foot echinoid. The handle is high and concave; but it is much restored, and so is the palmette at the back of the handle.

Not gods (Apollo, Zeus, Artemis, Ares), but simple mortals. Musician, and judge or other authority. The fawn is a pet like the dog. The seated man, with his wand-stick and his flower, recalls the right-hand listener on the Andocidean amphora in the Louvre,¹³ and our vase probably belongs to the same period, unless indeed it be a little later. The folds of the woman's peplos are of the same type as in the Boston Achilles vase (chitons of Apollo, Hermes, Achilles), only more cumbrous.

II (Fig. 9). Lekythos in the Villa Giulia (Castellani collection).

The vase is not of the same shape as the lekythos Louvre F 71, No. 34 in my list (Pottier, Pl. 69). The body is pear-shaped, and neck and mouth

¹³ F.-R. Pl. 111; Pfuhl, Fig. 313.

are much as in the canonical lekythos of the red-figured period. (The handle and the lower part of the vase with the foot are lost.) There are lekythoi of this type, by various painters, in Frankfort (Schaal, *Vasen in Frankfurt*, Pl. 21, b), Syracuse (*Mon. Lincei* 17, p. 166, Fig. 121 and p. 167, Fig. 122), London (B 222; B 586), and elsewhere.

Above the picture, black tongues: at each side, and below, a line. Red lines on the outer edge of the mouth; just inside the mouth; on the shoulder-fillet; and below the picture. The picture consists of two figures: a man facing right, playing the flute, and another facing left, with a phiale



FIG. 9.—LEKYTHOS IN THE VILLA GIULIA (II).

and a cloth in his right hand. The picture is a free replica of that on the Würzburg oinochoe 969, No. DD above; but on the lekythos the right-hand man is singing, for his mouth is wide open. A break has removed his lower lip.

Webster tells me that Rumpf attributed a lekythos in the Villa Giulia to the Amasis painter: it must have been this.

JJ (Fig. 10). Fragment of a lekythos, in Boston. Fairbanks, *Cat.*, Pl. 39, No. 356, 2. A youth wearing a cloak.

From the tiny reproduction in the catalogue I suspected that this fragment was by the Amasis painter; and the photograph kindly sent me by Dr. Caskey shows that it is. On the shoulder, lotus-bud. From a

lekythos according to Fairbanks, and Caskey agrees. Not late. The photograph is a little larger than the original.

KK. Fragment, from Capua, in Capua (embedded by a modern restorer into the late black-figured oinochoe 152). From a vase of no great size. What remains is the head and shoulders of a youth to right, with beard just sprouting; the forehead-hair is a row of spirals. He is clothed, probably in chiton and himation. Time of the Guglielmi vase.

LL. Fragment, from Selinus, in Palermo, published by Gábrici in *Mon. Lincei*, 32, Pl. 91, 1. The greater part of a frontal chariot, with part of a figure in the car, and of the goad, and the upper half of a man to the left. The fragment is in my *A.B.S.* list, No. 40: I mention it here because I there hazarded the conjecture that it might come from a vase of the same shape as my No. 35, Louvre F 70 (Pottier, Pl. 69): that was before I had seen the fragment; it is not from such a vase, and I do not know what it is from—some rare kind of small bowl. It is shiny black inside; the wall is thin; the lip is offset; the topside of the lip is black with a red line at the inner edge.

MM. Cup. In 1903 the Boston Museum acquired seven small fragments, making up to two, of a cup with the signature ΑΜΑΣΙΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ , and they were published by Miss Walton in 1907.¹⁴ They give parts of two large eyes; two spiral tendrils; and remains of a figure between the eyes (Pl. X, β-γ).

In 1922 Mrs. Ure published a cup-fragment which had been in the Dorset Museum at Dorchester since 1885. Parts of two eyes; between them the figure, almost complete, of a reveller; the fragmentary signature . . . εΠΟΙΕ[ΣΕΝ]¹⁵ (Pl. X, 3). Mrs. Ure showed that the style was the same as in the Boston Amasis fragments.

The fact is, that the Dorchester fragment is part of the same cup as the fragments in Boston. Other fragments of this cup are in the magazine of the Vatican: a few of these had already been put together when I first saw them two years ago; I added others then; and yet others, including the handles, after a good deal of search, this year.

The shape is strange for a black-figure cup (Fig. 11). The lipless bowl passes into the stem, and the stem into the foot, in uninterrupted curves. A 'one-piece' cup, then, of the favourite *red-figure* type—'type B.'¹⁶ Passing to details: the stem is stout; the edge of the foot, reserved as usual, is concave and flares downwards—as in cups of what I call 'type A,' the type of the Munich Exekias cup or of red-figured eye-cups.¹⁷ The underside of the foot is flat and reserved, as in the earlier examples of type A. The inside of the stem is black for most of the way up. The

¹⁴ *A.J.A.*, 1907, p. 159; Hoppin, *Bf.*, p. 32. *A.B.S.*, p. 36.

¹⁵ *J.H.S.*, 42, p. 193. Of the second epsilon, the lower end of the hasta remains. *A.B.S.*, p. 36.

¹⁶ *Att. I.*, p. 4; Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, pp. 185-92 and 196-203.

¹⁷ *Att. I.*, p. 4; F.-R., i, p. 227; Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

lower part of the cup is treated in a most unusual manner: the whole space between the decoration and the small fillet which marks the junction of the stem with the topside of the foot is *reserved*, without even a ground-



FIG. 10.—FRAGMENT OF A LEKYTHOS IN BOSTON (JJ).

line to separate it from the area of decoration. The fillet itself is red, and the space between the fillet and the edge of the foot is black.

There is one minor point in which the shape differs from most cups of 'type B': the little foot-fillet is farther from the edge. This peculiarity recurs in the early red-figured cup New York 14.146.1, which is assigned



FIG. 11.—CUP MM : FRAGMENTS IN THE VATICAN.

to the Menon painter by H. R. W. Smith.¹⁸ The shape of the New York cup, as Smith well observes, is unconventional: our cup agrees with it in the stout stem, in the treatment of the underside of the foot, and above all in the position of the little foot-fillet. The profile of the vertical edge

is different. Perhaps worth noting, that the use of 'reserve' is unusual in both cups: the Amasis painter reserves the stem, the Menon painter the handles.

I do not recall any other reserved cup-stems¹⁹; and the lack of ground-line is very rare in cups of any kind.²⁰ Remember that two of the neck-amphorae signed Amasis—those in Boston—have no ground-line.

Now the decoration. An eye-cup of a peculiar kind. Inside, a small neat gorgoneion, within a border of three lines (Fig. 12). Outside, eyes, figures, flowers. A pair of big eyes on each half. Between each pair, a figure. At each handle, flowers.

The figure on one side is a woman, standing, dressed in chiton and himation. The lower end of a branch is seen to the right of her legs (Pl. X, α). The larger of the Boston fragments joins on the right, and gives, besides the branch held in the hand, bits of the chiton and himation (Pl. X, β).

The other vestiges on the Boston fragment have not been explained, so far as I know, or even described. Let us look for a parallel. Like our figure, of course, is the woman on the Northwick jug (Pl. VIII, 2); but she is playing the flute, and that does not explain the remains on the Boston fragment. But turn to the second figure from the left on the Vatican oinochoe (Pl. IX). The Vatican figure holds an ivy-branch in the right hand like ours, and in the left hand a lyre. Now we understand the remains on the Boston fragment: they are the lower outside corner of a lyre, with a bit of the string-rest, the lower end of the outer lyre-arm, the plectrum-cord, and (the white speck above the eyebrow) the end of the cross-bar. Failing the Vatican oinochoe, the mastoid bowl in the Louvre, F 70, might have yielded the same clue.²¹

As to the smaller Boston fragment, it joins the Vatican fragment to the left of the lyre-player and gives the upper half of the left-hand eye (Pl. X, γ).

The handle-ornament to the left of the left eye is almost complete (Pl. X, δ), and I have restored it, by supplying a stretch of tendril, in my sketch (Fig. 13). The ornament has much in common with the more elaborate handle-decoration of the signed neck-amphorae.²²

To the left of the handle-ornament we find a pair of feet (Pl. X, ε and ζ). They belong to the figure between the eyes on the other half of the cup. The rest of this figure, and parts of both eyes, are given by the Dorchester fragment (Pl. X, 3). Then we come to a bit of the left-hand eye, and to the lower part of the ornament at the handle (Pl. X, η). Half this handle

¹⁹ In the r.f. cup signed by Chachrylion and Euphromos in Munich (F.R., Pl. 22) the sealing-wax-red stem produces something of the same effect.

²⁰ B.f. footless cup, with merrythought handles, in Berlin, signed by Ergotimos (W.I., 1888, Pl. 4, 2; Jacobsthal, *Orn.*, Pl. 67, b). Fragments of a red-figured cup in the magazine of the Vatican. The inside picture is lost: outside, on each half, between eyes, a rider; beyond the eyes, flowers. Earliest red-figure style. A fragment in Florence, from the

Campana collection, giving part of an eye and of a flower (C.I., Florence III, 1, Pl. 12, right, third from the bottom), comes either from this cup, or from one like it, for the flower is of exactly the same rare type as in the Vatican cup.

²¹ Pottier, Pl. 69: No. 35 in my list, *A.B.S.*, p. 35.

²² The handle-decoration of the Paris vase, Jacobsthal, *Ornamente gr. Vasen*, Pl. 35, a, and C.I., Cab. Méd., Pl. 36; of the Boston, *Jahreshefte*, 10, p. 16 and Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, Pl. 24, d.

is wanting: what you see to the right in the general view (Fig. 11) is the inside of the off handle-half.

Now let us turn back to the gorgoneion inside the cup (Fig. 12). I have not seen the gorgoneion on a fragmentary small stand in Athens,²³



FIG. 12.—CUP MM. INTERIOR; VATICAN.

and cannot be sure from the reproduction that it is by the Amasis painter: but it is at least very like our gorgoneion. One uncanny detail: both have white ears; so has the black-figured gorgoneion on the large amphora by the Amasis painter in Berlin.

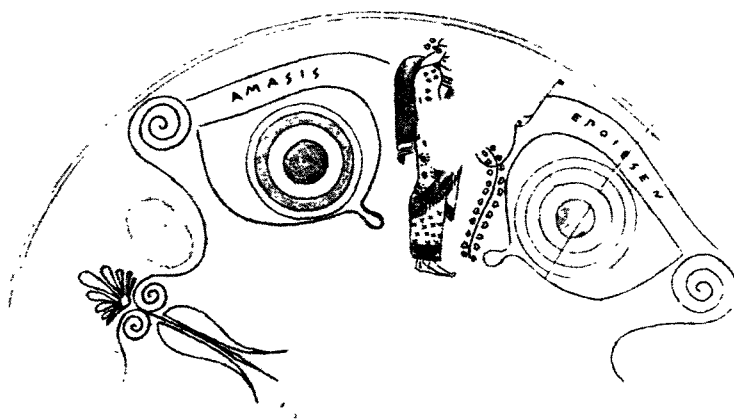


FIG. 13.—CUP MM: SIDE A.

Some measurements. Diameter about 18 cm., height 7.5, diameter of the foot 7.5, of the tondo 4.5.

Clay, glaze, and the more formal elements of the decoration are of the same singular beauty as the shape. The figure-work is comparatively

²³ Graef and Langlotz, Pl. 100, 2481.

slight. Mrs. Ure observed that in some respects the fragments in Boston and Dorchester were more closely related to red-figure than to black-figure.²⁴ The complete cup confirms that impression. The reveller recalls such early works of Epiktetos as the signed cup formerly in the Pourtalès collection,²⁵ and should be of the same period. Humped shoulders like the lyre-player's are common, as Kraiker has pointed out, in early red-figure.

MM *bis*. Cup. In the cup just reconstructed, the most important part still missing is the face, breast, and forearm of the lyre-player, with most of her lyre. Here a fragment, from the Castellani collection, in the Villa Giulia, comes to our aid (Fig. 14, α). It is not from the same cup, but from another of the same type and by the same hand. It gives the upper part of a woman playing the lyre; the edge of the big eye to the right of her; and the inner end of the eyebrow, for that is what the thicker line to the right of the strings is. The woman's pupil, now partly lost, is red. The lower line of the eye is convex to the upper, as in the Acropolis fragments (see above, GG), and the earring is a single red dot. Dirt on the cheek makes the mouth look longer than it is. The usual black or brown line near the edge of the bowl is omitted.

I have found four fragments of the same cup among the Campana fragments in the magazine at Florence (Fig. 14, β-ε). The first (β) joins on the left, and gives the rest of the himation on the shoulder, and bits of the left-hand eye and brow. The second fragment (γ) joins on the right, and gives part of the right tear-gland, a bit of chiton patterned with crosses, and a bit of himation. The third Florence fragment (δ) does not join: it gives the lowest part of the handle-ornament—just such a flower as in the signed cup; and more, at the left extremity of the fragment (hardly visible in the photograph), part of the figure on the other half of the exterior—the white foot of a female moving quickly leftward. The fourth fragment (ε) gives a piece of handle-decoration, but whether it comes from the same handle as (δ) does not appear. To left and right are traces of the two handle-roots: between them, a palmette of the same kind as in the signed cup, but here the heart is red, and the petals sit not in a pair of spirals, but in a pair of linked loops.

Fragment (δ) gives a bit of the inside tondo—a plain disc as far as it is preserved.

NN. Cup. When I was working at the signed cup for the first time, I picked out seven small Vatican fragments which at first glance seemed to belong to the signed cup. Closer inspection showed that this was impossible: they came from another cup of the same make and style. When Mrs. Ure was sending me her photograph of the inscribed fragment in Dorchester, she added photographs of two other fragments in the same museum; and these, I found, went with the Vatican seven. On my second search in

²⁴ *J.H.S.*, 42, p. 196.

²⁵ Panofka, *Cab. Pourt.*, Pl. 41, below: whence

Hoppin. *Rf.* i, p. 338. *Att.* I., p. 25, no. 18; Kraiker in *Jahrbuch*, 44, p. 163, No. 14.

the Vatican I found other pieces, and can now reconstruct the cup (Pl. XI).

One of the Dorchester fragments (museum number 3) gives the lower part of a male figure, cloaked and booted, moving to the left, and to left and right of him remains of floral decoration. There was no ground-line. The name of the Roman dealer Campanari is written on the fragment in ink.



FIG. 14.—CUP MM *bis*: VILLA GIULIA (α) AND FLORENCE (β-ε).

Five small fragments in the Vatican join each other, and the composite joins Dorchester 3 on the left. The reveller, as he is now seen to be, held a jug out in his left hand. Part of the jug-foot remains on the Dorchester fragment, to the right of a chip. To the left of that you see the tips of a flower: the rest of it is given by the Vatican composite. This also gives the right stump of the handle, and a trace of the left stump. The palmette between these has a red heart bordered above by white dots. The handle-decoration may be restored as in Fig. 15.

Another fragment in the Vatican joins Dorchester 3 on the right: giving the lateral flower of the handle-decoration; besides, part of the tendril, which continues on the Dorchester fragment, and the end of a branch, which explains the two black marks above the tendril on the Dorchester fragment—they are bits of leaves. The reveller must have held, in his right hand, one of the painter's favourite branches; and sure enough there is the tip of the other end of it above his waist. To the left of that is a bit of fringe, from the top fold of the cloak: compare the reveller on the signed cup.

Now the other Dorchester fragment, which is composed of two. A man wearing a short chiton, a cloak over both shoulders, and an ivy-wreath, runs to the right, looking round, holding in his right hand a big round two-handled aryballos, and a sort of staff. First, a small fragment in the Vatican joins on the right below, and gives part of his right knee, the front of his right thigh, a little of his left thigh, and the fringed border of his chiton. Next, another Vatican fragment, made up of three, touches on the left, though it does not join,²⁶ and gives the end of the staff (which turns out to have been a spear), part of the handle-ornament—side-flower and inter-handle palmette—and half the handle. Next, another Vatican fragment, composed of two, joins on the *right*; and gives a little of the cloak; the left forearm and hand; and part of the handle side-flower. Yet another Vatican fragment includes the foot of the cup (Fig. 16). It is just like that of the signed cup, except in one point: the edge is here a simple torus.^{26a} Outside, this fragment gives a bit of tendril: inside, the bottom of the bowl is decorated with a small reserved disc, which has three small circles on it, with a central dot. The diameter of the circle was about 4.8 cm.; of the foot, 7.9. A small segment of the disc is preserved on the larger Dorchester fragment, and this would probably determine the exact position of the cup-foot with respect to the pictures, which was not clear to me in the Vatican.

A small fragment in the Vatican, without decoration, belongs either to NN or to MM, but I cannot say which.

NN *bis* (Fig. 17). Fragments, probably of an oinochoe, in Florence (magazine), from the Campana collection.

I put these here, and not with the other oinochoai, for a reason which will soon be apparent. Fragment α gives the foot of the vase, 7.1 cm. across, and the base. The side of the foot is echinus-shaped. The two relief-line ends must be part of a flower. There is no border below them, and the decoration was of the free-field or 'red-bodied' type, which is not very uncommon in black-figured oinochoai, especially olpai.²⁷ I feel pretty confident that fragment β joins α , although the edges being worn

²⁶ I have separated the two fragments in the reproduction: owing to foreshortening in the photography, and to slight differences of scale, the fits look less impressive in the reproduction than one might have hoped.

^{26a} Compare, for foot, and for position of the

fillet, the black cup Oxford 415 (*C.V.* Oxford, Pl. 48, 11).

²⁷ A few examples: olpai, Louvre F 159-161 (Pottier, Pl. 76); oinochoai shape III, *N.F. Shapes*, p. 14, 2; *Clara Rhodos*, 4, p. 238; oinochoe, variety of shape I, *C.F. Scheurleer*, Pl. 4, 6.

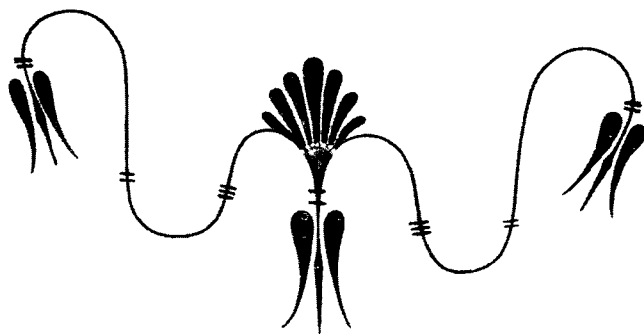


FIG. 15.—CUP NN: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HANDLE ORNAMENT.



FIG. 16.—CUP NN: THE FOOT, IN THE VATICAN.



FIG. 17.—FRAGMENTS OF AN OINOCHOE IN FLORENCE (NN *bis*).

the fit is not perfect. Fragment γ should give the side-flower in the upper left-hand corner of the ornament. Fragment δ is hard to place: it seemed to go petals upwards and to come from the upper part of the vase. A bit of tendril shows on the right. Of a fifth fragment, with puzzling remains of pattern, I have no photograph.

The drawing recalls the cup-flowers so vividly that I am inclined to assign it to the Amasis painter. It also recalls, but much less vividly, the Herakles oinochoe in London by the Peleus painter, and one or two other white vases which go with that.²⁸

OO (Pl. XII). Cup, from Vulci, in the Louvre, F 75.

One side of this band-cup has already been given by Pottier in his catalogue (Pl. 69): Mr. Merlin has kindly permitted me to republish this side, from new photographs, and to publish the other side. I had already noticed that the pictures stood close to the Amasis painter (*J.H.S.*, 49, p. 269, bottom); and I now think that they may quite well be slight though pleasant work by his hand. The hoplites may be compared in general terms with those on the signed vase in the Cabinet des Médailles (*W.V.*, 1889, Pl. 3, 2; *C.V. Cab. Méd.*, Pls. 36-7). As to details, the right knee of the left-hand warrior is of one form, the other knees of another: both forms are Amasian, and the painter often uses the two on one vase, even in one figure as here. The little caps of the riders are Amasian. The garment-fringes are not confined to the Amasis painter, but he is particularly fond of them. The horses go well with Amasian horses. True, the shield-devices are white, elsewhere in the painter black; but he may on occasion, working on a small scale, have used the commoner technique.

The Dionysiac scene stands in the same relation to the Amasis painter. Here the general analogies are provided by the little pictures on the necks of the big amphorae in Würzburg and Berlin.²⁹ The piggy type of satyr is Amasian, with tilted nose, thick neck, forehead-fringe, and plain mane of hair behind. And compare the right-hand satyr on the cup with the right-hand and left-hand satyrs in the small frieze above the Würzburg vintage; the middle satyr on the cup with the right-hand one on the other side of the Würzburg vase; the Dionysos on the cup with those in the neck-pictures of the Castle Ashby vase, that of Berlin 1689, or the left-hand figures in the Paris and Oxford oinochoai.³⁰ Amasian details are the single red dot for the maenad's earring, and the two rings indicating the frenum.

As to the Berlin band-cup 1795 (Gerhard, *T.G.*, Pl. 1, 4-6) coupled with the Paris cup in our Naucratic publication (*J.H.S.*, 49, p. 269,

²⁸ London B 621 (Jacobsthal, *Orn.*, Pl. 29); Melchet, Mond collection (Strong, *Melchett Collection*, Pl. 40); Louvre F 118 (Jacobsthal, *Orn.*, Pl. 30, a), and Munich 1828 (Lau, Pl. 15, 1). Mastos, London B 681 (Jacobsthal, *Orn.*, Pl. 32). See Jacobsthal on the vases he figures.

²⁹ Würzburg: Sittl, *Dionysisches Treiben*, Pls. 2-3; *J.H.S.*, 19, Pl. 5 and p. 136; A. Pfuhl, Fig. 222; A. Cloché, *Les Classes*, Pl. 11; No. 2 in my list. Berlin: Adamek, Pls. 1-2; *A.B.S.*, Pl. 9, 1 and Pl. 10, 1;

Jahrbuch, 44, p. 115; No. 1 in my list.

I find that the attribution of the Würzburg vase was made, before Karo, by Duemmler (Sittl, *op. cit.*, p. 29), and I may add here that Furtwangler, before Adamek, had connected Nos. 8 and 11 of my list with Amasis (in Roscher, *s.v.* Herakles, p. 2218), and doubtless therefore my Nos. 9, 10, 12, and 27 as well.

³⁰ Castle Ashby, *B.S.R.*, 11, Pl. 2, 3. Berlin, Adamek, p. 28. Paris, *W.F.*, 1889, Pl. 4, 3. Oxford, *C.V.*, III, He, Pl. 3, 16.

bottom), it may be by the painter himself, but its poor condition—it is much restored—makes certainty difficult. Certainly by the Amasis painter is the London band-cup fragment No. 41 in my list (*W.V.*, 1890–1, Pl. 6, 4 d; *J.H.S.*, 49, Pl. 15, 26).

Before we take leave of the Amasian cups, there is a couple of fragments in Florence which ought perhaps to be mentioned.³¹ They come from a very early red-figured cup, and give part of the very small tondo: within a reserved line, a hairy satyr running or dancing to right. What remains is one foot and perhaps the heel of the other, a raised arm, and perhaps the end of the beard or the forehead-hair. Below the hand, the letters ΑΜΑ . . .; to the left of his foot, the letter Ε . . . Several restorations might be proposed: for instance, Epiktetos writes Pamaphios for Pamphaios.³² But Αμ[σ]ις ε[πιοισεν] is also a possibility, and the position of the letters with respect to the figure would suit some such restoration. More one cannot say at present: since the fragments are Campana, it is quite possible that other pieces of the same cup may yet be found. The style of the scanty remains does not help: if the Amasis painter were the artist, this would be a modest experiment in a then wholly novel and unfamiliar technique: but it is more likely that even if the cup was inscribed Αμσσις επιοισεν, the pictures were not done by the Amasis painter, but by another.

II

THE HEIDELBERG GROUP

The Heidelberg cup reproduced in Figs. 18–20 was connected by Furtwängler with Amasis. I remember the gist of Furtwängler's allusion to it, but search as I may I cannot find the passage. This cup takes a good many others with it; and that the group thus formed stands close to the Amasis painter will not, I think, be denied.

They are all cups of the class which Payne and I have called 'Siana' cups,³³ after two from Siana in the British Museum. The class falls into two sub-classes according to the method of decorating the exterior: in one sub-class the main picture outside is in the handle-zone, and the offset lip bears subsidiary decoration, usually floral; in the other sub-class the figures spread over both handle-zone and lip—'overlap' decoration.

Most of the cups in the following list must be by a single hand. Some of them are coarser than others: for example, Nos. 23 and 24 (Louvre CA 1684, Louvre A 478) go together and are rather crude and ungainly, but it is difficult to draw a dividing-line between them and the main body. No. 8, the Würzburg cup, if I remember rightly, is a little crude. No. 25, the Taranto Lion cup, stands somewhat apart and might be an imitation. A good many artists painted Siana cups; but the Heidelberg group, as it may be called, is one of the two largest and most important groups. The other, which shows strong Corinthian influence, I shall treat elsewhere.

³¹ *C.I.* Florence III, 1, Pl. 1, 8.

³² *B.S.R.*, 11, p. 17.

³³ *J.H.S.*, 49, p. 260. See also Greifenhagen, *Eine rf. Gattung*, p. 16.



FIG. 18.—CUP IN HEIDELBERG, vi. 29A.

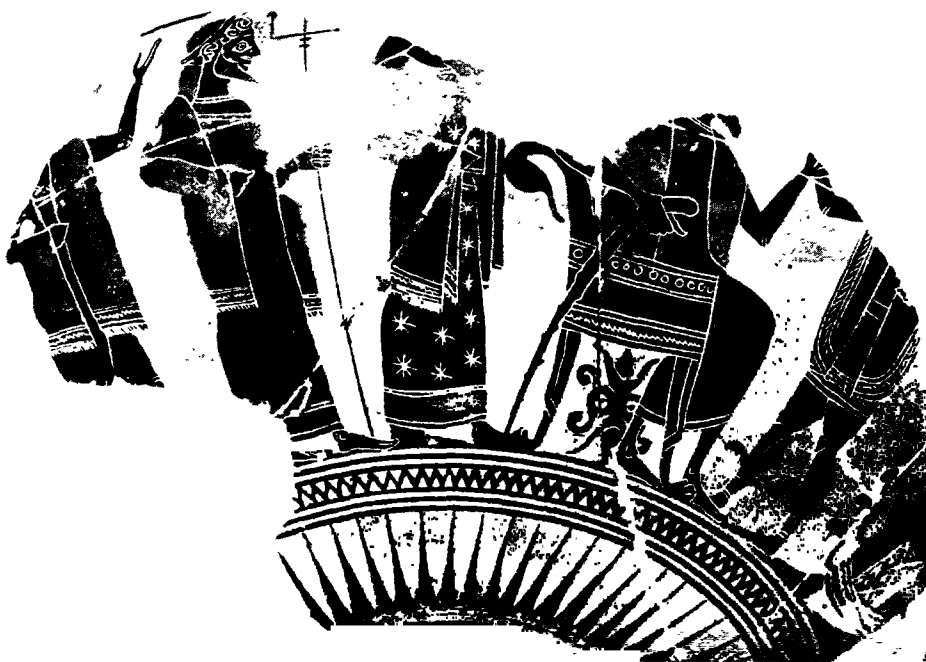


FIG. 19.—CUP IN HEIDELBERG, vi. 29A.

There is the same sobriety and love of symmetry in the Heidelberg group as in the Amasian vases; and many details of drawing are the same, in ear, moustache, first-beard, fringed garments, pairs of lines on knee, elbow, armpit. The figures are thicker-set and less pestilent fine than in the Amasian vases. The difference in proportions is partly due to the low field offered by the cup, as opposed to the tall field offered by amphora or oinochoe. The earlier Amasian is more like the Heidelberg group than the later; and the slighter Amasian than the more elaborate. Very like, the neck-pictures on the early Amasian neck-amphora in Castle Ashby,³⁴



FIG. 20.—CUP IN HEIDELBERG. vi. 29A.

which are much less careful than the body-pictures, and are set in a low field. The drapery of the Heidelberg group is simple; and the various three-dimensional devices which the Amasis painter sometimes essays in his drapery are as yet lacking.

I am not sure how the connexion between the Heidelberg group and the Amasian is to be explained. Is the Heidelberg group early work of the Amasis painter? or could it be by his master? or by an old-fashioned companion? All three answers are possible. Two things are certain: first, that the cups in our list form a compact stylistic group; secondly, that they are closely akin to the work of the Amasis painter, especially to his earlier work.

³⁴ *B.S.R.*, 11, Pl. 2, 3.

SUB-CLASS 1.

1 (Figs. 18–20). Heidelberg vi. 29 A, from near Phaleron. I, a male figure and a winged female. Each has a staff or the like. To the left, the hind-legs of a small animal as in the other Heidelberg cup. A, Zeus and Athena. Zeus sits in the middle, Hermes brings Athena to him; Dionysos is behind Athena; behind Zeus, Athena, Poseidon, and perhaps Ares. All that remains of B is part of the two left-hand figures, both male, one in chiton and himation, with a staff, the other winged, and dressed in a short chiton. Under one handle a swan: the other handle-area is missing, and so is most of the foot.

2 (Figs. 21–24). Heidelberg 561, from Taranto (?). I, one bearded and ivy-crowned, probably Dionysos; to the right, a hare suspended. There was probably a second figure. A, arrival; B, encounter. On A, two trios and a pair:—a youth is received by a man and a woman, two youths by a man, a woman talks to a man. On B, two males meet, in the presence of three men and two women. Under each handle a pair of swans. The foot of the cup is missing.

3 (Figs. 25–27). Louvre CA 576, from Boeotia. Two figures from A, Payne *N.C.*, p. 197, B. I, Dionysos and Ikarios. Two men face each other. They are exactly alike. Each would pass for Dionysos. The doubleganger may be Ikarios. For the drapery of the left-hand figure, compare the Dionysos of the Louvre cup F 75 (Pl. XII), and what I have compared with him; the scheme of the right-hand figure's drapery, with the end of the himation flung plaid-wise over the shoulder, is common in the Heidelberg group, and occurs in the Amasis group—in the Orvieto oinochoe my No. 13,³⁵ and in my No. 24, the London olpe B 52.³⁶ A, encounter; B, dancing. On A two pairs of youths move towards each other, one pair conducted by an old man, the other pair accompanied by a dog. On B three naked men are cutting capers, while four men, decently clad, look on. Under each handle a swan.

4. Cambridge. [Langlotz], *Sammlung Baron Heyl*, Pl. 20. I, Dionysos and Ariadne. A, a lady received by a king. Hermes escorts the lady, and a youth follows her: on the right, two youths, on the left a man, looking on. The woman is evidently of rank—a goddess or a heroine; and the scene makes one think of Solomon and Malkath Sheba. B, a king seated in all his glory, with attendants—three youths and three men. Under each handle a swan.

5. Brussels A 1578. *C.V.*, Bruss. Pl. 1, 2. I, a lion attacking a stag. A, combat; B, riders, attended. Under one handle a siren, under the other a swan.

6 (Fig. 28). Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. Outside, Herakles and Busiris. On the lip, flowers. What remains of the picture is head and raised hand of Busiris, who was no doubt running away and looking round. This, and the Fikellura fragment in Oxford, give the earliest representations

³⁵ Phot. Armoni.

Pl. 15, 1.

³⁶ *Rev. arch.*, 1891 (ii), p. 367; Cloché, *Les classes*,



FIG. 21.—CUP IN HEIDELBERG, 561.



FIG. 22.—CUP IN HEIDELBERG, 561.

of the story: see my *Pan-Maler*, p. 12. The flowers were of the same type as in the next. The line running across mouth and part of the beard is a scratch.

7. Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. *Mon. Lincei*, 32, Pl. 91, 4. Outside, the head of a man, with a staff at his shoulder held slanting; to the left, the top of another slanting staff.

8. Würzburg 180. Micali, *Storia*, Pl. 87, 1; A, *Mon.* 1, Pl. 27, 40; A, new, Baur, *Centaurs*, i. Pl. 10, 242. I, Greek and Amazon. A, Achilles brought to Chiron. B, Dionysos and men and women. Under one handle a swan, under the other a pair of swans.

SUB-CLASS 1 or 2.

9 (Fig. 29). Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. What remains is the upper part of the inside picture, two men facing with staves in their hands; to the left, a pair of staves. The style recalls No. 16, which might possibly be from the same cup.

SUB-CLASS 2.

10. Taranto. I, Dionysos running to r., looking round, holding a horn: A-B, Dionysos and Ariadne with satyrs and maenads.

11. Delos, from Delos, fragment. Outside, Poseidon: what remains is his head with one shoulder and arm, and the top of his trident. Professor Dugas kindly allows me to mention this fragment, which I know from a photograph by Miss Haspels.

12. Cambridge, from Naucratis, fragment. Outside, part of a woman remains, and the upper half of Poseidon.

13. Florence 3893 (Figs. 30-31). Detail of A, from Zahn's sketch, Schröder, *Sport*, p. 127, Fig. 34, and Norman Gardiner, *Athletics*, p. 195. I, Ajax with the body of Achilles. A-B, wrestlers. The foot of the cup must be alien.

14. Copenhagen 5179, from Camiros. *C.V.*, Cop., Pl. 113, 3. I, whirligig. A, Dionysos and dancing satyrs and maenads; B, Dionysos and satyrs and maenads, all dancing.

15. Cabinet des Médailles 314, from Camiros. De Ridder, Pl. 7 and pp. 208-9; *C.V.*, Cab. Méd., Pl. 45, 1-5. I, Poseidon riding a winged horse. A, Herakles and the Lion. B, athletes.

16. Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. Outside, the upper part of a man, in chiton and himation, to r.

17. Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. The left half, *Mon. Lincei*, 32, Pl. 91, 3. A, Achilles brought to Chiron. See *J.H.S.*, 51, p. 52, No. 1.

18. Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. Outside, parts of a naked youth moving to r., and a woman standing to l. Same style as the Chiron fragment, and might belong.

19. Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. Part of a left-hand figure outside remains, a woman standing r. Same style as the Chiron fragment, and might belong.

20. Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. What remains is, outside, a



FIG. 23.—CUP IN HEIDELBERG, 561.



FIG. 24.—CUP IN HEIDELBERG, 561.

male left arm, raised, part of a woman standing to l., and a bit of something else. Same style as the Chiron fragment.

21. Palermo, from Selinus, fragment. Outside, the upper half of an old man standing l., and eye and forehead of a woman facing him. Same style as the Chiron fragment, but seems a little smaller in scale and finer.

21 *bis*. Florence, fragment. A, part of a male figure.

22. Taranto, from Taranto. I, Dionysos and Ariadne. A, Herakles and a Centaur, with four men and two women looking on. B, seven more men.

23. Louvre CA 1684. I, Achilles and Troilos. A, athletes (wrestlers and boxers). B, chariot and riders. A is a free replica of the picture on A of Louvre F 67 (see below).

24. Louvre A 478, from Camiros. Pottier, Pl. 17; B, Pfuhl, Fig. 249. I, Herakles and a Centaur. A, Bellerophon and Chimaera. B, Pandareos and the Golden Hound (see Barnett in *Hermes*, 1898, pp. 638-40, and above, p. 259): the Hound belonged to Zeus: Pandareos stole it, Tantalos received it, Hermes traced it, and receiver and stealer were punished.

25. Taranto, from Taranto. I, Herakles and the Lion. A, a man stealing up to two women at a fountain. B, Herakles and the Lion.

The two following cups do not belong to the Heidelberg group, but are connected with it.

Athens 529 (CC. 640), from Corinth. Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, 2, Pl. 2; I, after Ross, Baur, *Centaur*, p. 14; side-view, Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, Pl. 67, c. I, Herakles and Nessos. A-B, chariot-race.

Louvre F 67, from Etruria. I and A, Pottier, Pl. 68. I, Herakles and a Centaur. A, athletes (wrestlers and boxers); B, riders. Under one handle, a lion. Much restored. I is a replica of the tondo on our No. 24, A is almost a replica of the athletic picture on our No. 23.

III

THE PAINTER OF LONDON B 148.

I quote some lines from my *A.B.S.*, p. 36. 'Two amphorae, type B, are near the Amasis painter. The first was attributed to him by Karo (*J.H.S.*, 19, p. 141), the second associated with him by Pfuhl (*Malerei*, p. 262):—

'1. London B 148. Psycter-amphora. *J.H.S.*, 19, Pl. 6: *C.V.* B.M. III, He, Pl. 25, 5. A, Theseus and the Minotaur. B, Dionysos with silens and maenads.

'2. Cabinet des Médailles 206, from Vulci. De Ridder, p. 116, and Pl. 5: *C.V.*, Cab. Méd., III, He, Pl. 34, 1, 2, and 8. A, Herakles and the Lion. B, a man wooing a boy.'

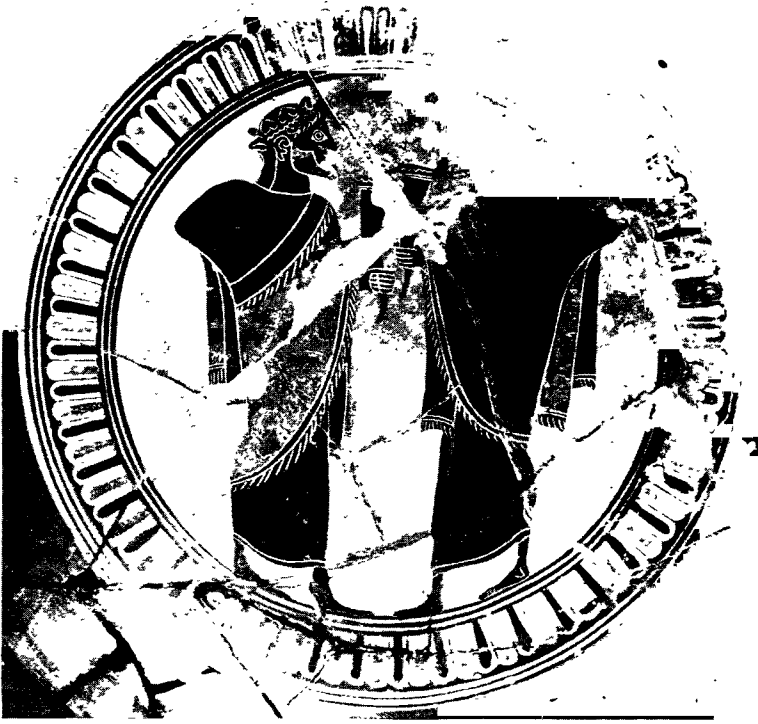


FIG. 25.—CUP IN THE LOUVRE, CA 576.



FIG. 26.—CUP IN THE LOUVRE, CA 576.



FIG. 27.—CUP IN THE LOUVRE, CA 576.

A beautiful amphora, from Taranto, in Taranto, is by the same hand as London B 148, and is very close to it in every respect. On one side, Theseus and the Minotaur: the two chief figures are replicas of the London, even to the peculiar loin-cloth with the end brought up between the legs. The picture on the other side is Herakles and Nessos.

The Paris amphora is a third work by the same hand.

A fourth is a huge and magnificent amphora in Naples, 2770, which has the same subject on both sides, two riders at the walk, one a hoplite, the other a youth wearing nothing but a short chiton (Pl. XIII).

These four vases reveal an artist of the same stamp as the Amasis painter, but with a strong personality of his own.

A fifth vase by the same painter is the Iliupersis amphora in Berlin (1685: Gerhard, *E.C.V.*, Pls. 20–21: A, death of Priam and recovery of Helen; B, Achilles and Troilos). This I have already connected (*A.B.S.*, p. 36, bottom) with the Berlin jug signed Kolchos (1732: *W.V.*, 1889, Pl. 1, 2; Hoppin, *Bf.*, p. 156; Schaal, *Sf.*, Pl. 21), and with a fragmentary Panathenaic amphora, from the Acropolis, in Athens (Graef, Pl. 59, 923: A, Athena; B, Athena between Zeus and Poseidon).

IV

SOME NECK-AMPHORAE.

In *A.B.S.* (p. 36) I mentioned a neck-amphora in Petrograd (*Jahrbuch*, 42, Pl. 12: the handle-ornament, Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, p. 56) which had been wrongly associated with the Amasis painter. I put it with five other neck-amphorae—Berlin 1713 and 1714, Cagliari, Boston 98.923, Brussels A 714—although I did not say or mean that all six were by one hand.

Cagliari cuts out (*Bull. Nap.*, n.s., 4, Pl. 13); the scheme of decoration recalls the two neck-amphorae in Berlin, but the shape is different, and Mingazzini has now placed the vase in a more suitable context (*Vasi della Coll. Castellani*, p. 232). The two Berlin vases are a pair by a single hand. The other three are very close to them in shape and decoration, but are not by the same painter as they. The finest of them is the arming vase in Brussels (A 714: *C.V.*, Bruss. III, He, Pl. 1, 1: foot and base modern). It is akin to a fine amphora in Würzburg (255: Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, Pl. 13, 5). The Boston vase is not far from the Brussels, but not by the same hand: it is in the tradition of the painter of Acropolis 606. The Petrograd vase has suffered by repainting: as far as one can judge from the reproductions, it goes with the Boston.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

NOTE.—On the upper part of Pl. 11, the right-hand D is placed too low; the Dorchester fragment is the one with the label A affixed.



FIG. 28.—CUP-FRAGMENT IN PALERMO.



FIG. 29.—CUP-FRAGMENT IN PALERMO.



FIG. 30.—CUP IN FLORENCE, 3893.



FIG. 31.—CUP IN FLORENCE, 3893.

NOTES

The Home of the Keftiu.—Mr. Wainwright's article on the Keftiu in the last number of *J.H.S.*, coupled with the introduction to it in *J.E.A.*, has brought back to my memory his article in the Liverpool *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* in 1913 which converted me to his view that the Keftiu of the Egyptian monuments were to be located somewhere in Cilicia. Maspero had suggested Northern Syria for their home; English scholars were inclined to place them in Krete. I am still on the side of Mr. Wainwright, but there are one or two statements in his articles which require to be supplemented, if not corrected.

Kaptar, which appears among the geographical cartouches on the wall of the southern corridor of the temple at Kom Ombo, written K-p-t-a-r and preceded by the names of Susa and Persia, is already mentioned in a geographical survey of the empire of Sargon of Akkad (2700 B.C.) which gives a list of the high-roads of the empire with their distances from its centre (Schroeder: *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, 1920: No 92). Here, as was first pointed out by Prof. Forrer, we read at the end of the list (*Rev.* 41, 42) that 'to the Tin- (or Lead) land (and) Kaptara, lands beyond the Upper Sea (i.e. the Mediterranean), (and to) Dilmun (Bahrein) (and) Maganna (the Sinaitic Peninsula), lands beyond the Lower Sea' (i.e. the Persian Gulf), the roads and beyond them the trade of the Babylonian empire extended. If Prof. Forrer is right in thinking that the ideographic compound $\kappa\bar{u}-\kappa\bar{i}$ which signifies both 'tin' and 'white lead' must be interpreted 'tin' in this passage 'the Tin-land' would be Spain (or perhaps Tuscany), and not Asia Minor, where no tin is found (contrary to Mr. Wainwright's statement). $\kappa\bar{u}-\kappa\bar{i}$, however, is mentioned several times in the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets (2300 B.C.) as coming from the Taurus mines, which were worked by Babylonian firms or 'Companies' (*Illāti*), and here consequently it must be rendered 'lead.'

The Keftiu are not included among the geographical cartouches of Kom Ombo, at all events so far as they are preserved; but the name of the Casluhim, written Kas-s-r-het, occurs in the western row of names in the same corridor. It is the only instance of its occurrence

on the Egyptian monuments, and may have been derived from the Septuagint. The following name, written Z-g-r, seems to be intended for that of the Zakkal.

The passage which I have quoted from the Road Survey of Sargon's empire unfortunately leaves the precise position of Kaptara uncertain. If we have to translate 'Tin-land' Kaptara would naturally be Krete on the sea route to the Western Mediterranean; if, on the other hand, it is 'Lead-land,' Kaptara would be either Cyprus or part of the coast of South-eastern Asia Minor. The name has not yet turned up in the Cappadocian tablets, which might be argued to be in favour of the Kretan hypothesis. On the other hand, Kaptar and Kafti are distinguished from one another in the Egyptian script; the suffix *-ar* could be explained away as signifying 'island' or something similar, but *f* is not the same as *p* which we find in the name of Kaptar at Kom Ombo. I cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Wainwright's remark that the identification of Keftiu and Caphtor 'is no doubt correct.' It is with Asia or Cyprus and not with Krete that the Kaftians are associated in the Hymn of Victory quoted by him.

The linguistic evidence also quoted by Mr. Wainwright certainly points to Asia Minor. I should divide the words of the Kaftian charm as follows: *S(a)nt(a) K(u)p(a)p(a) uymn T(a)rk(u) kl.* Many years ago I suggested to Dr. Hall that the name of Tarku occurs towards the end of the line, and in the Assyrian texts found at Boghaz Keui the name of Sandes appears as Santa. In the Hittite texts of Boghaz Keui the name of the Mother-goddess is written Kupapa as well as Kubaba; in Suidas and Eustratius this is given as $\kappa\upsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\beta\eta$ and $\kappa\upsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\beta\alpha$ and explained as 'the mother of the gods,' 'Rhea'; $\kappa\upsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\beta\eta$ is also the spelling of Herodotus (V. 102) and the $\kappa\upsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$ of Hesychius is an obvious misreading for $\kappa\upsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\beta\eta$. *Uymn* is reminiscent of *yman* in one of the Ras Shamra tablets written in the alphabetic cuneiform script (Virolleaud 2. 19). Along with other evils it is denounced, according to the translation of Père Dhorme, who suggests that it represents Yaman (Yawan) 'Ionian' (*Revue biblique*, Jan., 1931, p. 38).

In dealing with the Kaftian 'names' given on the Egyptian writing-board Mr. Wainwright

has missed the meaning of the first. This is Askh(a)r, the Assyro-Babylonian Iskhara who was more probably of Asianic or Mitannian than of Babylonian origin. In the treaty between Khattusilis III and Ramses II Iskhara is entitled 'the divine Mistress of the mountains,' and her name is not unfrequently found in the Hittite texts. The name which follows, Nsy, can hardly be the Hittite *-nazi*, as the second consonants are not the same, Hittite *z* representing *x* (*Iz*), while the Egyptian *y* would be *-ya*, and *-nazi* always forms the second element in a compound name. *Pnrt*, again, should be transcribed *Plt*; cp. Mut-n-r for Mutal(lis).

There is, however, one formidable difficulty in the way of assigning the Kaftians to any part of Southern Asia Minor, or indeed of Northern Syria. The Hittite texts of Boghaz Keui have now furnished us with a very large and fairly complete list of the geographical names in those two portions of the ancient Eastern world. And nothing like 'Keftiu' is to be found in them. It is true that the same objection may be brought against planting them in Krete. On the other hand, there is the old theory which connected the name with that of the classical Kêpheus and Kêphenes. And Kêpheus, the father of Andromeda, was associated with the Syrian coast.

As to the Casluhim, 'from whence,' according to Gen. x. 14, the Philistines are said to have 'issued,' instead of from Caphtor as elsewhere in the Old Testament, it is many years ago since I pointed out that the word is the Babylonian (AMELI) *kisal-lukhi*, 'temple-sweepers,' borrowed by the Semites from the Sumerian KISAL-LUKH which is a compound of KISAL, 'the fore-court of a temple' or other large building, and LUKH 'to cleanse.' As the Casluhim are described as belonging to Egypt, like the Philistine mercenaries, it would seem that the latter were regarded there as the descendants of the lower class of temple-servants. Does this suggest a connexion with the eunuch-priests of Asia Minor and Syria?

A. H. SAYCE.

A Note on Temple Equipment.—There are several inscriptions in the Greek Corpus in which occurs the word *ἱκρία* or its derivatives *ἱκρίωσαι*, *ἱκρίωματα*, etc., and in the majority of them¹ it is sufficiently evident from the context that *ἱκρία* means 'scaffolding,' i.e. wooden erections used

by workmen for operations carried on at a height from the ground, especially in connexion with the building or repair of temples. This is the recognised meaning of the word in such places. But there are certain exceptions—incriptions in which, though the same word occurs, it has been given a different rendering—not 'scaffolding,' but 'fence' or 'balustrade' (Latin *cancelli*). The very full article on *ἱκρίον* by Frickenhaus in Pauly-Wissowa will be found to include the occurrences of the word in inscriptions, and it sets out (ii. 2) the cases where this exceptional rendering 'fence' or 'balustrade' has been generally accepted. These are *I.G.* iv. 39; i². 94; i². 371, 22. It is with these three inscriptions that I propose to deal in this note.

Now in point of fact the translation 'fence' or 'balustrade' has never been proved for *ἱκρία*, but gained currency through its appearance in Boeckh's Corpus in 1843 (*C.I.G.* 2139), and has by later scholars become acknowledged as the most likely rendering in the three places named. The evidence relied upon in these cases was mainly that of internal probability, since little external evidence was available.

It is my aim in this note to show, firstly, that in the three inscriptions mentioned the weight of internal probability is wholly against the rendering 'fence' or 'balustrade' for *ἱκρία*; secondly, that there is a strong case for assuming, what is *prima facie* probable, that the meaning of *ἱκρία* in these places is just the same as it is elsewhere in inscriptions, namely 'scaffolding';² finally, that if this assumption is made, we obtain an interesting addition to our knowledge in regard to a detail of the permanent equipment of certain Greek shrines and temples. I will deal with the three inscriptions in order.

(1) *I.G.* iv. 39 (= *C.I.G.* 2139).

... ἄλυ|σε||σιδηρία ἐξ ὀπησ|||καρκινω||ξυλίνα
τα|δε ἐξαλειπτρον|κιβ|ωτοι|||ἱκρία περὶ το|ἐ|δοσ
ἐντελη θρονος|διφρος|βαθρα|||θρον|ος μικρος|κλινη
σμι|κρα|βαθρον ἀνακλίσ|ιν ἔχων|κιβωτία μικ|αρα|||
βαθρον ὑποκρατ|ηριον|κιβωτιον πλα|τυ|έν τωι
ἀμφιπολει|ωι ταδε χαλκιον θερμ|αντηριον|χερονιπτ|
ρον|φιαλα||πελεκυσ|μοχλος|μαχαίρια|||κλίνα||
χαλκιον ἐγ|λοτηριον|ἀρυστιχο|σ|ἡθος|.

The translation of *ἱκρία* περὶ το ἐδοσ ἐντελη (*I.* 5)

¹ v. *I.G.* i². 374, 67, 74, 151; ii-iii². 2.1.1672, 178 (and probably *ib.* 221 reading [*ἱκρίωματα* τα ἀπο τ|ων κιοιων καθέλουσι]); also Durrbach, *Comptes des Hittites* (Delos), 1929, p. 141, l. 234.

² More accurately, perhaps, 'scaffold-platforms': in their simplest form they seem to have been horizontal boards fixed on wooden uprights. Cf. the structurally similar *ἱκρία* of Herodotus, which were the wooden platforms fixed on piles on which the lake-dwellers lived, and of Aristophanes and Cratinus, which were wooden benches.

given by Boeckh in *C.I.G.*¹ is *integri statuae cancelli*, 'a complete balustrade round the statue.'

The inscription was found in the temple of Aphaia in Aegina, and had been published by Wagner² in 1817 before its appearance in Boeckh's *Corpus*. When the Aphaia temple was excavated afresh by Furtwängler in 1901, four square holes were discovered around the site of the base of the cult-statue, and it was thought that these were for the 'balustrade' mentioned in the inscription. Accordingly, the rendering given by Boeckh was held to be confirmed.³ It should be observed, however, that the finding of these holes may prove the former existence of a balustrade round the statue-base, but does not prove any connexion at all between this balustrade and the *ἱκρία* of the inscription: nor would it even justify the assumption of a connexion between them unless the meaning of *ἱκρία* were already known to be a balustrade. It remains, then, to examine the inscription, and see if its content throws any light on the probable meaning of *ἱκρία*. The document consists of an inventory of temple furniture, some of iron, some of wood, some of bronze. A glance through it will shew that, leaving out *ἱκρία* for the moment, the articles mentioned are without exception pieces of movable equipment—iron bars, benches, cauldrons and the like. There are no 'fixtures' among them. Accordingly, the inclusion among them of a fixed fence or balustrade is rather unlikely. We should more naturally expect the *ἱκρία* to be another article of a similarly portable or movable kind. If we then remember that *ἱκρία* in other inscriptions normally means scaffolding or scaffold-platforms, and further that from the excavator's report this cult-statue evidently stood on a base, and that therefore some form of scaffolding would be necessary when it needed attention to keep it in condition, we can scarcely deny the probability that the *ἱκρία* *περι τοῦ ἔδου ἐντελή* were a complete set of scaffold-platforms fitting round the cult-statue, kept permanently in the temple, and brought out for the workmen to stand on when the statue required attention. If that was their nature, their inclusion in the list of the temple's movable wooden equipment is only what we should expect.

(2) *I.G.* i². 94.

¹ From here this version of *ἱκρία* found its way into the earlier editions of Liddell and Scott. In the new edition it has been removed and the correct rendering substituted.

² *Bericht über die Aeginetischen Bildwerke*, p. 77.

³ Fiechter *apud* Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 43; Pauly, *l.c.*

l. 26. το δε φερῖσμα τοδε ὅπως ἂν εἰ εἶδεναι το[ι] βολομενοι ἀναγραφῶσα | σ ὁ γραμματευσ ὁ τες βολεσ ἐν στελεῖ λιθινῇ καταθετο ἐν τοι Νελεῖ | οἱ παρα τα ἱκρία.

'In order that whoever will may know this decree it shall be recorded by the secretary of the Council on a stone pillar and set up in the Neleion παρα τα ἱκρία.'

This is from the Attic decree *De Neleo*, which contains resolutions concerning the shrine and precinct of Neleus and Basile in the region south of the Acropolis known as Limnae. When Dittenberger edited this inscription (*Syll.*³ 93) he was uncertain of the meaning of τα ἱκρία, and fell back on the rendering which had become accepted in the case of the Aegina inscription. He says (note 18) *Cancelli significari videntur quibus delubrum (ἱερὸν) a reliqua area (τέμενος) separatur*.⁴ That is, Dittenberger thought that τα ἱκρία referred to the fence between the shrine and the precinct. But actually the decree itself is largely concerned with the erection of such a fence, and it is clear there was none in existence at the time. If τα ἱκρία did, in fact, refer to the fence which was to be made under the terms of the resolution we should expect to find in the text after τα ἱκρία some such phrase as 'when they (τα ἱκρία) have been erected in accordance with this decree.' As no such words occur, Dittenberger's conjecture is hard to defend. Let us see, then, how the context will bear the translation of παρα τα ἱκρία by 'beside the scaffolding.' It fits in admirably. Somewhere near the shrine, or actually within it, was stored a set of scaffolding as part of the permanent equipment of the shrine, for use when needed for repair or building operations. Near this place of storage of the scaffolding there was some available space, and here it is ordered that the stone pillar containing the decree shall be placed, *i.e.* 'beside the scaffolding.' This reconstruction of the position seems to me irresistible in view of the known meaning of *ἱκρία* in other places.

(3) *I.G.* i². 371.

l. 18. χσὺλα ἐονεθε το κλιμακε ποιησαι ἐν ἡοιν τ[ο] | ἀγαλματε ἐσεγῶσθ' ἐν (κ)αι ἐφ' ὃν ἡοι λιθοῖ ἐσ | εκομιζοντο ἡοι ἐσ το βαθρον και φαρχσαι | το βαθρον τοιν ἀγαλματοι

⁴ This explanation is quoted by Ziehen, *Leges* 13, and is approved, though with misgivings, by Frickenhaus in *P.-W.*, *l.c.*; the same rendering appears in Roberts-Gardner's edition of the inscription (p. 58, n. 28). For other versions of παρα τα ἱκρία in this inscription *v.* Wheeler, *A.J.A.*, iii. 41, 'next the staging'; Frazer, *Paus.* ii. 203, 'beside the scaffold.' Cf. also Judeich, *Topogr. v. Athen.* ed. 2, 1931, p. 388, 'Welchem Zweck die im "Neleion" erwähnten Gerüste (ἱκρία) dienen, ist nicht mehr erkennbar.'

και τας θυρας | και ικριοσαι περι το αγαλματε και κλιμακε
 προς τα ικρια.

I translate as follows:—

'Wood was bought to make the frames in which the statues were brought in and those on which the stones for the pedestal were carried in, and to fence in the pedestal of the statues and the doors, and to make scaffolding around the statues and ladders up to the scaffold-platforms.'

This inscription contains the public records and accounts for statues of Athena and Hephaistos which were set up at Athens shortly after the Peace of Nikias. The phrase ικριοσαι περι το αγαλματε is evidently taken by Frickenhaus to mean 'to erect a fence round the statues.' This is almost certainly a mistake. The pedestal or base would naturally have a permanent fence made round it, and in fact we have the words just above, φαρχσαι το βαθρον τοιν αγαλματοιν, 'to make a fence round the pedestal of the statues.' But the notion of constructing yet another fence round the statues themselves seems pointless. On the other hand, the first necessity for two new statues just being put into position would be a set of scaffolding around them to enable the workmen to adjust them properly on the pedestal and remove the wooden frames in which they were brought from the workshop. Again, if ικριοσαι here means 'to erect a fence,' the next phrase, κλιμακε προς τα ικρια, makes no sense, whereas if it means 'to erect scaffolding,' ladders would be the ordinary and necessary way of access to the scaffolding. In this inscription, therefore, the meaning of ικρια seems to be beyond dispute.¹

It has now been shown that in all these three inscriptions on internal grounds it is improbable that ικρια can have the meaning 'fence' or 'balustrade,' and that the rendering 'scaffolding' which is normal for the word in other inscriptions is eminently suitable here also. In fact, the cumulative evidence from these three sources is too strong to be gainsaid, and from the exposition given it can no longer be doubted that 'scaffolding' or 'scaffold-platforms' is the right translation. When this has been recog-

nised there is an interesting fact which we may deduce from the documents which have been examined. In the third one the ικρια round the statues were perhaps not permanent, but made for the special occasion of the erection of two new statues, and possibly they were broken up again afterwards. But in the other two inscriptions it is plain that the ικρια mentioned were a regular and normal part of the temple furniture. This is indicated in the Aegina inscription by the fact that they are included in an inventory of permanent equipment; in the decree *De Neleo* it is proved by the phrase καταθετο εν τοις Νελειοις παρα τα ικρια which implies that the ικρια were regularly stored in a fixed place. The conclusion² therefore to which this inquiry has led us is that in certain Greek shrines and temples it was customary to keep among the permanent movable equipment sets of scaffolding, designed for use in the execution of repairs and reconstruction, either to the temples themselves or to the statues within them.

R. P. AUSTIN.

The Orient and Greece.—Mr. Campbell Thompson tells us, in the *Ill. London News* of June 27th, 1931, that in excavating at Niniveh he discovered a Parthian settlement on the foundations of the destroyed temple of Ishtar. In some of the houses belonging to this settlement were found great quantities of 'the black-painted ware, the like of which is found in South Mesopotamia and Persia.' As this kind of pottery, decorated with geometric ornaments and animals, in all the places where it has hitherto come to light, must be dated about 3000 B.C., he is much surprised by his find, and the only explanation he suggests is that there must have been some Parthian virtuoso who collected antiquities. Now this seems most improbable, for who would at that time care for ancient pottery of no great beauty or attractive appearance, supposing even that after so many centuries unbroken vases were still found in sufficient quantities to encourage collectors? The discovery must mean that in the days of the Parthians the vases were still being made somewhere. De Morgan at the time of his excavations in Susa could buy modern pottery in Kouratchi which still bore a very strong resemblance to Susa II ware,³ and so we need not be surprised at this. Artistic tradition can be extraordinarily strong in that part of Asia.

¹ The view that ικρια means 'scaffolding' here was put forward by Reisch, *Jahresh.*, i. 1898. 57, and is followed by Roberts-Gardner, 116. 22. Roberts-Gardner, however, explains κλιμακε in l. 18 as 'inclined planes,' whereas Reisch seems to be right in identifying them with the wooden frames placed round a newly-made statue, like that shown in the vase-picture of a bronze-foundry illustrated in Blumner, *Technologie und Terminologie*, iv. 330, fig. 50.

² Professor Calder kindly brought it to my notice that this information is not found in the textbooks.

³ De Morgan, *Préhist. orient.*, II, p. 263.

The bird with the serpent, surviving from Proto-Elamitic until modern times, suffices to prove it.

Mr. Thompson's discovery comes to help me in removing a great difficulty. Last summer I published a thesis about the origin of Geometric art in Greece (*De Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst*, Haarlem, 1931), in which I tried to prove that a great part of the ornaments as well as the terracotta figurines of that period could be found back in the earliest art of Elam or in other arts that were closely connected with it. The drawings in which I put side by side Geometric examples and their prototypes could but give great probability to my hypothesis; what could be objected against it was the apparent difference in time between the two. I supposed that somewhere in Asia the early art of Elam must have survived, but I had no other proof of this than the reappearance of so many of its features first in Late Mycenaean and afterwards in Geometric times. Now the discovery at Niniveh proves I was right. The remaining difficulty is that the region where that culture maintained itself remains unknown. As the Parthians were in possession of these vases in Niniveh, there is some reason to look for it in Iran.

It is worth mentioning that the fish above the quadruped, a combination found, though very rarely, on Geometric vases, and for which I had no parallel, occurs on one of the sherds published in Mr. Thompson's article.

ANNA ROES.

The Congress at Athens (October, 1931) on the Preservation of Monuments.—The International Conference on the Protection and Preservation of Monuments of Art and History took place in Athens from October 21st, 1930. Part of the time was taken up in visits to Daphni

and Eleusis, and in a cruise to Nauplia (for Epidauros, Tiryns and Mycenae), Crete (Knossos, Phaestos and Malea) and Delos.

About three days only were available for the reading of papers and discussions, which ranged over a large field, covering monuments of all periods, the chief aim being to collate evidence as to methods already adopted in different countries, and to discuss the possible advantage to be derived from centralised study or action by the International Museums Office. As a result, the Conference passed a series of resolutions which, though for the most part of a somewhat generalised order, will, it is hoped, enable the Office to prepare measures with the view of implementing at least some of the agreed principles.

One of the resolutions expressed the unanimous desire of the Conference to render homage to the Hellenic Government, 'which, for a long period, during which it was itself carrying out important undertakings, has accepted the collaboration of archaeologists and specialists of all countries.'

The last session was held on the Acropolis, where M. Balanos gave an account of the work of re-establishing the fallen columns ('anastylosis'), both of the Propylaea and of the Parthenon. In accordance with his invitation, a discussion took place on certain points of detail, such as the use of cement for missing portions, the character of metal to be used for dowels, etc.: but the Conference unanimously approved the re-establishment of the Northern Colonnade of the Parthenon, and the projected partial setting-up of the columns of the South Peristyle—no restoration being involved beyond the simple anastylosis. They also regarded favourably M. Balanos' proposal to protect the portion of the Frieze still in position by an appropriate 'toiture.'

C. H. SMITH.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Who were the Greeks? By JOHN LINTON MYRES. Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. VI. Pp. xxxvii + 634; 20 figs. and maps. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1930.

Herodotus answered this question, as Prof. Myres reminds us, by an appeal to the criteria of ethnology, language, religion and customs: 'Greekness, which is of one blood and one language, and sanctuaries of the gods in common and sacrifices, and behaviour in similar fashion.' These being more or less the tests accepted by modern anthropology, it becomes apparent that we shall never know who the Greeks were without taking all into consideration, and that, in these days of rigid specialisation, Prof. Myres is one of the very few who are qualified to do so. Nor could anyone else, I fancy, convincingly handle the evidence supplied by Greek folk memory, which here, treated with unusual respect, becomes unexpectedly repaying.

The result of pursuing and combining these different lines of inquiry is a very comprehensive, very stimulating account of the prehistory of Greece. The vast quantity of information conveyed will instruct, excite or mystify but never weary the reader. The conclusions reached may be convincing, controversial or unacceptable, but they are always suggestive. Which of them should be selected and mentioned as especially memorable depends on individual taste: the theory of the Dorian invasion has, for instance, recently formed a special study by a reviewer in *Antiquity*: the relation of the various dialects will appeal to those who enjoy intricate stratification: the break that marks the arrival of the divine-born dynasties with foreign names about 1260 B.C. appears as an interesting phenomenon. Even more vividly we retain the impression of points half serious, wholly delightful, such as how to detect dolicocephalic heads under round hats. It should be noted that Prof. Myres connects the Indo-European, *i.e.* Greek-speaking element with the makers of grey, *i.e.* Minyan ware, though more loosely than certain other writers do, while in one place (p. 287) he associates it with the makers of oval houses, a nomad people without pot fabrics of their own within the 'smear ware' region.

It is, perhaps, inevitable that one should some-

times have the impression of too solid a structure built on too insecure a foundation. This, however, is not a fault, for it suggests subjects for investigation and creates a wish to amplify the slender evidence available for Greek prehistory. Another inevitable and desirable effect is the spirit of contradiction which makes specialists hasten to find faults in the treatment of their particular branch of study. If I do the same, it is but the inverse side of my admiration for the book.

In the first place, then, too much is made of *tumuli*—burial mounds—in Greece and Asia Minor. There are no certain examples of Bronze Age date belonging to the Troadic culture: what, therefore, does Prof. Myres mean by 'burial mounds on both sides of the Dardanelles and others in Phrygia, Lydia and Caria' (p. 259: see also p. 288)? Early excavators sometimes gave this name to burials in settlements where the settlement itself produced the mound, but I do not think those are referred to here. Nor is there sufficient evidence for the burial mound culture in Thessaly and Macedonia which might be inferred from the guarded statement on p. 235 and the very definite map on p. 236. Drachmani and Aphidna stand alone.

A second point that requires modification is the attribution of red ware to Troy II, which appears on p. 237 and is emphasised on pp. 251, 257. The original estimate on p. 232, more cautious, is also more accurate; but the truth is that Troy II produced pottery which was not red but brownish or greyish, and contemporary settlements like Boz Eyük, Protesilaos III-IV and Thermi IV-V did the same, with isolated red vases here and there. Only in the last stage of Troy II B, which saw the introduction of the wheel, can we distinguish wares where red predominates.

Comparing the statements on pp. 251-7 and 285, we find that Prof. Myres equates Troy I (black pottery) with Mediterranean stock, and Troy II (red pottery) with Armenoid immigrants. This, anyway, is the impression conveyed. It postulates a break in culture between Troy I and II for which there is no justification, since the interval in time is filled by Yortan, Senirdji and Thermi III, which show a steady

development from the stage represented by Troy I to that of Troy II.

Recent evidence, moreover, demonstrates that copper was worked at Thermi by makers of black pottery like that of Troy I: metal cannot, therefore, have been introduced by Prof. Myres' Armenoid red ware immigrants. Finally, the false connexion of Troy II with red ware is responsible for the under-estimation of the influence of that city on Macedonia and the north-west Aegean. The red ware certainly made little impression there, but the brown and grey wares find parallels, and the culture which they represented was one of the main factors in the development of early Bronze Age Macedonia.

The choice of names for early wares is a delicate business, and the old ones—Minyan, Urfirnis and the like—deserve to be suspended. But the substitutes here offered—grey ware, buff ware, painted ware—are in many cases open to a graver reproach than their predecessors, for they depend on characteristics often superficial and never unique. There are, for instance, many wares that can claim to be called 'buff wares,' while the application of the term 'painted ware' to both First Thessalian and Lianokladhi styles prejudices one against a reasonable suggestion that the latter may be a survival of the former (p. 460).

On p. 257, Troy I is assumed to be unfortified. There is very little evidence to be got from the walls in Schliemann's trench, but that little suggests a town wall, though on a very different scale from the fortifications of Troy II.

Finally, on p. 250, Prof. Myres shows a distinct tendency to expect 'smear ware' below Thessalian neolithic. This would be an inversion of the facts, for the priority of the neolithic painted over the Copper or Bronze Age Urfirnis is proved by stratification.

At the end of the book we find that an answer has been given to the question which the title asked. The Greeks, though they could not justify their own claims to unity of race, language and culture, had been moulded by their curious geographical surroundings into the form we know: its significance is conveyed in the final pages as brilliantly as its elements had been analysed in the main part of the book.

W. L.

Prehistoric Malta: The Tarxien Temples.

By SIR THEMISTOCLES ZAMMIT. Pp. xvi + 127; 34 figs., 33 pls., 1 folding plate. Oxford University Press, 1930.

The second half of the title explains the true function of the book, which is to publish that

most interesting of all Maltese sites, Hal Tarxien. The excavation, begun in 1915, was conducted with the utmost care, and rewarded by the most sensational discoveries. On the one hand were the actual remains—the temples with their apsidal rooms, their oracular chambers, and their yield of statues, pottery and small finds; on the other, long-sought evidence on the relation of the neolithic to the bronze culture which is the main problem of Maltese archaeology. It is this evidence which best justifies the name *Prehistoric Malta*, as misleading to the archaeologist as it is illuminating to the ordinary man.

Very wisely the author divides the description of the monuments from that of the objects found therein. It is no easy task for him to conduct his readers through a ruin so complicated, and all of them will appreciate his clarity and conciseness. Their chief regret will probably be that certain curious architectural features are considered worthy of a description but not of an illustration, and this regret may repeat itself when they come to the account of the finds. They may, moreover, curse the publisher for handicapping their progress by putting the folding map near the beginning of the book. Nevertheless, they will almost certainly end by sharing their guide's enthusiasm and his estimate of the religious character of the buildings.

The chapters that deal with the material recovered from Hal Tarxien do justice not only to the marvellously beautiful neolithic pottery, and the revolting neolithic statuettes; they supply adequate information on those minor finds which, though not in themselves arresting, are invaluable to students of primitive cultures.

A sterile deposit about three feet thick separated the neolithic stratum belonging to the temples from the Bronze (Copper) Age stratum belonging to cremation burials above it. Never before in the island had the two periods been placed in a stratigraphical relation to each other. Sir Themistocles is inclined, tentatively, to estimate the end of the Stone Age at about 3000 B.C., and the arrival of the Bronze Age folk at about 2000, though the copper implements illustrated on Pl. XVII give one the impression of being a little earlier. There is, however, no question, in view of the significance of the whole area, that a sectional drawing should have been given to supplement the admirable photographs on Pls. XIII and XIV.

Indeed, when we consider that, apart from one or two articles, the first publication of the site is in the book before us, we cannot help wishing it could have been, both literally and metaphorically, more weighty. In its present form it has the great merit of being easily carried round the

site, and very easily read. If we express the wish for an even fuller treatment, it will, we hope, be interpreted as a tribute to the site and its excavator.

W. L.

A Clue to the Cretan Script. By F. M. STAWELL. Pp. 120; 11 figs. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1931. 15s.

In her new book, *A Clue to the Cretan Scripts*, Miss Stawell seeks to prove that the hieroglyphic and linear scripts employed during the Middle and Late Bronze Age in Crete were not merely an important factor in the development of the Phoenician and Greek alphabets, but that they were actually invented by a Hellenic people and used to transliterate Greek words.

The author takes as her jumping-off ground those five Phoenician letters of which the names are, Semitically, unintelligible, and quotes Greek words which, so she claims, agree in sound with the Phoenician name and in form with the Minoan hieroglyph from which the letter appears to be derived. Thus 'koph' is derived from 'kephālē' and its form might very reasonably be derived from a Minoan pictogram that obviously represents a head. The other four letters with similar names are treated in the same manner. The author then assumes that 'koph' besides its ideographic meaning 'head' could be and was also used to represent the first syllable or the initial letter of 'kephālē.'

From this basis Miss Stawell proceeds to translate a number of seal inscriptions into Greek names and phrases such as 'Moskhos,' 'Velkhanos,' 'Minos son of Mopsos' and 'Pasiphae.' The famous clay disc from Phaestos she interprets as a hymn to Rhea written in rather jerky but quite intelligible Greek in a syllabary which according to her is a simplification of the normal system of Minoan hieroglyphs. This is all very exciting and, if true, most important, but I have an uneasy suspicion that the ground whereon Miss Stawell has reared such an imposing façade is more sandy than she realises. A recent book by Mr. F. G. Gordon translates this same disc into Basque. I believe that Miss Stawell is the more reasonable of the two, and she is never guilty of Mr. Gordon's magnificent but somewhat foolhardy refusal to benefit by the researches of other scholars. Nevertheless I suspect that she is guilty of the same methodological fallacy, to wit, that of assuming that because the phonetic values she assigns to the Minoan symbols make sense, they are therefore the true ones.

Apart from this (in my opinion) fundamental fallacy, the writer is open-minded, admits the

doubtfulness of many attributions and invites criticism. Perhaps students of Greek religion may complain somewhat at being introduced to so many new deities such as 'Phye, Goddess of Growth' and 'Hyake, Goddess of Youth,' and feel disappointed that the author has failed to find our Cretan friends Britomartis and Dictynna. 'Io' indeed we know, but she has suffered 'a sea-change into something new and strange' and now appears as a dawn-goddess, while the earth goddess Gaia seems to have forgotten how to spell her name. Philologists will probably not welcome the suggestion that Greek was spoken so early as the fourth millennium B.C.

In conclusion I may say that the book is well printed and pleasant reading, but I still feel doubtful whether the clue of this charming Ariadne will prove a reliable guide in our pictographic labyrinth.

Orchomenos II: die neolithische Keramik.

By E. KUNZE. Pp. 55; 26 plates, and 39 illustrations in the text. Munich: R. Oldenburg, 1931. 25 m.

The publication of the pottery found during the German excavations at Orchomenos in 1903 and 1905 has long been eagerly awaited, as it was expected to throw light on some outstanding problems of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages both of Greece and adjacent lands. Dr. Kunze's book now places before us the neolithic ceramic material admirably illustrated and with a fullness of description and comment which can seldom have been surpassed. It only remains for a stratified deposit either at Orchomenos itself or at some neighbouring site to be dug in order that Dr. Kunze's conclusions, which seem on other grounds remarkably convincing, may be controlled, and the usefulness of the present study completed.

Dr. Kunze arranges the pottery in seven principal categories, with two additional categories for household and miscellaneous wares. Those who have got accustomed to Tsountas' classification (studiously preserved by Wace and Thompson) will regret the introduction of a new one, even though they may admit its greater simplicity, and in the case of an unstratified site like Orchomenos, its suitability. When it is realised that, in the Thessalian scheme, Period B does not everywhere denote a break with Period A, that overlapping between the two Periods exists, that the Γα wares belong to Period B, and that, especially in the case of stratified sites, new categories can easily be fitted into the old scheme, the necessity for new schemes is not obvious, and it is to be hoped that future excavations in Central Greece and Thessaly will, as far as

possible, avoid the temptation to create them. Easy enough to make, they are hard to remember, and the adoption of a new scheme for every new site would, in the end, lead to intolerable complexity and confusion.

Among the definite contributions to knowledge which emerge from Dr. Kunze's study, the following seem most valuable: (1) the round houses belong to the Early Helladic settlement; (2) the typical Early Helladic bowl with incurved rim and the use of Urfinis are anticipated in Central Greece in the Neolithic Period; (3) in Central Greece, the fine black-polished ware and its varieties developed locally from earlier and more primitive forms (this will eventually have to be reconciled with the evidence from the stratified site of Servia in W. Macedonia, where similar black-polished wares, especially the *geriefelte*, are imposed abruptly upon a deposit of painted-ware (Thessalian A3ß) containing no black-polished ware at all; (4) vases with streaky polishing are to be distinguished from those in which the polished slip is scraped away. The streaky technique does, however, look more like an attempt to produce with less trouble the same effect as the scraped, than an indication of Northern contacts, and one suspects that it is more common in Greece than Dr. Kunze supposes, but that it has, so far, not been detected. (There are, for instance, two pieces (one from Mound 31, near Larisa) in the collection of the British School at Athens.

It is in the close observation of the material that the supreme merit of the book lies. In their haste to draw conclusions, ethnological or other, from their finds, prehistorians do not always devote sufficient attention to the material itself. To them it is the means, not the end. It is therefore particularly welcome that one who has made a name in classical archaeology should bring to prehistoric pottery (and mostly sherds at that) the same fine observation and method that he has devoted to archaic art. It is to be hoped that other classical archaeologists will follow his example. Prehistory will gain thereby, and they themselves will appreciate the problems which prehistorians are trying to solve.

W. A. H.

La Sculpture Grecque à Delphes. By CH. PICARD and P. DE LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE. Pp. 40: 48 plates. Paris: de Boccard, 1929. 15 fr.

This little volume gives in a convenient form for reference photographic reproductions of the various sculptures found at Delphi. These include the architectural sculptures from the various buildings, including the Treasuries of

Sicyon, Cnidus, Siphnos and Athens, the Temple of Apollo, the Tholus and the Acanthus Column: also the statues of the Naxian Sphinx, Cleobis and Biton, the Charioteer, Agias and other statues dedicated by Daochus, and the Antinous. The text is brief, but clear and adequate, and supplies sufficient information to enable those who are not special students to appreciate and understand the sculptures. It is to be noted that the archaic metopes are now attributed without hesitation to Sicyon; and that the famous frieze and pediment are assigned to Siphnos, two of the female supporting figures being left for Cnidus.

Die Entwicklung der Parthenonskulpturen.

By GOTTFRIED VON LÜCKEN. Pp. 124: 37 plates. Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, 1930. 18s.

The main object of this book is to investigate, by the help of detailed stylistic analysis and comparison, the sculptures of the Parthenon; and, in particular, to consider how far the differences that exist are to be assigned to artistic progress or development during the carrying out of the work, rather than to the individuality of different artists. The proportions of the study may be judged from the fact that the discussion of the Frieze occupies 66 pages, that of the Metopes 18, and that of the Pediments 25.

The Metopes offer the simplest problem. They obviously fall into at least three classes, and these Dr. von Lucken distinguishes as the archaic, the early classical, and the mature. And he points out, as indeed is a matter of general agreement, that these 'mature' Metopes have much in common with the Frieze and Pediments. The case of the Frieze is more complicated. Dr. von Lucken points out that the design of the western frieze is more strictly sculptural and self-contained, while the northern has a more flowing and generalised effect. It is not, however, clear how far this effect may be due to difference of subject, and even to the fact that the western frieze was probably made in the workshops before it was placed on the building, as seems probable from the way in which each slab is complete in itself. And it may well be that some resemblances in individual figures which are noted may be due to the individuality of the actual marble worker rather than to the designer of the whole or of any part.

In the two Pediments, the author recognises and emphasises the contrast between the quiet dignity of the eastern and the wild excitement of the western: but, after all, this is mainly due to the choice of subject. It is difficult to follow him when he sees violent strain and energetic

reaction in the Ilissus. And he himself admits that the transfer of the Iris from the eastern pediment to the western caused no great difficulty to students of style. Some confusion may be caused by describing the figure commonly called Iris in the eastern pediment sometimes as Hebe, sometimes as Nike. Iliad O (XV) for Y (XX) is a misprint in the description of the Theomachia.

The book is illustrated by many plates and photographs, carefully chosen and reproduced so as to bring out the comparisons and resemblances noted by the author.

Necrocorinthia; a Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period. By HUMFRY PAYNE. Pp. 363; 199 text-illustrations, 53 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. £4 4s.

Mr. Payne explains the title of his book shortly in the Preface and at length in an Appendix, but all his care will hardly prevent its joining Hogarth's *Devia Cypria* in the Rare and Curious sections of the literary hand-lists. However, it is a very good title when you know what it means: comprehensive, apt, and legitimately attractive. 'Necrocorinthia' were objects of art, particularly pottery, which the Roman colonists dug up in the cemeteries of Old Corinth, and which had a vogue in Rome at the time. The vogue soon came to an end because so many of the vases were in bad condition. Though the pottery in question was probably not archaic Corinthian ware, the same kind of disability has kept this well-known fabric from finding much favour in modern times. Corinthian ware, which is the central theme of this book, has lain until now like a morass in the middle of Greek archaeology, immense and dreary. Workers in adjacent fields have thrown embarrassing material into it; hasty or ill-equipped investigators have done little else (to complete the unsavoury metaphor) than stir up mud. Yet the pottery of Corinth in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. is manifestly a document of great historical importance, which is increased by its abundance on foreign sites from Etruria and Carthage to Egypt and the Black Sea. It has also, when reduced to order, much intrinsic interest and considerable artistic value.

In sharp contrast with this neglect there is the excessive notice that has been taken of Proto-corinthian ware, in the sense that its name is commonly applied to much that is not Proto-corinthian, and that specialists, with one exception (Dr. Friis Johansen), have been more concerned with inventing places of origin for the fabric than with analysing the style. But Johansen came to the conclusion that it was made

at Sicyon. And even Furtwangler, who gave it its name fifty years ago, assigned it afterwards to Argos because of the large finds made at the Heraion, and finally to Sicyon because of a Sicyonian epsilon on one of the four inscribed pieces. Mr. Payne remarks that the inscriptions of the Chigi olpe are neither Corinthian nor Sicyonian, and cites a Corinthian crater in Berlin to establish the axiom (which was long overdue in the study of Greek vases) that 'the epigraphic evidence may tell us where the artist learnt his alphabet, but not where he painted the vase.' The real fallacy has been in arbitrary isolation of the material. Nobody who was familiar with a full series of the pottery could understand why Dr. Johansen stopped where he did, and Mr. Payne now points out that he included and excluded works by the same hand. The Protocorinthian style is as distinguished as the Corinthian is dull. But the latter begins when the former ends, the technique and general character of the pottery are the same in both, and many of the shapes and motives of decoration are continuous. Yet nobody had hitherto succeeded in reconciling the fundamental identity of the two fabrics with the remarkable difference in their appearance. Mr. Payne does this by an acute analysis of the two styles, and wide consideration of artistic and economic conditions in Greece at the time of the break. Further, it is generally recognised that there is a class of vases with features of both styles. Mr. Payne defines this class, and dates it towards the end of the third quarter of the seventh century. Important evidence, which was not available when Dr. Johansen wrote his book, is given here by the finds from Selinous, founded in 629 B.C. Mr. Payne shows that Protocorinthian black-figure and Corinthian have never been found together in the same burials, and that Corinthian was, in fact, a later style. The 'Intermediate' class was therefore Transitional between the two, and all belonged to Corinth.

What Mr. Payne has to say about the changed character of Corinthian decoration is illuminating. Its patterns are obviously derived from foreign textiles, which he identifies as Assyrian, the products of new and direct communications between Corinth and Asia. The principle of design is also novel, patterns of contrasting surfaces taking the place of calligraphic linear figures: and the solid rosette which is the Corinthian trade-mark plays its part with the heavy, elongated animals in covering the maximum space in the minimum time. That Corinthian pottery was extremely popular is seen in the numerous Greek and Italian imitations as well as in its extensive export. It was a clever industrial invention: excellent crockery with bright and

novel decoration cheaply manufactured and easily distributed. Beside this mass-produced black-figure ware there are the vases painted in a nobler style of outline drawing, also in continuation of a Protocorinthian tradition, and using the methods of the greater art of free painting, in which Corinth had very ancient fame. Mr. Payne recognises actual pictures of this school in the clay metopes from the seventh- and sixth-century temples at Thermon and Calydon in Aetolia. It seems that Corinth had almost a monopoly of the design, if not of the manufacture, of terracotta revetments for temples in all parts of Greece. Cornice-blocks at Calydon had Corinthian 'instructions to builder' incised on them before firing. These members are also related to the vases by the painted floral designs which they bear.

Mr. Payne opens a new way of approach to the Early Corinthian style in sculpture with the small heads of women that form the handles of globular pyxides, and other plastic parts of vases. Through these the Apollo of Tenea is brought home to Corinth, and some other members of Langlotz's hypothetical 'School of Cleonae' follow him. The Corfu Gorgon pediment also joins this group. For the late archaic period there is not the same kind of evidence. While refusing to indulge in conjecture, Mr. Payne is disposed to use the numerous modelled mirror-handles that have been found at Corinth to enlarge the variety of possible Corinthian styles. He also examines other decorative metal-work with good effect, particularly the 'Argive-Corinthian' bronze reliefs, and bronze vases. But here again the available material is so scanty that the conclusions are not all presented as final, sound though they seem to be. Finality is reached, however, with the pottery. It is safe to say that future discovery and study can do no more than fill in dates and details, and add more examples to the full catalogue of significant vases with which the author has generously provided his readers. Mr. Payne may have regretted that this book was published just too soon to include the results of recent American excavations at Corinth and his own even more important finds at Perachora. But it is probable that this accession of material would have been too much for one book, at least on the scale of *Treatise plus Corpus* which he has given to the pottery.

Lest the author should be wearied with praise, the reviewer must belabour, in the public interest, the only mistake that he can find. On pages 6 and 288 it is stated that the round aryballos 486 (Palermo) still smelt strongly of scent when found. The authority is Baron Judica, the finder. Mr. Payne adds an instance

of an odoriferous Hellenistic perfume-flask (alas, without further reference), and cites Poulsen (*Delphi*, p. 62) for a Mycenaean example. Poulsen (I hope) is echoing Schliemann, and his last words are significant: 'In the neck was still the old clay plug, and when it was removed there was a sweet fragrance from within, *which vanished in a moment*.' Mr. Payne would not admit such evidence as this in a strictly archaeological inquiry. These fugitive perfumes are fabulous, like the germinating seeds found with Egyptian mummies, or the Etruscan corpses, perfectly preserved, which shiver into dust when the eyes of the excavator fall on them. The pottery scent-bottles, as we find them, are not even waterproof, and permanent air-tight stoppers would therefore be useless if they existed. The perfumes were volatile essences dissolved in animal fats or vegetable oils, organic substances of exceedingly perishable kinds. It is physically impossible for a scent to survive the decomposition of the substance from which it emanates, and most unlikely that the ancient substances would survive at all in earthenware pots. Their only chance would be if the process of decomposition sealed the whole surface as well as the orifice of the receptacle by means of chemical action. For this effect the organic substances would have to be present in considerable bulk, and the residue would be thoroughly decomposed. It might indeed smell, but not of its original perfume. But this is a small point outside the proper subject-matter of the book, and does not affect the argument that Corinthian aryballoi were scent-bottles. Mr. Payne's work could not have been better done, and this is one of the few books that justify the claim of archaeology to be called a science. I should also say that the excellent drawings seem to be nearly all by the author's own hand, and that the writing is a work of art.

E. J. F.

Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im VI. Jahrhundert. By A. GREIFENHAGEN. Pp. 104; 5 plates. Königsberg: Grafe & Unzer, 1929.

There is a well-defined group of early black-figure cups and kotylai which has long puzzled archaeologists. It consists of vases decorated with dancing figures and with a distinctive floral ornament, and is illustrated by two characteristic examples from Sicily published in *Mon. Linc.* xix. p. 95.

A number of suggestions as to the origin of these vases have been made: Corinth, Athens, Boeotia, even Sparta, have been put forward, and I have heard a case for Megara maintained.

Dr. Greifenhagen, who has made this group the subject of a dissertation, has now cleared up the matter and has given a variety of good reasons in support of the view that Athens was its home. He has also discussed at considerable length both the dancing figures which are the subject of the group in question, and also the whole class of comast-scenes on black-figure vases, of which he gives a catalogue at the end of his discourse. Taken as a whole his book is a valuable contribution to the study of the black-figure style; one may disagree with certain points, most of them small matters of detail, but this can in no way detract from appreciation of the thoroughness with which the work has been done, or the range of knowledge to which it bears witness.

We begin, very properly, with a catalogue of vases of the 'comast group,' twenty-six in number, all of them certainly products of one workshop. Unpublished pieces which the author had no opportunity of finding can be added to this list, but many of these, cups and kotylai like those of which his list is made up, add little to our knowledge of the group as a whole; some, however, are vases of other shapes and modify our conception of it. A certain number of such pieces, most notably column-craters and 'Vourva bowls,' are cited in my *Necrocorinthia* and need not be quoted here. On the basis, however, of the twenty-six cups and kotylai mentioned in his list, Greifenhagen brings forward a number of arguments both for the place of origin, and for the chronology, of the series. As already said, Athens is rightly indicated as its place of origin—and further evidence of this can be found in some of the unpublished vases just alluded to—and the period between c. 570 and just before 550¹ as the space of time which it covers. This latter conclusion is also amply justified, though I should modify it by putting the beginning of the group a little before 570; Greifenhagen's absolute chronology is, however, a decade or so lower than mine for a good many groups of black-figure vases, and his placing of the comast series is quite consistent with the rest of his system. In one or two points, however, he is, I think, demonstrably wrong—thus the Vourva bowl (*J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 4) is placed at 560, contemporary with the François vase. This is certainly too late, both for the bowl and for the François vase, as I think—in any case for the bowl. And it happens that this very bowl is by the same hand as the earliest of the comast cups,

which Greifenhagen places at 570—and further that the cup is obviously later than the bowl. But in general, though a good many points of detail might be criticised, the analysis by shape, style and subject is admirable.

As for the subject-matter of the 'comast group,' Greifenhagen deals effectively with the old, but still popular, interpretation of the dancing figures as Dionysiac (or other) 'daemons.' His arguments are thoroughly logical, and it is to be hoped that this idea is now finally despatched. For him the dancing men of Corinthian and other early vases are human beings, comasts: revellers dancing or otherwise diverting themselves. That this holds good for most of the Attic and other non-Corinthian versions of the subject is quite certain; but as an explanation of the character of the Corinthian comasts, and presumably of some of the Attic comasts of Greifenhagen's group, such an interpretation seems to involve difficulties which Greifenhagen does not meet. As evidence that the steatopygous *human figure* was a recognised comic character in the seventh century, he quotes the fragment of Archilochos: τοιήνδε, ὦ πίθηκε, τὴν πυγὴν ἔχων. This, however, is a comment on steatopygy in monkeys; it is part of a fable and has no bearing on the case. One may, indeed, choose to think that the seventh century was ready to appreciate the humorous possibilities of human steatopygy, but the fragment in question, unless I misunderstand it, cannot be cited as evidence of the fact.

Apart from this it is not clear why early vase-painters should have chosen to represent their comasts as steatopygous unless in order to represent an actually existing feature of their appearance. And if the earliest comasts known to us from vase-painting had anything in common with their pictures on vases, it must be admitted that they are exponents of Κῶμος which has already left its original spontaneous state and reached some degree of conscious specialisation—as Greifenhagen, in his interesting chapter on the Κῶμος and early comedy, thinks happened in Athens in the middle of the sixth century; alternatively the possibility that their Κῶμος has some more definitely ritual character, which might explain the peculiarity of their make-up, must be admitted.

Consideration of a single point of this kind in a review which must necessarily be short may give a misleading impression of the second part of the book, which, like the first part, is the fruit of wide reading. The final section gives a catalogue of archaic figures with frontal faces, and an interesting analysis of the reasons which lead to frontal representation.

H. G. G. P.

¹ In my *Necrocorinthia*, p. 342, I have misrepresented Greifenhagen, saying that he places some of the vases as late as 550. This is, in fact, implied in his chronological table on p. 32, but in his text he states that the lowest limit is a little before that date.

Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By L. D. CASKEY with the co-operation of J. D. BEAZLEY. Part I. Text: pp. 57, 39 figures, 4 supplementary plates. Portfolio of 30 plates. Published for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by the Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press: Boston, U.S.A: Museum of Fine Arts, 1931. 70s.

This is the beginning of a work which is to publish with ideal completeness the masterpieces of Attic vase-painting in the superb collection of Greek pottery possessed by the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. It is pleasant that British scholarship has some part in it, through Professor Beazley's co-operation with Mr. Caskey's many-sided competence. The plan is not rigidly systematic, but the sixty-five red-figure or white-ground vases chosen for the first issue form an orderly series; the majority fall within an arrangement of four groups: early archaic small-ware, works of the Brygos Painter and his imitators, pieces decorated by the Chicago and Euaion Painters in one school of the early classical style and by the Achilles Painter and his followers in another.

By the adequacy of its reproductions this undertaking sets a new standard for museum publications of vases. In the portfolio of plates, the collotypes of scenes are full size; the distortions and suppressions of photographic illustration have been amply corrected, by the provision of drawings (most of them the work of Mr. Caskey himself) or by the bold but welcome expedient of reinforcing details of the photograph which would have been lost otherwise. The excellence of the negatives and the collotype printing can be appreciated fully only by those with experience of the difficulties overcome; to complain of one or two instances of offensive glare or of the smoky tone of a few of the collotypes would be captious. All the drawings in the portfolio are accomplished and valuable, some seem faultless. Figures in the text do justice to shapes and to the decoration of hidden parts: supplementary half-tones at the end of the letterpress are provided for views not rendered in the plates.

The commentary likewise is a model. To be specially praised are the scrupulous accounts of technique, the acuteness and profound knowledge shown in the interpretations and a scholarly reticence about the obvious, and Mr. Caskey's felicitous writing. Occasion is found for many incidental contributions of great interest: one of them, a discussion of the bearing of No. 5 on the Hipparchos question, invites controversy. The identification with the son of Pisistratus is

more plausible than Mr. Caskey allows. True, this Hipparchos vase is late among the works of Epiktetos; but on what is Mr. Caskey going when he suggests that its date is perhaps the very end of the sixth century?

In every way an exemplary publication: the next issue will be awaited eagerly.

H. R. W. S.

Aison et la peinture céramique à Athènes à l'époque de Périclès. By CHARLES DUGAS. Pp. 121: 25 figs. Paris: H. Laurens, 1930. 12 fr.

This little book forms part of the series *Les grands artistes* and may be regarded as a complement to the well-known monograph on *Douris* which M. Pottier contributed to the same series twenty-five years ago. The eponymous hero selected by M. Dugas does not lend himself so well to biographical treatment, but he serves as the peg on which M. Dugas hangs an orderly exposition of the course of Attic vase-painting through the later fifth century B.C., from the Achilles Painter to Meidias. As a broad general introduction to the later red-figure style the book deserves every commendation, and the illustrations, while including little that is new, are characteristic and well-reproduced.

Vasi della Collezione Castellani: Catalogo. By PAOLINO MINGAZZINI. 2 vols.: pp. 380; 100 plates. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1930. 400l.

The Castellani collection was formed, by means of unscientific excavations, in the sixties; remained in Piazza di Trevi till lately; and is now in the Villa Giulia. Dr. Mingazzini deals with the black-figure and other early vases, Greek and Etruscan. Nearly every piece is figured, most pieces in more than one view. The descriptions are most careful and accurate: the author examines all questions of date, fabric, and style; draws up long and valuable lists of analogous vases, many of them unpublished, and many in obscure places; gives reasons for his opinions; and never shirks a difficulty. Some of his dates, as he is well aware, are tentative, and disputable; I think he is apt to crowd the Attic vases into the second half of the sixth century, whereas some seem earlier than that, some later; and his earlier Etruscan dates are possibly on the late side. These are matters of detail: the book is important; and for the study of Etruscan pottery especially, and of Attic black-figure, indispensable.

The get-up is handsome. Paper, print, reproduction are good. Perhaps I may suggest to the Libreria dello Stato that 'binder's side-

ornaments' must be perfectly formal, and must never, never make one think of a photograph?

Warning to the reader: there is an unusual number of errors in the text-references to the plates.

The best of the vases are the Chalcidian psykter-amphora with a porky satyr lurking behind a palm-tree (pl. 37: Tam o' Shanter); the Chalcidian amphora (pl. 41); the two Caeretan hydriai with Cerberus and Europa (pll. 38-9); the Laconian volute-krater (pl. 42); the Attic hydria with Herakles and Geryon (pl. 44, 1, pl. 46, 1-2, pl. 45, 1). But there are 633 in all, and other fine pieces among them.

Some small points. P. 151: the Cassel Apollo does not lack pubic hair. P. 155: no. 392 is not Corinthian, but does not look Etruscan either. P. 165: no. 408 is rightly called Etruscan by Langlotz: the shape occurs in Attic (Villa Giulia 959, *C.V. VG. III H e*, pl. 55, 3 and pl. 56). P. 171: Dr. Mingazzini is careful not to abuse the word Ionic, which is often abused in Italy and France: but he goes too far when he denies Ionic elements in the Pontic vases. On p. 179 interchange the headings 'idria' and 'vaso teriomorfo.' P. 181: the review of Rumpf in *J.H.S.* was by Payne. Pp. 197 and 199: on the Madrid hydria, *ABS.* p. 37. P. 200: the Louvre vase compared with no. 436 must be F45 (*C.V.*, Louvre, pl. 65, 3). P. 205, no. 441: the foot alien. P. 212: the inscription in the Sicyonian alphabet is by the same hand as the other—the hand of Exekias: the argument for the date on p. 214 is not quite sound. P. 221: it is not certain that the 'Tyrrhenian' vases were made exclusively for the Etruscan market: the fragment Acropolis 779 (Graef pl. 47) may be from one; a fragment from Naucratis in Oxford is almost certainly from one (*C.V.*, Oxford, III He, pl. 1, 36). P. 222, no. 454: Baur, *Centaur*, pl. 3, 39. P. 227: not satyrs. P. 228, no. 461: the women on the handles repainted. P. 232: was not Bellerophon there as well as Pegasus? P. 236, no. 467: to the vases in the same style add London B23 (*C.V.*, pl. 23, 4), and *Coll. de cér. antique* 26 jun 1931, p. 11, nos. 26 and 27. P. 238, no. 470: the foot is wrong. P. 241: the Leyden vase published in Gardiner, *Sports*, does not seem to me very like 473 (pl. 64, 2, not 66, 2): see *J.H.S.*, 47, p. 87, note 45. P. 255, no. 488; P. 260, no. 494: P. 262, no. 495 (B much repainted); P. 263, no. 497: all these near the Acheloos painter. P. 321, no. 596: mentioned in *J.H.S.*, 49, p. 268. P. 333: list of 'merrythought' cups: no. 7, the Berlin Ergotimos cup, is not the same shape as the others, for it is footless: Athens 14907 goes with it in this, and apparently a cup

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in Rhodes (*Annuario*, 6-7, p. 259). P. 347: the lekanis 630 seems dated too late, and the comparison with a cup in Scheurleer's *Katalogus* (of his collection, not of Leyden) doubtful.

The book concludes with an excursus on the purpose of Panathenaic amphorae. The general view is that the inscribed Panathenaics are actual prize-vases. Dr. Mingazzini denies this. Of course he is right: yet no one has said so before.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum : Danemark 4
= Copenhagen, Musée National 4. By CHR.
BLINKENBERG and K. FRIIS JOHANSEN. Paris:
Champion, 1931.

The fourth Danish fascicule finishes the Attic red-figure, and gives the Attic white: some black, mostly Attic; Hellenistic of various fabrics; and early Italian, which on the plates, by an unfortunate error of the printer, are called 'Italiote.'

Pl. 145, 1: no mention of the red lines round the vase: by the Nausicaa painter. Pl. 145, 2: by the painter of the Florence Centaureomachy. Pl. 146: near the Hector painter. Pl. 147: the figures on the right must both be boys. Pl. 148, 1: manner of the Dinos painter: the dots on A seem to be mock-inscriptions. Pl. 148, 2: by the painter of London E 489: the vase must have been a column-krater: the volute-handles, in Italiote taste, must be alien; and the mouth probably comes from another column-krater. Pl. 149: the form *κυαθεα* requires explanation. Pl. 150, 2: mentioned in *Vases in Poland*, p. 31. Pl. 151: Hoppin does indeed put this under 'Meletos painter,' but only because when copying out my list, he miscopied my observations in *J.H.S.*, 34, p. 195: his nos. 4 and 13 owe their place to the same error. The vase, as I now see, is by the Achilles painter, not merely from his school. Pl. 151, 3: neighbourhood of the Dwarf painter. Pl. 152, 1: by the Ethiop painter: I noted traces of the inscription, but could not read it, and in any case, to judge from his other vases, it was probably nonsense. Pl. 152, 2: by the same painter, the pelikai London E 355, Wurzburg 47 and 49, Altenburg 285, Berlin 2169, Louvre G 545, and one in Capua. Pl. 152, 3: by the Hasselmann painter. Pl. 152, 4: by the Hephaestus painter. Pl. 153, 1: is not the woman on B praying? Pl. 154, 1: perhaps a late work by the painter of the Yale oinochoe: the graffito, Γ, is omitted. Pl. 154, 3: by the Phiale painter: amulet on the girl's thigh. Pl. 154, 4: the authors are right in supposing that the lid cannot have belonged to the vase: it is the lid of a bad fourth-century lekanis. Pl. 157, 4: the inner markings on the

X

body are or were repainted. Pl. 158, 9: for the handle see *Vases in Poland*, p. 59. Pl. 158, 11: probably by the painter of Munich 2660: cf. the two jugs Philadelphia 2272 and London E 569. Pl. 159, 1: by the Lewis painter: the white inscriptions, καλο[s] on A. [κ]αλ[ε?] on B. are omitted. Pl. 159, 6: by the same hand as the three vases of the same shape *Att. V.*, p. 361: the Terpsichore vase *Cab. Poutalès*, pl. 29, seems to be of the same shape, and is not far off in style. Pl. 160, 1: by the Sabouroff painter: the καλος on the reverse is omitted. Pl. 160, 2: by the Codrus painter. Pl. 161: rightly assigned by the authors to the painter of the Yale cup 165: foot as in the Droop cups *J.H.S.*, 49, p. 270. Pl. 162, 1: cf. *Notizie*, 1927, pl. 21, 1: Naples inv. 126059: Heidelberg B 73. Pl. 162, 2: Prof. Blinkenberg shows that the name of the potter, here and in London E 770, is Gaurion, not Maurion. Pl. 163, 3: another in Tübingen, 1461. Pl. 163, 7: replicas in Berlin and New York. Pl. 164, 1: cf. the squat lekythoi Oxford 1920. 55 (*C.V.*, Oxford, pl. 40, 1-2), and Berlin 2470. Pl. 164, 2: the mock inscriptions not mentioned. Pl. 164, 3: by the Achilles painter himself. Pl. 165, 1: probably by the Aeschines painter. Pl. 165, 2: by the Aeschines painter. Pl. 165, 3: manner of the painter of the Bowdoin box. Pl. 166, 11: surely Eros. Pl. 167, 1: the right-hand woman much restored. Pl. 167, 3: Italiote. Pl. 169, 3: the picture by the Nikias painter. Pl. 169, 4: the picture by the Orleans painter. Pl. 170, 4 and 5: by the Tymbos painter: another lekythos by him is in the Ny Carlsberg collection, T 131 c. Pl. 170, 6: by the Achilles painter himself. Pl. 172, 2: I have no note of this: the reproduction makes an unfavourable impression. Pl. 173, 2: the drawing modern or very much repainted. Pl. 173, 3: by the Reed painter. Pl. 174, 3: on these, *C.V.*, Oxford, pl. 40, 15, and von Mercklin in *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, p. 330. Pl. 174, 5: much repainted. Pl. 175, 6: replicas in Oxford and Berlin. Pl. 176, 11: cf. *C.V.*, Oxford, pl. 52, 12. Pl. 178, 3: see *B.S.A.* 29, p. 205.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italy 7 = Museo Civico di Bologna 2. By L. LAURIN-SICH. Milan and Rome: Bestetti & Tumignelli, 1931.

Attic black-figured vases only. None of those found in Bologna is earlier than the vase by the Andocides painter which uses the red-figure technique as well as the black-figure (Pellegrini, *V.F.*, pp. 44-6). There are earlier vases in this volume: but they belong to the Palagi and

University collections, and were not found in Bologna.

Text and pictures are good. The ink is rather an ugly colour.

III He, pl. 8, 4-5: the style (as Zannoni's reproduction shows) is close to the painter of the London amphora (*Att. V.*, p. 468, foot). Pl. 11 and 13: kidaris and tiara are more suitable terms than alopekis. Pl. 24: Pellegrini's 'ultimo stile a figure nere' is inconsistent with his allusion to 'Tyrrhenian' and is wrong. On the shape see Payne, *NC.*, p. 313. Pl. 25: pelike by the Nikoxenos painter. Pl. 30: mentioned, and grouped with other cups, in *J.H.S.*, 49, p. 271, no. 7. Pl. 35: Pellegrini's 'manner of Amasis' is inexact. Pl. 42: see Mingazzini, *Vasi Castellani*, p. 314. III H g, pl. 1: the reverse much restored.

None of the foreign fascicules of the *Corpus Vasorum* bears a date: what is the beauty of this?

J. D. B.

A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. By DAVID M. ROBINSON and the late CORNELIA G. HARCUM: edited with additions, and an appendix of recently acquired vases, by J. H. ILIFFE. 2 vols. Toronto: the Univ. of Toronto Press, 1930. \$10.

This large, varied, and important collection is little known, and the fully-illustrated catalogue is welcome. The authors have collected a great deal of information, much of it new. The arrangement of the book is peculiar: interesting traces of a previous stage in the composition have been allowed to remain. Thus one chapter is headed 'East Greek, Corinthian, Etruscan imitations.' Another is called 'Etruscan-Ionic,' and includes Ionic as well as Etruscan. 'Attic Black-figure' contains Attic, Ionic, and Corinthian, 'Vases from South Italy' Attic as well as Italiote. The next chapter is 'Late Attic, Etruscan, and Greco-Italiote.' (On the new adjective Greco-Italiote see *J.H.S.*, 48, p. 271). The last chapter, 'Hellenistic and miscellaneous later vases,' includes a section conveniently termed 'miscellaneous' forms, mostly Attic, 6th-2nd century B.C.

It would be nice to be one of the distinguished scholars who believe the 'glass vase from China' (p. 269) to be genuine. The 'Cypriote' vase no. 251, the head-vase 353 have been allowed to remain in the text with a caveat: the 'Corinthian' vase 631 is also modern.

J. D. B.

Les illustrations antiques de l'Iliade. By KAZIMIERZ BULAS. Pp. vii + 144: 34 plates. Lwów: Société Polonaise de Philologie, Université, 1929; Paris: Bd. Raspail 95.

This very practical and useful book is a kind of pendant to Franz Muller's *Odyssee-Illustrationen*. The word illustration is understood in a wide sense, including not only illustrations proper (Homeric bowls, tabulae iliacaе, the miniatures of the Codex Ambrosianus), but all monuments that take their subject from the Iliad. The material is varied, and Dr. Bulas shows himself at home everywhere. He is brief and sober, he has good judgment, and he is not afraid to make up his mind. He has packed much information into less than a hundred and fifty pages, and yet he is easy reading. There is little to add: and the only complaint to make is that he does not always give the original publication of the monuments, or does not always distinguish it from derivative publications.

The following additions may be of use to someone: some of them are matter new since the publication of Dr. Bulas' book.

Archaic period. P. 3, note 2: some facts about the Giudice vase are given in *J.H.S.*, 36, p. 128, *Vases in America*, p. 42, *Att.V.*, p. 72: Hoppin's reference is taken from the first two passages, with the question-mark omitted. P. 5, the deputation to Achilles: in (i) Achilles has let his beard grow, cf. the unshaven Theseus, *Vases in America*, p. 137. Add a pelike by the Tyszkiewicz painter in the Villa Giulia (*Att.V.*, p. 115, 22: B represents Achilles and Odysseus). P. 12, Thetis and Hephaistos: add the same pelike, and stamnos fragments by the same painter in Oxford (see *C.V.*, Oxford, pl. 65, 31). P. 14, line 6: grief. P. 15, bottom: Thetis embraces Achilles: and Peleus embraces Thetis, Herakles Triton: but beyond that there is no resemblance: this is pressing 'typology' too far. P. 16, Thetis and Achilles: Thetis is winged to show that she is a goddess. Add the Leyden stamnos 18 g 32 (Achilles between Thetis and Patroclus). P. 17, Φινυρες. P. 18, Dragging of Hector. (d) is better published in *J.H.S.*, 38, p. 28, and Tilliard, *Hope Vases*, pl. 4, 32. (k) is in Athens. (n) is published by Waldhauer, *A.R.V.*, see *Attic Bf.: a Sketch*, p. 44, no. 24. Add the lekythos *Délos* 10, pl. 40. P. 21, Michaelis' notion that Achilles is represented as an apobates is to be rejected: an apobates needs a free right hand. P. 21. The inscriptions of (m), the London amphora 1899. 7-21. 3 (*C.V.*, B.M., III He, pl. 36) have often been discussed, but Cecil Smith alone has read them correctly (*Forman Cat.*, 306). Below the kappa in pl. 36, 1c, part

of a letter is visible: it was probably the last letter of a name, and may have been a sigma, as Smith supposed. He referred this name to the charioteer, and the inscription κωνιος to the winged goddess. I refer the sigma to the goddess: it was a short name—Iris? And κωνιος to the charioteer. What the broken letter was I cannot be sure from the traces: if it was a pi or a sigma, Κωνιος or Κωνισος might be a miswriting for Κωνισπιος, two letters being omitted: Κωνισπιος would be one who makes his horses dusty by hard driving: but the fact is that the remains suit neither π nor σ very well, nor indeed any letter. For the style of the vase compare the Priam hydria in Madrid (*C.V.*, Madrid, III He, pl. 10). P. 22, the Cracow inscriptions must be meaningless. P. 23, Ransom of Hector. No. (d) is published in *B.S.R.*, 11, p. 11. P. 25, I doubt if any caricatural intention. P. 27, the big wreath is common in late bf., and is not borrowed from a Herakles or a Dionysos. P. 27, note 1: the men are not ordinary reverse-figures, and must be Achæan princes. The earliest Ransom of Hector on a vase is the Oxford fragment, *J.H.S.*, 30, p. 36, and *C.V.*, Oxford, III He, pl. 2, 18. P. 30, Achilles and Hector. The inscribed Canino vase (a) is in Lord Elgin's collection. (d) is published better in *J.H.S.*, 31, pl. 14, and well in *Berliner Maler*, pll. 29-31. Diomedes and Aeneas are perhaps represented on the Olto cup Thorvaldsen 100. P. 32, the influence of Aeginetan sculpture is exaggerated. P. 34, the Wurzburg hydria is Etruscan, not Ionian. P. 37, the Boston cup is now in Caskey, *Attic V. in Boston*, pl. 14. P. 38, Dolon: the Paris cup is fragmentary but not restored. Add a rf. lekythos in the Louvre (Dolon only). P. 44, the chariot of Monteleone is Etruscan, not Ionian. P. 47, the Madrid hydria, *C.V.*, Madrid, III He, pl. 10.

Classical period. P. 54, the early representations of Nereids bringing the armour of Achilles have been studied by Jacobsthal, *Melische Reliefs*, p. 182, with much fresh matter. P. 56, note 2: the torso, Hekler, *Antiken in Budapest*, p. 44. Note 3, London E 130 is Attic. P. 57, on Etruscan representations of the slaughter of the Trojan prisoners see Messerschmidt in *Jahrbuch*, 45. Armour brought to Achilles: rf. pelike Athens 15299, by the painter of the Petrograd Amazonomachy. Hephaistos and Thetis, see *Bull. Metr.*, 11, p. 257. Ransom of Hector and Return of Briseis (?), calyx-krater by or near Polygnotos in the University of Vienna, *W.V.*, 1890-1, pl. 9. Ransom of Hector, elaborate Apulian fragment in New York. Pp. 65 and 69, the Etruscan vase in Munich, an amphora, not a stamnos, is republished, and the class it

belongs to studied, by Dragendorff in *Jahrbuch*, 43: early classical period. P. 71, another departure of Hector is on a neck-amphora in Philadelphia (Tillyard, *Hope Vases*, pl. 9, 87): same class as the Vatican vase. P. 74, the London hydria (C.T., B.M., pl. 81, 1) cannot represent Thersites.

Hellenistic and Roman period. The fine gem fig. 50 and p. 98 is now in New York: it is well figured (and rightly poised) in the Story-Maskelyne sale catalogue, pl. 3. P. 105, there are winged Athenas in Attic as well as in Ionian. P. 115, the Ince mosaic: Ashmole, *Ancient Marbles at Ince*, pl. 51.

f.n. in figs. 9, 18, 19, 20, is a misprint for *f.r.*, and *f.r.* on p. 49 for *f.n.*

J. D. B.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part IV: The Terracottas of Olynthus, found in 1928.

By DAVID M. ROBINSON. Pp. xii + 104: 62 plates and frontispiece. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. 45s.

The fourth part of the account of the Olynthus excavations is an improvement on the first, if we may judge by a recent notice of the latter in this Journal: possibly the writer is more at home with museum objects than in field-work. The American excavators of the site were at all events fortunate in finding such an interesting group of terracottas, mostly of early style, if not necessarily of early date. Dr. Robinson regards them as covering the period between the early sixth century B.C. and the destruction of Olynthus in 348 B.C. From this he deduces that many types hitherto regarded as Hellenistic are really Hellenic, a statement which we are bound to accept with some reservations. We know from the evidence obtained at Naukratis and elsewhere that the recorded 'destruction' of a city does not necessarily connote the complete cessation of antiquities coming from that site, and unless evidence can be obtained *from other sources* that types which have elsewhere been recognised as purely Hellenistic really appear at an earlier date, we must still maintain a sceptical attitude. Admittedly Tanagra originated most of the developed Greek types with which we are familiar, and no one would be prepared to place the height of Tanagra production earlier than the middle of the fourth century.

The most interesting feature of the Olynthus finds is the large series of female masks of archaic style, which are, like the later examples, of local manufacture. Dr. Robinson notes the interesting fact that most of the terracottas were found in houses, which refutes the theory that they were only meant to be placed in graves. But the

majority of the masks came from a large deposit, connected with a shrine or temple of pre-Persian date, *i.e.* before the surrender to Artabazus in 479 B.C. Here again we have evidence that their original use was not funereal.

The book is largely taken up with a catalogue of the finds, numbering over 400 examples, of which practically all are illustrated. Though hardly any are of conspicuous novelty or beauty, they are on the whole a very valuable series, the more so as they are the result of excavations definitely carried out on scientific lines. What results might have been obtained from other Greek sites if the same methods could have been applied in all cases!

On p. 67, line 7 from bottom of text, 'Colnaglu' should be 'Colnaghi.' On p. 89, line 8 from bottom of text, reference is made to a krater in the Louvre on which a negro carries a stool on his head; but on this vase the stools are carried in the hand. The proper reference would have been to the Andromeda hydria E 169 in the British Museum.

H. B. W.

Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine.

Tome 2, Fasc. 1: Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria. By EV. BRECCIA. Pp. 90: 18 coloured and 57 other plates. Bergamo: 1930.

Dr. Breccia's contribution to the study of Graeco-Egyptian terracottas is a very valuable one. His aim has been to show, especially by comparison with the finds from the Fayum, that Alexandrine terracottas had originally, and preserved through several centuries, an exclusively Hellenic character, while at the same time they throw light on the evolution of religious syncretism in Ptolemaic Egypt. In this he is apparently at variance with such previous writers as A. W. Lawrence. The statuettes of women and girls illustrated in the plates of this work at all events show, like most provincial terracottas of the Hellenistic age, the strong and all-pervading influence of Tanagra, and some are artistically almost equal to their prototypes. The Fayum terracottas are far inferior in style, and are shown to have been either adjuncts of the domestic altar or *ex-voto's* in some sanctuary. They mostly represent Bes, Harpocrates, or Aphrodite-Isis. An interesting analysis of the local Egyptian clay of which these figures were made, by Mr. J. Clifford, is appended to the introduction to the Catalogue. The latter includes over 500 items, the best of which are illustrated in the 18 coloured plates. The whole work forms an exhaustive and instructive record of Egyptian

terraccottas, for which the author deserves our warmest gratitude.

H. B. W.

Greek Coinage. By J. G. MILNE. Pp. x + 132 : 12 plates. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1931. 6s.

This is a general sketch of Greek coinage and currency, designed primarily for University students, but also with the hope that it may be found of interest to a wider circle. Mr. Milne has essayed a difficult task, for the field is a vast one, and he is to be congratulated on the measure of success he has achieved in packing so much solid information into so few pages. No aspect of the subject is neglected, economics and politics being skilfully linked up with the main theme, wherever an organic connexion can be traced. Perusal leaves a pleasant impression of the soundness of Mr. Milne's knowledge and of the firmness with which he has grasped the fundamentals. But the novice must not be beguiled into supposing that he will find perusal altogether easy. 'Numismatics without Tears' would have been an eminently inappropriate title. On the other hand, if he chooses to make the necessary effort, he will be amply rewarded. Nor will the more advanced student be sent empty away. Although the book does not profess to be original, it abounds in suggestive observations. One would like to have had Mr. Milne's explanation of the fluctuating weights at Abdera. And should he not have mentioned that the ratio of gold to silver in electrum was anything but constant, and (p. 115) that the Seleucids sometimes used the Phoenician standard? The plates are good and the typography is beyond praise, but there is no index.

G. M.

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum ; Volume I, Part 1. The Collection of Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill, M.C. The Salting Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Pp. 20 : 8 plates. London : published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford and Spink & Son, 1931. 7s. 6d. per part.

The object of this new enterprise of the British Academy is to do for Greek coins something of what is already being done for Greek vases in the *Corpus Vasorum*, that is to say, to make the largest possible material available at once for visual study and comparison. The notes that face the plates are being restricted to the barest minimum necessary: the name of Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, who is responsible for them, is a sufficient guarantee of their quality. The value of the

Sylloge must obviously depend mainly on the illustrations, and it is most satisfactory to be able to report that the work is already very good—clean, pleasantly toned, clear in detail—and that it may be expected to be even better in following parts. The price is most reasonable. Of the two collections comprised in this part, that of Capt. Spencer-Churchill, with six plates, offers a variety of fine coins from many mints, including an exceptional set of coins of Mende; the Salting Collection, with two plates, has a fine series from Asiatic mints.

Research on Greek coins in the past has often been something of a forlorn hope against impregnable positions. The Sylloge should give the preparation necessary for speedier and less costly advance.

Syracusan Decadrachms of the Euainetos Type. By ALBERT GALLATIN. Pp. 53 : 12 collotype plates. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1930 : London : Humphrey Milford. £3 15s.

Some time ago Dr. Regling briefly collected all the varieties known to him of the Syracusan medallions signed by the artist Kimon (*Amtliche Bericht aus den Königl. Kunstsamml.*, 1914). The same service has now been performed by a well-known American amateur of classical antiquities for those engraved by or under the inspiration of the other great Syracusan master, Euainetos. All examples known to the author are catalogued under their dies and every variety is illustrated on excellent plates, the size being magnified two diameters. The frontispiece shows a black glazed cup in the Louvre of a type familiar in this connexion, containing a relief reproducing an otherwise unknown variety of the head side of one of these medallions. Careful notes on the probable chronological sequence of the coins and on other points of interest precede the catalogue. As with so many coin books the price seems high, but perhaps this is justified by the spaciousness of the production.

Excavations at Olynthus ; Part III. The Coins found at Olynthus in 1928. By DAVID M. ROBINSON. Pp. xiv + 129 : 28 collotype plates. Baltimore : the Johns Hopkins Press, 1931 : London : Humphrey Milford. £2 5s.

The excavations at Olynthus yielded an unusually important series of coins which are here published. Apart from site finds two hoards were unearthed, one of archaic coins of Terone and Sermyle, buried about 500 B.C., the other containing a tetradrachm and small denominations of Chalcidice and some early Macedonian

regal coins, which the author suggests was deposited about 380. This is not the place to go in detail into numismatic points, but it is of general interest to note that the abundant site finds contain practically no coins later than the middle of the fourth century. This bears out the excavator's view that the town was abandoned after its destruction by Philip and never re-occupied. The coins are described and discussed in remarkable detail, not all of it relevant. The plates, though we regret to have to say it, are deplorable.

Catalogue of the Coins found at Corinth, 1925. By ALFRED R. BELLINGER. Pp. xii + 95; 2 collotype plates. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930; London: Humphrey Milford. 82.

The coins found in the season of 1925 at Corinth did not approach in interest those from Olynthus mentioned in the preceding notice. In fact their most striking feature is perhaps their negative side; the absence of almost any coins current before the foundation of the Roman colony is surprising. As was to be expected, the series dating from that event is a rich one, and some new varieties have come to light here and in the Byzantine series. An appendix contains an interesting practical note on the methods employed in cleaning and sorting the coins which we commend to the excavators of Roman Britain. The publication, which has adequate but not undue illustration, is excellent and the price moderate.

La Vie Privée dans la Grèce Classique. By CHARLES PICARD. Pp. 108; 60 plates. Paris: Les éditions Rieder, 1930. 20 fr.

Everyday Things in Archaic Greece. By MARJORIE and C. H. B. QUENNEL. Pp. viii + 146; 85 figs. London: B. T. Batsford, 1931. 7s. 6d.

These two books, which have a certain similarity in subject, are intended for very different audiences. M. Picard's audience should be a scholarly one, Mr. and Mrs. Quennell's a youthful one.

La Vie Privée dans la Grèce Classique gives a concise account of all that concerned the Greek citizen as a private individual, such as his education, his home, his doctor, his food. M. Picard is well acquainted with the ancient authors, and with the country as it is to-day. Therefore he is able to present a convincing and pleasant picture of Greek life, while at the same time attacking many agreeable and long-established illusions. If I express regret that he cannot quote references for some of his statements, it is not because I doubt

them, but because authorities are infinitely important in a book of this kind. The fault, I imagine, is that of the publisher, who has made provision for a bibliography but not for notes. M. Picard should be congratulated on a really admirable and representative collection of photographs: they are so clear that most of them have survived a very ineffective process of reproduction.

Everyday Things in Archaic Greece is written in a peculiar style. Perhaps it is intentionally simplified for the use of boys and girls, but the result is dry, jerky and artificial: also the authors sometimes make the unforgivable mistake of talking down to their readers. The subject, which should have been fascinating, has somehow become dull, and the book is absolutely without atmosphere. Take, for instance, the two or three pages on farming: a few quotations from Hesiod would have given the background better than a comparison between Greek slaves ('Slavery seems to have started with the enslavement of the natives by the Dorians when they invaded Greece:' misleading, this) and English villeins of the Middle Ages; or allusions to satyrs and maenads as spirits of fertility and vegetation. It was a bad plan, moreover, to devote one chapter to a summary of Herodotus, arranged methodically according to books (the FIRST BOOK in capitals, but *Book II* in italics). The illustrations vary; but surely it is a safe rule not to make fanciful pictures of Greek life, especially when the descriptions give the impression that they are taken from ancient sources? The worst lapse is the impossible drawing of a departing warrior which forms the coloured frontispiece and is labelled 'from a Corinthian Krater, Pl. xxxiii, Buschor' (on p. 111 Buschor's name is incorrectly spelt), while several other surprising scenes are said to come 'from a vase in the British Museum.'

It is not, however, the illustrations that prejudice me: it is the conviction that, had I read the book at an early age, I should have begged my parents not to give me a classical education.

Greece and Rome. Edited by the REV. C. J. ELLINGHAM and A. G. RUSSELL. To be published in February, June and October, by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, for the Classical Association. Subscription 7s. 6d., payable to Humphrey Milford, Amen House, Warwick Square, London, E.C. 4.

A classical periodical which caters avowedly for schools (including teachers and pupils) must be authoritative, simply written (though without condescension), and attractive to the eye. This new publication fulfils these conditions well.

Among the contributors are some well-known names, and the list of contents is varied and uniformly interesting. The format is pleasing, and the plates (dispersed through the text) adequate. Important bibliographical matter is contained, valuable to those who inevitably need such information. This periodical should appeal to a wider circle than its editors anticipate, and members of the Hellenic Society will wish it every success.

H. S.

Athletics of the Ancient World. By E.

NORMAN GARDINER. Pp. 246; 214 illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. 28s.

This is both an abridgment and an expansion of the author's well-known *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (1910): it contains less about the festivals and more about athletics. Also, as its title indicates, it is designed to include all ancient athletics; but these are actually little more than Greek and Roman, though the scanty records of Crete and Egypt, China and Japan, show that other nations had established cults of physical exercises and games. As regards Greece and Rome the special value of the book lies in its expert presentation and interpretation of the abundant evidence, literary and monumental. Gardiner was a classical scholar with much personal experience and wide interest in athletics. His archaeological work was always sensible and accurate, and he made good use of the opportunity, which his few years of retirement at Oxford gave him, to elaborate this part of his material. The ancient documents are reproduced photographically so far as is possible, modern restorations are noted, commentary and bibliography are supplied to each illustration. Particularly illuminating are the explanations of the numerous athletic scenes painted on Attic vases, and the comparisons with photographs of present-day athletes in action. Though the author did not see the book in its final form, he had evidently finished his part in it; and it is fortunate (in the misfortune of his untimely death) that he was able to complete this important and difficult piece of work, which he was uniquely competent to do.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume VIII. Rome and the Mediterranean, 218-133 B.C. Edited by S. A. COOK, F. E. ADCOCK, M. P. CHARLESWORTH. Pp. xxv + 840. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1930. 35s.

Yet another volume of this great work, following close on the last, brings us over the great 'divide' in the ancient world, when history

definitely turns westward and Greece becomes secondary in political interest to Rome. It is the interactions of Rome and Greece, then, that have the first claim on our interest now, and it is by the success or failure of the writers in interpreting them that the volume will be chiefly judged.

Professor Maurice Holleaux gives us a reading of the Macedonian and Syrian wars which is neither violently pro-Roman nor anti-Roman, and which presents the complicated series of facts with admirable precision and clearness. We doubt whether it is permissible to believe that Rome feared Antiochus as much as Professor Holleaux suggests. The idea that Rome and Greece became entangled largely by accident is attractive enough. But to credit Rome constantly with 'good fortune' is surely too easy a mode of explanation. Her fortune consisted chiefly in what she herself was. Roman 'fides,' no less than Roman military supremacy, was for long a definite and valuable asset. Mr. Benecke concludes the sad story of the fall of Macedon and of Greek freedom—perhaps sacrificing something of warmth and colour to his strict impartiality. In general, this part of the book is admirably done, but one may be pardoned for wishing that there had been room for rather wider discussion of general movements, as opposed to particular events. Dr. Glover's chapter on Polybius might easily have been more systematic and formally perfect—it could not easily have been more stimulating and delightful.

The Eastern world, so far as it still lay apart from Roman influence, demands separate treatment, and receives it in due measure here. Dr. Bevan writes a chapter of crowded interest on Syria and the Jews. Thrace, as described by Professor Kazarow, yields an important contribution to general cultural history. Professor Rostovtseff brings his familiar mastery to the treatment of the Bosporan kingdom, Pergamum, Rhodes, Delos and Hellenistic commerce. His work is a model of what can be gained by closer penetration into the details of Hellenistic life. Much of what he has to say used to be passed over in a few lines in the older histories. A careful study of his work helps one to measure how great is the positive achievement of modern scholarship as applied to ancient history. Professor Ashmole contributes a delightful chapter on Hellenistic Art, showing appreciation and understanding of its aims and keeping us alive to its variety and interest.

There is less need to comment at length on the Roman chapters here. It is enough to say that they are worthily sustained. Mr. Hallward writes on the Second Punic War and the fall of

Carthage. His story lives, while, at the same time, we are conscious of a wise and vigilant criticism. The defection of the twelve colonies in 209 B.C. seems to us to be, as usual, treated too lightly. And does not the career of Pleminius in Locri throw a rather lurid light on the reverse side of the character of Scipio? Also the Romans could on occasion punish extreme abuse of power without any special political advantage to gain. Professor Schulten writes with authority on Roman Spain: Professor Tenney Frank, in his study of Rome and Italy, gives us a wide survey and some interesting new points of view. There are also good chapters on Latin Literature by Professor J. Wight Duff, and on Roman Religion by Dr. Cyril Bailey. But does not the sentence on p. 432 "Oddly enough we have no record of the domestic cult of Ianus" suggest some doubts about modern positivism on this and other details of Roman religion? Mr. Charlesworth contributes an able summary of the place of Carthage in world history, but leaves the usual impression of amazement that a people with so little positive endowment should make so big a mark on history. Perhaps we leave out their spirit of adventure—attributing everything to trading instincts.

The general equipment and editing continue on that high level that we have learnt to expect. We wish the work all the success it deserves, as it now definitely passes from the Greek into the Roman sphere.

H. M.

The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume of Plates III. Prepared by C. T. SELTMAN. Pp. xiii — 99: 99 plates. Cambridge University Press, 1930. 12s. 6d.

This volume is the best of the three hitherto issued. It contains by far the greatest amount of material which is not easily accessible, and covers what is in some ways the most contentious and the most difficult ground.

The section of numismatic illustration is particularly good, and the plate which shows the successive adaptation of Greek coin types by barbarian people is of great value. The Celtic section is full and instructive, and the text that accompanies it is useful. The account of the Bouzonville flagon is the first fully documented and critical study of this remarkable vessel wherein Scythian influence on Celtic work is clearly indicated.

The Iberian section might with advantage have been more detailed, and the omission of the photograph of that uninspiring ruin, the 'Head-quarters' of Scipio, would have been no loss.

Prof. Kazarow's splendid series of photographs

of Thracian antiquities is a contribution of the highest value, and it is particularly important that the Ezerovo ring, with its 61 letters of a Thracian inscription, should have been here made accessible to study. On the other hand, the superb Persian silver vase, which is in no sense Thracian, from Duvanli should have been clearly described as Persian. It falls into the same category with works like the rhyton from the Seven Brothers tomb in Russia.

The Scythian section is illustrated with a most judicious and useful selection of objects not easy to find elsewhere, and the new gold stag from Hungary is a welcome addition. The enigmatic gold plaques from the Alexandropol barrow might have had a more critical description, since their character and origin are so obscure.

Prof. Ashmole has given a fine series of Hellenistic sculpture and brought some semblance of order into this chaotic subject. His attributions of works to known artists are surprisingly large, but one would have welcomed more detailed text to the illustrations. I must confess that even if Prof. Ashmole has thrown much light upon later Greek sculpture, yet the illumination does not make it seem more attractive. One feels throughout that the art of the Hellenistic sculptor had become hopelessly infected with the art of the theatre.

S. C.

Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas. By SEVERIN SOLDERS. Pp. 148, with map. Lund: Linstedts Univ.-Bokhandel, 1931.

In this doctoral dissertation Dr. Solders gives a highly useful conspectus of the local cults of Attica, and completely demolishes the view of Eduard Meyer, that Attica is the last survival of the great states of the Mycenaean age. On the contrary, he shows that originally not only was Eleusis separate from Athens, as everybody has allowed, but also the Marathonian Tetrapolis, the Mesogeia, with the southern promontory, the home of the Medontidae, who probably never reigned in Athens at all, the Tetrakomoi district which cut off Athens from the sea, the Trikomoi (Menidi, Acharnae), and probably also the district of Pallene between Hymettus and Pentelicus. Not the least valuable part of the book is where Dr. Solders shows how all the local cults were in one way or another associated with the capital after the synoecismus. Thus though Theseus is a mere name, the unification of Attica is an historical fact and postulates a high degree of statesmanship. There is an exceedingly useful map.

Die Makedonische Heeresversammlung : ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht. By FRIEDRICH GRANIER. Pp. xiv + 206. Munich: Beck, 1931. 9.50 m.

This book forms vol. 13 of *Munchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*. It goes through Macedonian history from the earliest times to the end of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties, sorting out all instances of collective action by Macedonian troops which may bear on the nature of the Macedonian military Assembly; each historical section is followed by a summary giving its juristic aspect. It is very thorough, the only important omission being the meeting when the Macedonians took Eurydice under their protection and forced Perdikkas to let her marry Philip III; faults are that the author is rather inclined to see Assemblies everywhere, and is not well-informed on work done outside Germany. He begins excellently, for he recognises, as against Kaerst (whose theory, however, he does not cite), that the Assembly of the free Macedonian people in arms was primitive, and older than the monarchy; and there are several cases, like the trial of Philotas, where he takes a sound view. But on one of the root questions I think he goes astray. He gives the three powers of the Assembly (p. 20) as recognition of the new king, appointment of a guardian for a minor (*i.e.* a regent), and jurisdiction in treason cases, and argues as to the first (the other two are indisputable) that while the Argead dynasty lasted the Assembly could only *recognise* the new king, who inherited as of right; it was only later that the vacant crown vested in the army till they made a new king. This cannot be correct. For he omits to notice that treaties ended with the demise of the Crown, and so ended in the early no less than in the late period—Philip II's treaties with the League States no less than those of Gonatas and Doson with Aetolia; there was therefore the same breach of continuity under the Argeads as under the Antigonids, that is, the Crown was in the hands of the army and they made, and not merely recognised, the new king: moreover, had this not been so, the action of the army after Alexander's death would be incomprehensible. Granier knows that politics were outside the army's powers, but thrice attributes political action to them: in his view they made Alexander king of Asia (which Plutarch does *not* say, and which is impossible), rejected his (supposed) plans after his death, and confirmed Perdikkas' distribution of the satrapies. As to the sectional Assemblies of the wars of the Successors, it is not clear to me how he really regards them, but certainly sometimes he treats them as having

legal power (*e.g.* p. 91). But a full Assembly had made Alexander IV king, and therefore while he lived it would seem that no sectional Assembly could have any power at all except that of the sword; Olympias was right when she refused to recognise the jurisdiction of Cassander's troops alone and claimed a trial before the whole Macedonian army (Granier goes wrong here). As to the Ptolemies and Seleucids, he naturally sees that towards the end army action was only arbitrary interference, but he assumes that, at first, their Macedonians possessed the old *Recht*. This interesting view may be true, but it cannot be assumed; there are arguments both ways, and the question needed threshing out, especially as this has never been done. The book does not, I think, add much to existing knowledge, and requires to be used with discrimination: but it is valuable as a full collection of material and sources, and it is good to have a clear statement that the Macedonian 'constitution' was not, as Kaerst supposed, a creation of the kings.

W. W. T.

Menschen die Geschichte machten. By P. R. ROHDEN and G. OSTROGORSKY. 3 vols. Pp. viii + 327, viii + 386, viii + 384: 79 plates. Wien: L. W. Seidel & Sohn, 1931.

So far as Hellenic studies are directly concerned, the interest of this collection of biographical sketches is virtually limited to about one-third of the first volume. The accounts are necessarily brief, averaging some four or five pages; but within this compass the writers of the various lives have in general succeeded in giving a clear summary of essential facts and depicting their heroes in relation to the circumstances of their times. The book should be of considerable practical value for teaching purposes as providing a series of outlines which can be filled up to suit the needs of a particular case.

Papyri in the Princeton University Collections. Edited with notes by A. C. JOHNSON and H. B. VAN HOESSEN. Pp. xxiii + 146. (*The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology*, No. 10.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. 34s.

The fourteen papyri here collected are all accounts or registers. Such texts make neither light nor exciting reading, but they are often extremely useful as evidence for the financial and administrative organisation, and even for the social condition, of Egypt; and that is certainly true of these. They all come from Philadelphia in the Arsinoite nome, and belong to the first half of the first century of our era,

mainly, if not entirely, to the reign of Tiberius; and the majority relate to the tax called *συντάξιμον*. Its nature has been often discussed, with no very definite result. The editors, in their introduction, deal with this and with other problems presented by the texts they publish, particularly debating the question whether the *συντάξιμον* was the same as the poll-tax. They incline to the view that it was not, and some of the evidence they adduce is certainly impressive; but the considerations on the other side are weighty. The amounts of the two taxes are very similar, they were both levied on the same classes of the population, at rates varying inversely with the social status of the tax-payers, and on males only; and children and elderly persons were exempt from both. An even stronger argument is perhaps the difficulty of supposing that the peasantry were subjected simultaneously to both these taxes, each of which amounted, for the lowest class, to upwards of 40 drachmae per annum. The present volume, reinforcing the evidence of other texts, makes it seem highly probable that the *συντάξιμον*, if not merely the poll-tax in a slightly different form, was at least an alternative, not an addition, to it.

Tax registers, often very cursively written, are by no means easy to decipher. How accurate the transcripts here published may be, it is hard to say in the absence of facsimiles. Some of the readings excite suspicion by their appearance, but in the main the editors appear to have done their work well, and the volume is a valuable addition to our evidence for the condition of Egypt in the early Roman period.

Heidelberger Konträrindex der griechischen Papyrusurkunden. By F. BILABEL, E. PFEIFFER, A. LAUER, under the direction of O. GRADENWITZ. Pp. x + 127. Berlin: Weidmann, 1931. 12 m.

This volume marks the realisation of an idea put forward by Prof. Gradenwitz as long ago as 1900 (in his *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*). It is a complete index of the words in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, with some from later published and unpublished texts, arranged in the reverse order of the letters, from the end to the beginning of the words. It will be of great utility to editors of mutilated papyri, who are often at a loss how to restore a word of which the earlier part is lost, since they will here find the likely words grouped together; and to the etymologist also it will be of some, though a more limited, use, bringing together as it does the formations from a single root form. The words not in Preisigke are marked

with an asterisk and also collected separately in an appendix, in which is indicated the source from which they are taken.

Papyri Osloenses : Fasc. II. By S. EITREM and LEIV AMUNDSEN. Two parts: text, pp. xi + 182; plates, 9 colotype facsimiles. Oslo: Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi (on commission by Jacob Dybwad), 1931.

This volume consists of eight literary pieces (Nos. 7-14), one magical ostrakon (No. 15), and the rest (Nos. 16-64) of documents. The last include a representative series of private letters from A.D. 1 to the fifth century, interesting loans of money on security, and two reports of legal interrogatories. Six of the literary texts have already appeared in *Symbolae Osloenses*; the remaining two are: No. 12, Vocabulary of *Iliad* I, 5-24 (second century A.D.), similar to Pap. Berl. 5014; No. 13, parts of a Grammar, also second century, which often coincides with the *Techne of Dionysius Thrax* and may be lectures based on that manual. As an appendix is added a re-edition by P. Heegaard of Pap. Oslo. 6, a horoscope now dated 11 Mar., A.D. 150.

Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der Heidenischen Antike und Christlichen Frühzeit. By Dr. Theol. JOHANNES QUASTEN. Pp. 274. Veröffentlichungen des Vereins zur Pflege der Liturgiewissenschaft E.V. (Sitz: Maria Laach), Münster (Westphalia): Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930.

This is a useful contribution to archaeology and Church history. After a clear account of the application of music to religion in ancient Greece and Rome, we pass to the philosophical notion of the λογική θυσία, which had far-reaching effects on later Greek, Jewish and Christian thought. The author believes that the origin of music lay in magic, intended either to drive off evil spirits or to compel the presence of good ones. Bells and cymbals were especially powerful for apotropaic use. From this primitive stage mankind moves forward to the familiar conception of music and praise as an offering acceptable to the deities. But more spiritually-minded thinkers, like Philo, rejected this view also, and held that a holy and virtuous life was the only sacrifice that God desired. The early Christian Church, having no ritual of her own, inherited this double conception and was bound to decide the matter for herself. On the one hand she had the Jewish Temple tradition, sanctioning ceremonial dance and instrumental music, which were likewise supported by the whole practice of the pagan world; on the other hand stood the Jewish prophets, the philosophers and the main

body of apostolic teaching. Dr. Quasten shows us forcibly, with many examples, how thoroughly in the ancient world music was interwoven with the acts of life, from the familiar libation at meals to the most solemn ceremonies of joy or mourning. It is therefore no wonder that the usage of the Church varied from place to place and that a statesman-bishop might allow a latitude that the severity of an abbot would condemn. As St. Paul had recommended the use of psalms and hymns, we early find a belief in the edifying effect of congregational singing: only the singing must be general and unisonic. (So Ambrose, Athanasius, Clement and many others.) Instrumental music was mainly forbidden in the early Church. On secular occasions the playing of lyre and cithara was allowed to Christians (the quotations on p. 104 hardly prove that such was the case at the feast of the Agape), but the flute and most other wind-instruments, from their orgiastic associations, were strictly forbidden. Dr. Quasten gives a reasonable account of the Christian hymn from Oxyrhynchus; apart from this he seldom discusses the actual music. From simple beginnings the tendency grew up in the Church to make the services more attractive by elaboration of the music, or in other words to compete on the artistic side with pagan ritual. Among many attempts of this sort, mention may be made of the female choir trained by the great Syrian hymnodist Ephraem. The heretical sects also used music to allure their converts. The result naturally was that the Church forbade women to sing in the services, severely reduced the employment of 'human hymns,' and nearly, or in some quarters completely, destroyed congregational singing. Outside the regular services the Church had a long and stern fight against the encroachments of pagan music, dancing and other indecorous practices at banquets, weddings, funerals, the various lyke-wakes or commemorations of the dead, and finally at the festivals of martyrs, which popular sentiment soon invested with undue hilarity. All these matters are discussed in detail by the author, whose arguments are well fortified with quotations and footnotes, and illustrated by 38 photographs of cult-scenes attended by musicians. His German style is clear and straightforward, while the tone of the book is tolerant and just. We are glad to see evidence from the Syrian, Coptic and other Eastern Churches marshalled along with the data obtained from nearer sources. There is a full index.

The question of the proper use of music in public and private worship is one upon which we are far from having heard the last word; and

Dr. Quasten's work may be recommended to all serious students of this subject not less than to those professional scholars or theologians to whom his information is of immediate value.

H. J. W. T.

50 Δημόδη *ΑΣΜΑΤΑ Πέλοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης.
Pp. iv + 240. Athens: I. N. Sideris, 1930.
60 dr.

Western musicians have cause to be grateful to their colleagues in Greece, whose diligence and skill have been applied to the collection and editing of Greek folk-songs. The present series consists of 22 Peloponnesian and 28 Cretan songs. All were recorded by phonograph from the lips of local singers or musicians; and the records are preserved in the Odeum at Athens. The versions in the Chrysanthine and in the European notation are the work of Prof. Psachos, who with the editor, Mr. G. N. Nazos, deserves every congratulation on the result. The theoretical remarks are naturally based on the principles of Chrysanthus and must be read along with Rebours' *Traité de Psaltique* and the statements of G. Pachtikos, an earlier but also competent collector of Greek folk-songs. We may add that phonographic records of folk-songs were also taken by the French explorers at Chios (Pernot and Legrand, *Ile de Chio*). Musicians in Western Europe, who may wish to widen their horizon, might begin with the three Cretan dances on pp. 93, 101 and 111, playing them on the violin or flute. The Cretan songs usually have an interlude for the 'lyra'—a bowed fiddle, unlike the ancient lyre—and would make agreeable studies for the violin. From such a beginning it will not be too hard a step to the more elaborate and florid examples, where Oriental influence can be most clearly traced. Many of these, although they are carefully divided into bars by Prof. Psachos, have no coherent rhythm and are probably seldom sung twice alike. The piano accompaniments to some of the songs, by Monsieur Marsick, are effective and musicianly, reminding us of the attempts of the late Archpriest Hatherly; but they transport us at once to the concert-room away from the true air of the village wine-shop or the village square on an Easter morning. Yet if they lead foreign musicians to learn any of the songs, they will be justified. With regard to the study of folk-music in Greece itself we cordially agree with the editor when he pleads for concerted action before the traditional airs are forgotten. 'The invasion of barbarous modern dances, if it reaches the country towns and villages of Greece, and the arrival of the gramophone and wireless, will soon change the dances and songs that form the heritage of the

Hellenic race.' The question is—Can Greece have it both ways? Whether modern dances and Western music, or the old steps and the old, plaintive, uncouth but fascinating Graeco-Oriental tunes?

The book is clearly printed and tolerably free from misprints. An edition on better paper with an alphabetical index would be desirable.

H. J. W. T.

Pädiatrie in Hellas und Rom. By S. GHINO-POULO. Pp. 132. Jena: G. Fischer, 1930.

This book, the thirteenth volume in the well-known Jena series of historical medical monographs, is a collection of the relevant passages from ancient authors dealing with the care of the child and with infantile ailments. A general review of the literature is followed by chapters dealing with customs at birth, feeding and diet, and with the various diseases. Much of the work is of specialist interest, but the general classical reader will find, more particularly in the opening chapters, much curious information conveniently arranged and some interesting sidelights on ancient mentality. A full bibliography is added.

Die griechische Tragödie. By MAX POHLENZ. Vol. 1, pp. viii + 542; vol. 2, pp. iv + 148. Leipzig: Teubner, 1930. Bound 20 m. — 12 m., unbound 18 m. + 10 m.

Die griechische Tragödie. By ERNST HOWALD. Pp. vi + 183. München: Oldenbourg, 1930. 8 m.

These two books form a strange contrast. Pohlenz scholarly, balanced in judgment, appreciative, courteous to those with whom he disagrees; Howald careless, wild, obscure, and contemptuous of all who have ventured to express different views—and they are legion. To say that his book is preposterous is perhaps to go too far; but when he postulates an exclusively subjective basis for Tragedy, argues that its essence lies in certain regular reactions in the minds of the spectators to a series of disconnected scenes, that neither the plays nor the characters have either unity or individuality, and does violence to the majority of the plays which he discusses in order to adapt them to his peculiar theory, the bewildered reader may be forgiven for wondering whether he himself or the author is not a madman. Howald may have something reasonable to say occasionally, but it will hardly repay the trouble of disentangling it from the chaos.

Pohlenz, on the other hand, has written a book which bids fair to be a standard work on Greek Tragedy for many years to come. The

first volume contains a straightforward narrative, all the notes being relegated to the second. Starting with a brief account, conservative but balanced, of the origins, the author proceeds to a comprehensive discussion of Greek Tragedy from literary, religious and historical points of view. Emphasising the close connexion of each play with the political conditions as well as with the thought and aspirations of the times in which it was produced, he groups together the plays which may be attributed to each of the stages of development which he traces in the fifth century. The plays of Aeschylus all fall in the period when the State overshadowed the individual both in political and religious matters, when traditional religion was still the spiritual force. Sophocles and Euripides were influenced by the growth of individualism and by the new thought. The earlier plays of Sophocles are typical of the Periclean Age, but his later works (*Philoctetes*, *Oedipus Coloneus*), like the earlier plays of Euripides, belong to a time when individualism was more strongly marked, when personal motives were found more interesting than political or patriotic. The crisis of the Archidamian War caused a temporary reversion to an earlier type of tragedy represented by the *Herakleidae* and *Suppliants* of Euripides; but the period of disillusionment soon followed (*Troades* and *Phoenissai*) and most of the remaining plays of Euripides reflect his personal attitude towards or revolt from various traditional ideas and conventions. A few pages are devoted to the minor tragedians, to one of whom the *Rhesus* is ascribed: then a concluding chapter describes the further growth of individualism in the fourth century and the extent to which it affected ancient theories of Tragedy in general.

Such a bare outline does scant justice either to the main theme or to the many side issues which naturally arise from it. Each play is adequately discussed, nor are those that are only preserved in fragments ignored. It was not to be expected that the author would have something new to say about every play, but he has a way of being interesting even when he is covering old ground. There is always danger in an attempt to fit individual specimens into a preconceived pattern, and the background which Pohlenz postulates for some of the plays may seem slightly unconvincing; but he puts his case with such lucidity and such a lack of dogmatism that one is persuaded almost against one's will. In any case, it would be difficult to prove that he is wrong.

The excellence of the narrative is rivalled by the excellence of the notes in the second volume. These contain a fair statement of the evidence,

but more important is the illuminating treatment of a multitude of vexed questions. Much that is valuable will be found here not only by the literary historian, but also by those who seek interpretations of difficult scenes and passages and even by textual critics (*e.g.* the notes on Aesch., *Septem* 823 ff. and Eurip., *Medea* 1053 ff.). In a word, the book is typical of the best German scholarship: moreover, it is attractively written and well produced.

R. M. R.

Gray of Bradfield; a memoir. Compiled from unpublished reminiscences and other sources. Pp. 176; 17 illustrations. Oxford: University Press, 1931. 7s. 6d.

The Oxford University Press have just published (July) a memoir, largely autobiographical, of Herbert Branston Gray, who was for thirty years (1880–1910) headmaster and Warden of Bradfield College, and practically its second founder. To our readers its main interest will lie in the pages which describe, with illustrations and unpublished material, the triennial performance of a Greek Play for which the school is famous. Gray caused to be built, using a spade himself, the theatre on the Epidauros model—out of a chalk pit in the school grounds—which is familiar to most Greek scholars at home and to many from other countries. It is a real contribution towards humanism that every three years some 10,000 people should see and hear the *Antigone*, *Alcestis* or *Agamemnon* in the original tongue and in as close a reproduction of the original *mise-en-scène* as is possible to-day.

G. F.

The Growth of Plato's Ideal Theory. By SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER. Pp. 114. Macmillan & Co., 1930. 7s. 6d.

A book published, in its original form, fifty years after the date of writing has an appeal of an exceptional kind. It is of personal interest to learn that Plato is 'an old love' of a scholar who has since made his name in other fields of study; and it is of historical interest to be confronted with an essay on this subject dating not merely from the pre-Burnet but from the pre-Jackson period. If it be found difficult to produce the necessary *tabula rasa* for such impressions, the effort thereto may be salutary.

Apart from these matters of circumstance, the book cannot be held at this date to contribute much to the study of Plato's developing thought. In reference to particular passages there is much here that is useful and suggestive: but in working out his main theme the writer often betrays immaturity by inadequate search and a tendency

to beg the question. The position assigned to one or two dialogues is of interest. The *Timaeus* is placed directly after the *Republic* and before the *Parmenides*; the *Cratylus* is made prior to the *Meno*. With the *Theaetetus* we find some confusion. In his preface Sir James Frazer mentions that he now recognises it to be late. In the text, we hover between two opinions. The dialogue is at one point treated as Plato's considered 'introduction' to the already-formed theory of Ideas, and probably late (though the question of date 'is after all unimportant'); at another, it seems to be taken to mark a comparatively early stage in the growth of the doctrine.

D. T.

Les Mythes de Platon. By PERCEVAL FRUTIGER. Pp. 295. Paris: F. Alcan, 1930. 35 fr.

This valuable book is arranged in three parts. The first reviews previous criteria, establishes the distinction between myth and dialectic, and disposes of a number of passages as wrongly included among the myths. In the second section the author takes up the task of interpretation, and (again after reviewing other theories) builds up an interesting threefold classification. Plato's myths are, he says, either (*a*) simply allegorical, or (*b*) 'genetic,' *i.e.* descriptions of temporal process deliberately substituted for logical analysis, or (*c*) 'para-scientific,' *i.e.* hypotheses offered to fill up the lacunae in scientific knowledge. Within this framework all the relevant passages are fully reviewed. The third part of the book treats of the literary aspects of the myths, with a full discussion of sources and an admirable appreciation of Plato's style. In particular, Dr. Frutiger's book is most interesting and suggestive in relation to the Platonic theory of the soul; in general, he makes it abundantly clear that he has a real understanding of the personal bearings of the subject—Plato's relation to his own people and time, and the dramatic, inventive and humorous elements in his genius. There is here little for questioning and much for profit.

D. T.

La Géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonius de Rhodes. Pp. 311. 40 fr.
Biographie d'Apollonios de Rhodes. Pp. 82. By EMILE DELAGE. Bordeaux and Paris: Feret et fils, 1930.

The study of Apollonius' geography is a careful, well-documented piece of work. The author regards the geography as the most important factor in the poem, providing the connecting thread on which all the other elements are strung. This thread is itself composite, spun

out of a variety of material:—Homeric and later literature, mythology, local legends and antiquities, ethnography and etymology, all combined with the almost scientific geography of the Alexandrian age.

After a brief account of Argonautic geography before Apollonius, detailed consideration is given first to the catalogue of Argonauts which, like the Homeric Catalogue, is planned on a geographical basis, and then to each separate stage in the outward and homeward voyages. The treatment of the outward voyage is the fuller, because the authorities, both ancient and modern, are more numerous and detailed. This account is common form, Apollonius determining the stages of the journey by the possibility of working in local legends and mythology. Thus the amount of detail diminishes as the Argonauts move eastward, the circumstantial topography of, *e.g.*, Cyzicus giving place to the sketchy ethnography of the parts between Sinope and Colchis.

In the return voyage Apollonius struck out a line of his own (*e.g.* he is the only writer who includes the Eridanus in the itinerary) and is often seen to be embarrassed by the difficulty of combining his new version with the three alternative routes offered by older tradition: cf. the awkward expedients to which he had recourse in order to account for the change of direction and the choice of the route up the Ister (pp. 193–195); again, in the ambiguity as to whether the Ister flows out of the Ocean or rises in the Rhipaeon mountains, or in the rather clumsy combination of Herodotus IV. 179 with local Cyrenaic tradition, the attempt to run with the ancient hare and hunt with the modern hounds results in vagueness and lack of certainty. The pronouncement 'mélange de fable et de science' recurs with the monotony of a refrain, and the definition on page 37, 'c'est une mosaïque véritable qui produit une fâcheuse impression par l'absence d'unité et de couleur dominante,' might well stand as a summary of the whole poem, whether geographically considered or otherwise.

The impression, which seems to be a true one, given by this detailed examination is that Apollonius, in his geography as elsewhere, is at pains to leave no stone unturned, but has no very clear idea about the structure he means to rear. His originality is confined to the selection and arrangement of his materials; almost every detail is shown to be derived either from older tradition or from opinions current in the Hellenistic world; where the opinions are wrong the error is rarely to be attributed to Apollonius himself (but cf. p. 292). Delage makes a good point when he blames the poet for confining his researches to books when a short journey would have

permitted of personal verification; *e.g.* the mistakes about Crete could easily have been avoided by a visit to the island itself. 'C'est un voyage de chambre plutôt qu'un journal de bord.'

The mass of detail handled is too great for particular criticism: the topography, where it is possible, has been checked by reference to the works of travellers; the evidence of archaeology in, *e.g.*, the determination of trade routes has been little used, but this is perhaps justifiable if it is conceded that Apollonius' sources were purely literary and traditional. There is an index of geographical names, a full, classified bibliography and four outline maps, to which one of the north coast of Asia Minor might with advantage have been added.

The biography of Apollonius is a much slighter work. Delage follows Weichert in deciding in favour of Alexandria, not Naucratis, as the birth-place of the poet. He states two theories which would account for the epithet *Ναυκρατίτης*, viz. that Apollonius had been given the citizenship in recognition of his poem on the foundation of Naucratis, or that his family had come originally from there, but refuses to pronounce between them. He supports the tradition that Apollonius was the junior and the pupil of Callimachus, and would place his birth about 295 B.C. He divides his career into three periods: his youth in Alexandria, terminating with the first appearance of the *Argonautica* in 275 B.C.; ten years of exile in Rhodes; and a return to Alexandria, where he remained, as librarian and tutor to Ptolemy Euergetes, until his death in 235–230 B.C.

This monograph has a bibliography and a full table of contents which serves as index. Since the bibliography includes Volume VII of the *Cambridge Ancient History* it seems surprising that it omits W. W. Tarn's *Hellenistic Civilisation*.

Plotinus, On the One and Good, being the treatises of the Sixth Ennead, translated from the Greek by STEPHEN MACKENNA and B. S. PAGE. Vol. V. Pp. 254. Large crown 4to. London: The Medici Society, 1930. 21s. net.

Every student of Greek philosophy will rejoice at the completion of Mr. MacKenna's translation of Plotinus. The publication of this great work has been spread over thirteen years, and some four years have elapsed between the appearance of the fourth and this fifth and concluding volume. For this delay Mr. MacKenna offers sincere apologies. He tells us with great candour 'that the adequate handling of this

Sixth Ennead was beyond his competence, and that his only resource was to call in expert assistance. He was fortunate in securing the services of Mr. B. S. Page, with whose help the work was speedily concluded.' We think that Mr. MacKenna is less than just to himself. The Sixth Ennead is not really more difficult than the others, and when we learn that Mr. Page has translated the first three tractates, the secret is out. These tractates on the Kinds of Being, covering 99 pages of Volkmann's text, are not so much difficult as dull and unattractive, and the soul of a weary translator may well quail before them. 'The Categories are delaying Vol. V,' the reviewer has been saying to himself for years. These three treatises, in the first of which Plotinus makes an Aunt Sally of the Aristotelian list, in the second deduces his own categories of the Intelligible World on the lines of Plato's *Sophist*, and in the third discusses, though incompletely, the categories necessary to the Sensible World, contain many fine passages with the genuine Plotinian ring, but on the whole do not add anything essential to our knowledge of the Plotinian system, and their general effect on the reader is undoubtedly somewhat depressing. Mr. Page is to be congratulated upon his success in catching Mr. MacKenna's style: it is difficult to distinguish the imitator's work from that of his original.

After the Categories comes a gorgeous pageant of Plotinian doctrine, two treatises 'On the integral omnipresence of the Authentic Existent,' a treatise 'On Numbers' (fine and interesting despite its title), one 'On the multiplicity of Ideal Forms,' one 'On Freewill and the Will of The One,' and lastly the great Ninth Tractate, 'On the Good or The One.' The doctrine of The One is, and will ever remain, the supremely important achievement of the philosophy of Plotinus. Expert commentators may attach great weight to his Intelligible World, but the trouble about the intelligible and eternal world of Platonic philosophers is to decide exactly what we are to put into it. Norris, the Cambridge Platonist, wrote two volumes on the question, but they make dull reading nowadays. Modern orthodoxy requires us to place there the Good, the Beautiful and the True, but Plato and Plotinus made it the home of very much more than that. An expert dialectician, it may be suspected, even though one risk burning in some Platonic hell for saying so, might show the eternal world of Platonism to be as 'riddled with contradictions' as the sensible world which it undertakes to supersede. And, anyhow, the Platonists, holding that the sensible world, like a celebrated figure of English

mythology, has 'had a great fall,' find it extremely difficult to put it and the intelligible world 'together again.' But with the doctrine of The One we are on a different plane. The basis of it is a very definite, very ennobling, and yet very elusive, psychological experience. Like certain other psychological experiences, where the feeling-element is strong, it refuses to be adequately conceptualised. One can only say of it 'it is not this or that.' This is the key to the *via negativa* of mysticism, the classical and final exposition of which is to be found in the Ninth Tractate. As long as men have this strange experience, they will turn to the Ninth Tractate and to the numerous other passages of Plotinus, which deal with the same theme; and few but experts will turn to his pages for anything else.

But we must now pass to the pedantry of criticism and call attention to some passages where the translation appears to be inexact or wrong. P. 5, l. 23: 'the mind measures by availing itself of the total figure' is a curious error for 'the mind measures the total by means of number.' P. 7, l. 24: the phrase translated by 'in what is termed "posterior"' but not in what is termed "prior"' merely means 'in the latter example but not in the former.' P. 13, l. 23: the words ὥστε οὐ ποιότης τὸ οὕτω λογικόν, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ὁ ἐξ ἀρετῆς κτήσαιο ἂν τις (Volkmann, p. 274, l. 22) are rendered 'reasoning, on this hypothesis, is not quality but a natural possession of the mature human being.' The real meaning is 'rationality is not a quality, but rather what one can acquire by manly excellence (*i.e.* the power to box) is a quality.' Plotinus prefers to confine the word 'quality' to what is not part of essence, which rationality certainly is. P. 15, l. 2 (V. p. 276, l. 2): the translation seems to need revision as follows: 'whatever is seen to contribute alike to Being and to non-Being, as do heat and whiteness and colours generally, is one thing in the case of Being (not 'different from Being,' as Mr. Page renders)—is, for example, an Act of Being—or else is only secondary and derived and is one thing in another' (*i.e.* not part of essence). θερμότης, for example, is a ποιότης οὐσιώδης, part of essence, in the case of fire, but not in the case of fuel. Below at l. 14 'it suffices that over and above the various kinds of disposition there exist a common element distinct from Substance' is a mistake for 'it is sufficient for the common ground of quality to be found in a particular disposition outside of essence.' παρά here does not mean 'over and above' but *secundum*, as Ficinus renders it. We would plead once again for more attention to

be paid by modern translators to Ficinus. Experience suggests that he is more likely to be right than they. At p. 16, l. 21 (V. p. 277, l. 14) Mr. Page omits an important οὐ, no doubt deliberately, but, we think, wrongly (see *Classical Quarterly*, XXII, p. 32), and another οὐ is omitted at p. 23, l. 13, where the correct rendering is 'Further, why should *not* activity proper and the action be referred to relation?'—a further *reductio ad absurdum* being intended (V. p. 284, l. 4). P. 27, l. 27: for 'an agent' read 'the patient' (*quod pati dicitur*, Ficinus) and for 'its Act' 'the Act.' P. 47, l. 24: ἄλλ' ἐστὶν ἡδὴ ἐκείνο (V. p. 306, l. 28) seems to mean not 'it would already be identical with the object of its thought,' but 'it is in fact The One,' νοῦς striving to contemplate itself becomes a plurality. Viewed as a bare unity, with all intellection removed, it becomes The One itself.

Mr. Page's responsibility, we are told, ends with p. 106, and in what follows we are dealing with Mr. MacKenna's own work, revised however by Mr. Page. P. 107, l. 7: 'move of accident' is a misprint for 'mode of accident.' P. 114, last line: 'Consider too the refraction of light by which it is thrown away from the line of incidence; yet, direct or refracted, it is one and the same light.' The Greek runs (V. p. 371, l. 15) δηλοῦσι δὲ αἱ ἀποτομαὶ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἢ ὅθεν ἐληλυθεν διδοῦσαι εἶναι οὐδὲ μερίζουσαι (where Vitringa has excised οὐ before διδοῦσαι), ἀποτομή does not mean refraction, but a cutting off of light, as in an eclipse. A possible rendering would seem to be 'the cutting off of light which still allows some light to exist on the side (of the screen or body) opposite to its source.' P. 126, l. 23: 'yet that Good is not exclusively ours.' But ἡμῶν (V. p. 385, l. 6) depends upon ἀπεσθῆ understood from the previous line: 'nor again is Being separated from us.' P. 132, l. 1: 'for in that case all this sensible fire, supposing that it were a whole of parts (as the analogy would necessitate), must have generated spatial positions out of itself.' The insertion in brackets is unnecessary and misleading. The passage merely means: 'all this sensible fire will already exist somewhere, if it be a whole of parts, having generated' etc. It has been said just above (V. p. 391, l. 7) ὄγκος δὲ πολὺς πῦρ το πρῶτον ἐνυλον ὑποκείσθω γενομενον. Below at l. 13 'how would these resultant fires be distinct?' εἴτα πῶς μερίεις τα γινόμενα is correct, and the note in C.Q. XXIV, 79, where τα γινόμενα is taken to mean 'phenomena,' entirely wrong. P. 134, l. 12: 'Similarly, wisdom is entire to all: it is one thing' is no adequate translation of καὶ γὰρ

καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν πᾶσιν ὅλον διὸ καὶ ξυνόν τὸ φρονεῖν (V. p. 394, l. 4). ξυνόν does not mean 'one thing,' and the allusion to Heraclitus' famous remark appears to have been entirely overlooked. P. 144, l. 11: 'the thing itself, as belonging to the Intellectual, can be nothing else than Intellect or knowledge' (V. p. 405, l. 7). Mr. MacKenna has wrongly altered τὸ ἄλλο το τὸ ἄλλο, making the Greek into a question. The thing itself, as the object, Plotinus means, is something other than Intelligence, and though a thought is distinguishable from what thinks it. In the next line the translation should be revised as follows: 'it is that the thing in the Intellectual transmutes the impermanent knowledge characteristic of material things into permanent knowledge.' P. 145, l. 30: τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὐσίαν ἐκδευκέναι ταῦτα (V. p. 406, l. 28) does not mean 'issue of Authentic Being,' but 'true Being has stripped itself of all this.' A reference to Ficinus would have saved this error. P. 151, l. 19: 'So with "Above": "Above" and "Below" are a mere matter of position and have no significance outside of this sphere.' Ficinus renders by 'item in eo, quod sursum dicitur, idem accidere judicabunt, scilicet et hoc quidem positionem talem et in hac universi parte potius, quod sursum nominare solemus, significare.' There is no question which rendering is right. P. 167, l. 4: τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη αἰσθητικόν ἢ ἀντιληπτικόν αἰσθητῶν: (V. p. 429, l. 14) simply means 'what else can sensation mean but being aware of things of sense?' Plotinus has left out ἄλλο, as he so often does. P. 181, ll. 13 ff.: 'There is the Archetype, that which is good in the very Idea—we read—as holding the Good in the pure Idea. That Archetype is good; Intellectual-Principle is good as holding its life by contemplation of the archetype.' The Greek here is ἐκεῖ δὲ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τὸ ἀγαθοειδὲς φησιν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς εἶδεσι τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, ὃ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ θεωρεῖν το ζῆν ἔχων (V. p. 444, l. 27). 'Good in the very Idea' is too strong a phrase for ἀγαθοειδὲς, more correctly rendered below by 'contains goodness,' 'thing of good,' 'participant in good' (p. 185, l. 11). νοῦς is not the Good, but, like knowledge and truth in *Republic* 509 A, 'has the form of Good,' or, as Plotinus says here, 'possesses the Good in its forms' (not 'holds the Good in the pure Idea'). Further, τὸ μὲν is not 'that Archetype,' a word which Plotinus is here confining to νοῦς, but 'The One.' Again, at l. 18, for 'these objects come to it not as they are there but in accord with its own condition' substitute 'The Good comes to Intelligence not as it is yonder, but in accordance with the capacity of Intelligence to receive

it' (so Ficinus). P. 195, l. 22: 'and did we not discover that the good must be apt to the nature?' The right translation is 'for we did not define goodness by aptness' (V. p. 459, l. 21). P. 197, l. 14: 'maintain' is a slip for 'deny.' P. 202, l. 27: οὐδ' ὅλως ἰδοῦσα (V. p. 467, l. 28) does not mean 'nor even know it.' Plotinus says that the soul can fear no disaster if she is linked with The One *or has had any vision of it*. P. 202, l. 32: 'She has nothing to say of this very Intellectual-Principle by means of which she has attained the vision.' ἐκείνον means God, not the Intellectual-Principle. With φησιν supply νοεῖν (V. p. 468, l. 31). P. 205, l. 3: 'this is the very radiance that brought both Intellect and Intellectual object into being for the later use and allowed them to occupy the quester's mind. With This he himself becomes identical' (V. p. 470, l. 13). But ἀφείσα εἶναι παρ' αὐτῷ surely means 'allowing them to exist beside Himself' (God), and the following αὐτὸς δὲ αὐγὴ similarly refers to God, not to the quester. P. 210, l. 16: 'It is no duality but, rather, a manifold' is incorrect for οὐδ' ἐστὶ δύο μάλλον δὲ πλείω (V. p. 476, l. 6). οὐδέ negatives the whole sentence. 'The One is not a duality, or rather is no manifold,' as it would be, had it νοῦς, which implies three things, thinker, the act of thinking and the object thought. P. 211, l. 13: ἀπόθεν (V. p. 477, l. 10) means 'reject in the case of The One,' not 'allocate to the secondaries.' P. 218, l. 17: it is difficult to see how ἔξω by itself can mean 'all that lies outside of the corporeal.' May not ἔξω καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς (V. p. 485, l. 20) mean 'whether the will be directed outwards or self-centred'? P. 221, l. 6: 'we are not to deny that it is derived from Essential Existence, for that would be to take away its existence and would imply derivation from something else' does not correctly represent οὐδὲ δὴ το οὐ παρ' αὐτῆς εἶναι λεκτέον τό τε γὰρ εἶναι ἀφηροῦμεν, τό τε οὐ παρ' αὐτῆς λεγοῖτο ἂν, ὅταν ὑπ' ἄλλου (V. p. 488, l. 24). The right rendering is 'nor must we say "the Being of The One is not self-derived"; for we removed Being from The One, and "not self-derived" would imply creation by something else.' P. 221, l. 24: for 'it is not enough to say that it could not be inferior' substitute 'much less that it is inferior' (μὴ ὅτι χεῖρον, V. p. 489, l. 10). P. 222, l. 18: three lines of the Greek (V. p. 490, ll. 6-8) are accidentally omitted. Similar oversights are not uncommon, e.g. p. 181, l. 6; p. 231, l. 26; p. 234, l. 9; p. 236, l. 15. P. 222, l. 29: 'A "Thus" is something that attaches to everything in the world of things.' Read ἄλλο τοῖσιν παρ' ἅπαντα τα οὕτως with the

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better MSS. and translate 'The One therefore is something else beyond all things that are "thus"' (V. p. 490, l. 19). P. 226, l. 1: ἀφείη κύριον εἶναι αὐτοῦ (V. p. 494, l. 5) means 'was permitted to have self-disposal,' and failure to understand this has led to a loose translation of the following sentence. At l. 4 τὸ δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ οὐσίᾳ ἄλλα καὶ αὐτῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλευθέρᾳ καὶ ὑστερᾶ καὶ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔχον οὐσίαν (V. p. 494, l. 10) is rendered as follows: 'Still, is not this Principle subject to its essential Being? On the contrary, it is the source of freedom to Being.' The real meaning appears to be 'But it (το παντελῶς ὄν, or the Intelligible World) is free through its own essence, and this essence again derives its freedom from The One and is subsequent to The One, which itself has no essence.' P. 235, l. 29: 'for all that He contains is his own production from the beginning since from the beginning He caused the being of all that by nature He contains' is an unnecessary paraphrase of εἴπερ, ἔπερ συνεχεῖ κατὰ φύσιν, τοῦτο καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πεποιτῆκεν εἶναι (V. p. 505, l. 19). ἔπερ is the subject of συνεχεῖ and is resumed by τοῦτο. P. 237, l. 11: ζητεῖ . . . μὴ τί πω οὐκ ἀφίρτακας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν γνώμῃ τῇ σῇ (V. p. 507, l. 7) means 'see to it that there be not something that you have not yet abstracted from Him in your thought,' not 'be sure that your theory of God does not lessen Him.'

In working through Mr. MacKenna's translation side by side with the original one is again and again struck by the extraordinary beauty and felicity of the rendering. Mr. MacKenna is always an artist in words, and Plotinus emphatically is not. Take the following passage from p. 250: 'The soul in its nature loves God and longs to be at one with Him in the noble love of a daughter for a noble father; but coming to human birth and lured by the courtships of this sphere, she takes up with another love, a mortal, leaves her father and falls. But one day coming to hate her shame, she puts away the evil of earth, once more seeks the father, and finds her peace. Those to whom all this experience is strange may understand by way of our earthly longings and the joy we have in winning to what we most desire—remembering always that here what we love is perishable, hurtful, that our loving is of mimics and turns awry because all was a mistake—ὅτι οὐκ ἦν τὸ ὄντως ἐρωμεῖοι, our good was not here, this was not what we sought; There only is our veritable love and There we may hold it and be with it, possess it in its verity no longer submerged in alien flesh.' This is well-nigh perfect. The only fault that can be found is

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in the rendering of the last four words, which must mean 'not embracing it externally with the flesh' (περιπτύσσεσθαι is rightly taken seven lines lower down). On the other hand, when every allowance is made for the extreme difficulty of Plotinus' Greek and the large number of passages where complete certainty seems to be unattainable, it must, we think, be admitted that errors and oversights are somewhat more numerous than they need have been. In the matter of accuracy Mr. MacKenna's translation, which, in English at least, is virtually pioneer work, is not likely to be final, but for beauty it will certainly never be surpassed.

Every reader of this translation will wish to join Mr. MacKenna in thanking Mr. E. R. Debenham, 'without whose initiative and munificent aid it could not have appeared.'

J. H. S.

Griechische Religiosität von Homer bis Pindar und Äschylos. By WILHELM NESTLE. Pp. 139. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter 'Sammung Göschen', 1930. 25.

While there are certain features common to all religion, the religious feeling of each set of persons professing a religion will differ greatly one from the other. Each religion is the direct outcome of the 'Religiosität' of its adherents. From literary and other sources we can learn much of the religion of an ancient people, and through these of the 'religiosity' behind it. This is the subject of Dr. Nestle's little book, the first of a series of four, which will cover the period from Homer to Proclus. It is not therefore an account of external Greek religion, but of Greek religious feeling as mirrored in the literature. The chief points to be considered are the relations between the gods and (a) the world, (b) mankind, and also the relation of religion and morals, though of course these have not necessarily anything to do with each other. The period treated in this volume is 'Das griechische Mittelalter,' i.e. from Homer to the Persian Wars. Including as it does Homer, Pindar and Aeschylus, as well as the mystery religion movement of the seventh and sixth centuries, it cannot fail to be of great interest, especially as the work has been done with much insight and clearness. Naturally the expert will not expect to find much that is new to him, but one may remark that justice is done to Hesiod, whose contribution to Greek thought used to be under-estimated, under the false impression that the *Theogony*, which treats chiefly of mere externals, was his main contribution to Greek religious thought. He is now recognised as the

first Greek to try to bring ethical and religious ideas into relation with each other. There follows a chapter on the seventh and sixth centuries, conveniently, if somewhat arbitrarily, as N. admits, divided into three parts, the εὐσεβεία of cult, of mysticism and of rationalism. The first deals with the religious ideas of orthodox, especially Delphic, religion—prayer and sacrifice, festivals, hero-cults and the rest. This inevitably overlaps with the mystic piety of the now-growing worship of Demeter and Dionysus, which has, in addition, new and foreign ideas. The 'rational' piety of the third part is made to include Solon, Theognis and the lyric and elegiac poets. Into this classification Pindar will not fit. He has a chapter to himself, as the last great example of orthodox Greek Religiosität of the Middle Age, the religion of the nobility. Yet he has much in common with Aeschylus, but the religion of Attic tragedy reflects, even in Aeschylus, something more democratic. We meet now a higher conception of prayer, a deeper sense of sin and a greater awe before Divine Power.

Der Glaube der Hellenen. I. Band. By U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF. Pp. vii-412. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1931. 20 m.

In one sense, this book can never be reviewed. 'Wenn mir Gott die Kraft dazu erhalt,' says the author in a very short preface, 'darf ich hoffen, dass der Schlussband in Jahresfrist erscheinen kann. Bis dahin wird sich ein Urteil über das Erschienen nicht abgeben lassen.' These brave words were written at Easter: now, as I write in the autumn,

στέχομεν οἴκτροι καὶ πολὺκλαυτοί,
τὰ μέγιστα φίλων ὀλέσαντες.

It remains, then, to judge as far as one can from the fragment what the finished work would have been: and the result of a careful inspection is not to diminish our sense of the loss to learning and the whole culture of Europe.

Merely to clear the ground, it is well to notice what is not to be looked for in the work under consideration. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf still held, as is well known, substantially to the views of his generation concerning Homer, though his strong good sense never allowed him to follow separatism into its wilder vagaries. He had no great knowledge of, and perhaps insufficient sympathy with, comparative methods of studying ancient religion. 'Über andere Völker habe ich kein Urteil: die Griechen kenne ich,' runs a characteristic dictum on p. 288. His archae-

ology (he never was primarily an archaeologist) is at times somewhat incomplete: for example, he never mentions Forrer's discoveries and ignores the conclusions drawn from them. Even towards Crete he is rather unsympathetic, and requires, in order to admit Cretan influence on any Hellenic religious phenomenon, an amount of evidence which is not likely to be forthcoming. But these characteristics of the man are so well known that the reader allows for them almost as automatically as he accepts the fact that the book is in German, and in a singularly vigorous style, or the familiar scarcity of detailed references in the notes. We may if we choose regard them as shortcomings; they are a hundred times outweighed by the virtues of the book.

'Religios ist Hingabe des Menschen an alles, was ihm heilig ist, dem er bereit ist, sich zu opfern.' So he tells his readers near the beginning of the book (p. 14); and in this chapter and at many other points he insists on the necessity of a sympathetic understanding of what is holy to the worshippers in question. This involves an understanding of their belief: hence the title of the work: it is *der Glaube*, not, for instance, *der Kultus*, with which he deals. But how came this belief into being? It will not do to start with Homer: we must begin with the earliest restorable history of the Greek peoples. So his second chapter is devoted to a sketch, brilliantly clear, if the one defect already mentioned is kept in mind, of the coming of the successive waves of Hellenic invasion into the land of Greece, with a word or two on the very little we know of them before they came. The phantom of an 'Indo-Germanic mythology' does not haunt these pages. Next comes (pp. 89-136) an account of the prehellenic deities, spirits of mountains and rivers, the great figure of Aphrodite, the worship of the powers that were at Eleusis before Demeter, and of others, such as Ino, the Hyperborean maidens in Delos, Enyalios and Enyo, Hyakinthos: the traces of sun-cult (he insists, more than once, that such gods as Helios were scarcely gods at all to a Greek, for he could not come at them, nor they at him), Dictynna, Britomartis, the child-Zeus, the Kuretes, and the rest. Next the oldest Greek deities are treated (pp. 137-316), and here is perhaps the best part of this excellent book. There is a trifle too much tendency to assume, not merely that some gods had bestial shape at times (for this is admitted fact), but that such shapes were in all cases very early. There are one or two excursions into non-Greek cult which are lacking in sureness of touch (on p. 158, it is a mistake to suppose that the Vesta Publica was the only one: like Hestia, she was wor-

shipped by individual households). There is also, and this is the important thing, a mass of excellent interpretation of material grasped by a powerful mind, which makes this a chapter to read and re-read. I note a few good things, chosen at random. On p. 142, the likeness and the differences of the various local cults are excellently summed up. On p. 161 is one of the best discussions, in a few words, of the place of obscenity in ritual that I have come across. 'Das "Aversion of evils" tut nicht das Obszöne, sondern der Gott, und seine Kraft kommt in der Steigerung seines männlichen Kraftgefühles derb, wenn man will, roh zum Ausdruck' (he is speaking especially of ithyphallic monuments). On p. 159 foll., there is a most plausible derivation of the properties of Hermes from his origin in the wayside heap of stones. P. 202 begins a discussion of *Ge*, which supports the thesis that she was Earth in general, not the portion of earth on which the particular worshippers lived, and also distinguishes her sharply from the chthonian powers proper, the deities of the other world which is under the earth. In the discussion of the cult of the dead, pp. 302-316, strong common sense and clear understanding of the evidence are the outstanding features: there are a few small slips (p. 306, n. 3, the *περιδερννον* mentioned by Hegesippos *ap. Athen.* 290 B is not 'opulent,' for it consists of beans and anchovies: p. 307, the agreement between Patroklos' funeral in Homer and the Mycenaean graves is far from complete, and Patroklos has some property of his own, see Ψ 746). But the impression given is that the author was not very much interested in this side of religion: all the better for one who wishes to give a true picture, with the right perspective, of characteristically Greek belief.

The next chapter, which deals with the Homeric gods, has necessarily to traverse familiar ground. It was unavoidable that mention should be made, for instance, of Zeus as the father of the divine household, of the sympathies of Hera, Athena and Apollo, and so forth. The noteworthy thing is the freshness with which the well-worn material is presented, and the justice of the remarks on the difference between Homeric and primitive Greek religion. Some points which may arouse controversy or disagreement are the account of Poseidon (p. 335 sqq.): he is represented as fallen somewhat from an originally higher estate by the time we meet him in Homer, from a universal deity, the husband of Earth (so the author interpreted his name), to a sea-god: the insistence (p. 340) on the genealogies of the gods as pure and simple mythology and nothing more: the stress laid

(p. 346) on the advance in theological thought in Hesiod as compared with Homer: the discussion of Moira (Moirai), p. 359 sqq., which says nothing of her, or their, functions as birth-spirits. But the reader will find, incidentally, on almost every page, some acute remark or new angle of approach to an old problem. The chapter ends with an excellent discussion of ψυχή, including a very proper emphasising of the difference between it and what we mean by 'soul.'

Finally, there are nine short appendices, dealing with matters so various as the ἑπίαι, the goddess Laphria, the name of the Saronic Gulf, the title Hellotis, the Nemean Games, Malea, Demeter Erinys, the daughters of Kadmos, and Ariadne. How much more material was to hand and in a form which could be got ready for publication, the reviewer does not know. It is to be hoped that, if any draft of the second volume exists, it will be prepared by some competent hand and the book furnished with an index.¹ As Bentley said of a far less excellent scholar, 'the very dust of his writings is gold.'

H. J. R.

Le Problème des Centaures : étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne. By GEORGES DUMÉZIL. Pp. viii + 278. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929. 75 fr.

This volume (No. 41 of the *Bibliothèque d'études* published by the Musée Guimet) is a reconsideration of an old question, namely, are the Gandharvas and the Centaurs the same or not? It was confidently asserted that they were, in the days when Daphne was identified with Dahana and Prometheus entered upon a new incarnation as Pramanthas: then came a sweeping denial of its possibility, which has perhaps gone further than it needed: now Dumézil, fortified (see p. 254) by an assertion of Meillet that the equation is not impossible, re-studies the question, calling to his aid a considerable knowledge of comparative mythology and of folklore, backed by a respectable grasp of comparative philology.

By an elaborate comparison between the rites and beliefs of several Wiro peoples he arrives at the following conclusion (p. 257). There existed, in pre-ethnic times, an idea of the existence of certain daimones with fairly well-marked characteristics, as bestial, especially equine, shape, lustfulness, and, most important of all, connexion with the turn of the year—with whatever then

corresponded to the Twelve Days (Christmas to Epiphany) which are still so prominent in European and other calendar-customs. Sooner or later, these creatures were represented by mummies, who belonged to something like secret societies, or quasi-priestly corporations, and were closely connected with a Frazerian kingship. Such corporations grew up in India, Iran, Greece, Italy, and so forth. The survivals of their sacred mummings are to be found in such performances as the Slavonic *gody* and sundry other peasant-carnivals at various times of year. Traces of their earlier activities are the Indian ceremony of *vājapeya*, with which the Gandharvas have some connexion and which includes a simulacrum of a chariot-race and of the deification of a royal officiant; sundry Persian rites and legends: the Lupercalia; and the legend of the Centaurs, especially in connexion with Herakles.

Of the non-classical parts of the work this is not the place to say anything; for Greece and Rome the author has very decidedly not proved his case. Even by accepting, as he does, Lawson's doubtful identification of Κένταυροι with καλλικάνταυροι he is left, especially for ancient Greece, with figures who differ very seriously from the Gandharvas. For the only way in which he can bring the Centaurs into any relation to a possible calendar-custom is to lay unjustifiable stress on the late and suspicious tradition (p. 157) that Herakles was purified from the blood of the Centaurs at the Lesser Mysteries, introduced for that purpose. Among other things it might be pointed out that the original connexion of Herakles with the Mysteries or any Attic rite is non-existent, and therefore anything based on this or a like story collapses at once. His efforts to show a connexion between the sagas of Kaineus, Achilles and one or two other personages who are brought into relation with the Centaurs and tales of heroes who dealt with the Gandharvas and similar beings are hardly successful, except in so far as one tale of a man and a monster is bound to have a certain resemblance to another which introduces human and monstrous figures. Examples will be found on pp. 179-192. As to Rome, the case is made yet weaker by the still poorer quality of the stories with which he begins.

We are left, therefore, with the bare possibility that the word Κένταυρος has cognates in the other Wiro languages, and that the original meaning was a demon or monster of bestial aspect and lustful character. The rest of the book cannot be said to enlighten us much, so far as anything classical is concerned.

H. J. R.

¹ The publishers promise the second volume next year.

La disparation du datif en grec (du I^{er} au X^e siècle). By J. HUMBERT. Pp. xii — 204. Paris: Champion, 1930.

This methodical study of the history of the dative in later Greek is very warmly to be recommended. It is a good example of what can be done to clear up the very obscure beginnings of the modern language by a careful use of all the sources, papyri, ostraka, and the less literary texts, and the author shews that he well understands how this evidence ought to be read. He takes the three uses of the dative, the locative dative, the instrumental dative, and the dative proper, that is, the case of the indirect object, and shews how one after the other in this order they have by now all alike disappeared. The treatment of the instrumental dative is especially interesting. The first substitute was *ἐν* with the dative, then came *διὰ* with the genitive, then *μετὰ* with the genitive and finally, what we have to-day, *μετὰ* or *μέ* with the accusative. This evolution was complete by the tenth century. Now Hatzidakis, the first man perhaps to see the absurdity of discussing forms, say, of the ninth or tenth century, without a knowledge of what came after as well as of what went before, laid it down in his *Einleitung* (p. 15) that everything in Middle-Greek authors, especially since the eleventh century, which is to be connected with neither ancient nor modern Greek must be rejected as non-Greek and barbarous and of no value for the history of the language. On this ruling much good work has been done, but Humbert has clearly made an advance on it by stressing the existence of transitional forms, which are themselves neither old nor new. In this case we have the use of *διὰ* with the genitive to express the instrumental relation. Hatzidakis, of course, tacitly recognised the existence of such forms, but Humbert has here explicitly formulated an advance: always naturally along the sound lines laid down by the master as long ago as 1892.

The book contains, however, a few slips. On p. 26 we are told that *ἔχω χάσει*, *I have lost*, where *χάσει* is aorist infinitive, has no Romance equivalent. This is misleading. **ἔχω χάσειν* was first formed to express the future, exactly like *habeo perdere*, and it was only later that it came to express the perfect. The transference of meaning, by way of *εἶχα χάσειν* used in the apodosis of unfulfilled conditions, is traced by Hatzidakis in *Μεσ καὶ νέα Ἑλληνικά*, I. p. 602. It is only this later stage which has no parallel in Romance. We are told on p. 43 that final *sigma* has undergone a degradation, and become unstable only in Tsakonian and in the Greek of Calabria. But the same thing is found in

Mani, for which see Mirambel's *Étude descriptive du parler Mamote méridional*, p. 170. On p. 42 we are told that in Karpathos *τὸν πατέρα, τὸν καιρό, τὴν τομάτα*, are pronounced as they are written. This is incorrect: in the groups *-ν π-*, *-ν κ-*, *-ν τ-*, the nasal is lost and the stops are pronounced as aspirates. Michaelides Novaros (*Δημ. Τραγ. Καρπάθου*, 1928, p. 20) says as doubled stops, but I have heard the sound in Karpathos as a true aspirate. For the point see this Journal, XLVIII, p. 250. In the note on p. 18 Pontic is classed among the North Greek dialects. This should no longer be done. It has been shown that the vowel-weakening in Pontic is quite different from that which we meet in northern Greece, and the use of the accusative for the indirect object, which is what mainly concerns Humbert, is found in only some of the northern dialects of Greece: it cannot be taken as marking them as a group. For the group, contrary to Humbert's implication, extends far beyond Thrace.

It is, in fact, in the field of the contemporary dialects that we notice the only weakness in this excellent book. It appears again in the account of the dative proper. We are told on p. 161 that the old dative of the indirect object has to-day three representatives: the accusative, the genitive, and *εἰς* with the accusative. Then in the treatment of the question we are shewn, and in a masterly way, the history of the first two, but of the third we only hear that *εἰς* with the accusative plays a considerable rôle in the contemporary language. Humbert shews himself so learned for the earlier periods that it is likely that for the history of this idiom material may be lacking, but that would make it all the more necessary to examine the dialects and ascertain the local limits between the use of the genitive and of *εἰς* with the accusative to express the indirect object. This we should be sorry to attempt without a good deal of study, yet we are pretty sure that inquiry would shew that the genitive rules in the islands and in general in the more archaic regions of the language, and that *εἰς* with the accusative tends to prevail on the Greek mainland. This research would entail also some account of the tendency of the genitive to disappear from spoken Greek. Already rare in the plural, in some of the northern dialects it is preserved only in the singular of proper nouns, and has, in fact, sunk to the condition of the English possessive. In the bibliography we miss Psaltis' *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken*.

We must not end without a strong commendation of this scholarly book. It is interesting, too, to note that it adds to the steadily increasing

weight of evidence of the comparatively early formation of the modern language as it is spoken to-day. Contrary to what used to be supposed, its main features were already in existence, though doubtless many of them far less widely spread than at present, in the tenth century.

R. M. D.

Παλὰ Ἀθήνα. By N. VELMOS. Pp. 237. Athens, 1931. 300 dr.

This posthumous work, brought out by an influential committee, is an artistic album, containing 239 illustrations of 'old' as distinct from 'ancient' Athens: in other words, of the Turkish period with the Byzantine and Frankish remains which it inherited. The pictures are partly taken from the works of travellers, partly from the drawings of modern artists, including the late author. Five chapters include views of the 'ancient' monuments during the Turkish period, the Byzantine churches, the Frankish buildings, and illustrations of the life of the Greeks and their Turkish masters. An appendix contains pictures of 'old' Athens as it still exists to-day. The letterpress mainly consists of extracts from the works of Mr. Kampouroglous, the greatest authority on Turkish Athens, and from the *Index*, recently reviewed.¹ The French translations of the Greek titles of the pictures are occasionally inaccurate: thus, 'Kythnos' is translated 'Cnidienne,' 'Phyle' 'Phylis,' and Sir Richard Church's house is described as that of an unknown 'General George.' It is not explained that the English church and the British Legation were then in the same building (pp. 104, 113, 172, 175). There is a brief bibliography. The album is beautifully executed.

W. M.

᾽Οδηγὸς τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν.
Ἔκδοσις δευτέρα. By GEORGIOS A. SOTERIOU.
Pp. 164. Athens, 1931. 40 dr.

The removal of the Byzantine Museum of Athens to the villa of the Duchesse de Plaisance from the ground-floor of the Academy, where it was when this catalogue was first issued in 1924, has necessitated a new and slightly enlarged edition. There is a new preface with six pictures of the 'Ilissia' villa, built for its eccentric owner in 1848, but never finished by her, then converted into barracks, and now the home of the treasures, which Professor Soteriou has arranged and described. A general plan of the building is followed by a description of the courtyard, in the

centre of which is a Byzantine font and at the sides fragments from churches of the fourth to the fifteenth centuries. Then come the two floors of the villa, each containing four rooms and an ante-chamber, and the two wings (used as stables by the Duchess), comprising four more rooms. Three rooms of the lower floor of the villa are arranged in the form of an early Christian basilica, Byzantine and a post-Byzantine church respectively: the upper floor contains *eikons*; while in the wings are illuminated manuscripts and copies of mosaics and frescoes. The book contains 56 illustrations and a bibliography. The Museum has been enriched by various objects presented by the refugees from Asia Minor. A brief account of the Duchesse de Plaisance would have interested visitors.

W. M.

Αἱ Ἀθήναι κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1775-1795. By D. GR. KAMPOUROGLOUS. Pp. 100. Athens, 1931. 60 dr.

The author is the greatest living authority upon the history of Turkish Athens, two decades of which comprised the tyranny of Hajji Ali the Haseki, here described on the authority of two mainly contemporary Athenian writers, Joannes Benizelos and Panages Skouzes, both members of well-known local families. He describes the MSS. of both, mentioning that Mr. Gennadius has purchased the original MS. of his ancestor, Benizelos, and that he has himself seen a later MS. of Skouzes, dated 1845. He defines his two authorities as respectively a 'scholar' and a 'writer,' and publishes an elaborate commentary on the first year of his narrative, when Hajji Ali first came as *voivode* to Athens, giving a short account of the remaining twenty, which included the Albanian invasion of 1778, the building of the new walls of Athens (which caused the destruction of the temple near the Ilissos), the withdrawal of the Athenians to Salamis, the 'anathema' of the tyrant's partisans in 1785 (one of the precedents for that of Mr. Venizelos in 1916), and his complete mastery of Athens in 1789, when he lived in the tower of the monastery of St. John the Divine, subsequently building the tower on the Sacred Way, where the present Botanical Garden was his. The story ends with the tyrant's beheading in exile at Kos in 1795, after the mission to Constantinople of Petrakes, the abbot of the historic monastery which bears his name near the present British Archaeological School. The book abounds in details about the condition of late Turkish Athens.

W. M.

¹ *J.H.S.*, L, 166.

Οἱ τελευταῖοι Χαιρετισμοὶ τοῦ Ρήγα. Edited by SPYRIDON M. THEOTOKES. Pp. 40. Athens: Sideres, 1931. 6 dr.

The keeper of the archives of the old Ionian senate discovered last December among the papers of Capo d'Istria this last greeting of Rhegas to his countrymen, written in French. He declines to express a definite opinion about its authenticity, but shows from a footnote that it was part of a more general work, and thinks that the French text is a translation, perhaps by Capo d'Istria. Rhegas addresses in turn the Greek people, 'intellectual without instruction, intelligent without thoroughness': the *Archontes*, 'courageous, but torn asunder by mutual jealousies': the scholars, whom he urges to quit the European academies and educate their countrymen modestly and patiently; the merchants and sailors, whom he urges to follow the example of the Zosimades at Joannina and spend money on national schools, and return to their own country; the clergy, whom he bids seek enlightenment; and all the Greeks, to whom he prophesies their coming emancipation and the intrigues and interference of the Great Powers in their affairs. The editor also publishes from the same source some Italian *Notes concerning Rhegas of Velesino*, derived from his friend, Kalaphates, which inform us of Rhegas' acquaintance with the Emperor Francis II, of the attempt by Bishop Harvey of Bristol to save the patriot at the hotel which they both inhabited at Trieste, and of the Seal of the 'Greek Republic,' which Rhegas handed to Kalaphates. There are Greek translations of both documents.

W. M.

Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Γράμματα ἐν Κύπρῳ, κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς τουρκοκρατίας (1571-1878). Τόμος Β'. By LOIZOS PHILIPPOU. Pp. 164: 3 plates. Levkosia, 1930.

The first volume of this work was noticed on p. 132 of the present volume of the *Journal*, where the name of the author should be read as above. This second part of the book is divided into two chapters, the first dealing with popular poetry, the second with Cypriote scholars. Before the Turkish occupation there were poems of an 'Acritle' character, describing the exploits of heroes of the marches of the Byzantine Empire, and poems of imagination, whose themes were usually of a gloomy and tragic nature. Such poems were kept in memory during the Turkish period by professional reciters, who introduced into them changes to suit the times. Rhymed poems now came into fashion, such as 'The Lament of Cyprus,' describing tragedies of the Turkish régime, or sometimes of a religious

character. Of songs proper, the majority, as is natural, have love as their theme, but digres and satires are not infrequent; distichs are common and are often of merit.

The second chapter gives accounts of the principal scholars of Cyprus, arranged according to the century in which they flourished. Most, as might be expected, received their training abroad, and the majority were occupied with theology. Mention may be made of Matthaïos Kigalas, who is best (though not very favourably) known to European scholars as the first editor of the tragedy 'Eriophile' by the Cretan Hortatzis in 1637. To the nineteenth century belong Ioannis Oikonomidis, who attained a European reputation through his publication of Greek inscriptions; Pieridis Dimitrios, who was educated at King's College, London, and was distinguished as a numismatist and epigraphist; and Nikolaos Saripolos, who gained great reputation as a writer on law.

Unfortunately this volume is disfigured by a very large number of misprints. Stratford de Redcliffe appears as Strafford de Rodcliffe. It should, however, be of great service to those who are interested in the history of learning in Cyprus.

F. H. M.

Greece and the Greek Refugees. By CHARLES B. EDDY. Pp. 270, with a map. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1931. 12s. 6d.

This is an authoritative record, written by the Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, of what is probably the most noble and notable of post-war achievements. The author has avoided sentiment and given a sober, and therefore satisfying, account of the methods whereby the Commission in the course of the years 1924-1930, the dates of its constitution and dissolution respectively, succeeded in establishing no fewer than 650,000 refugees in agricultural colonies and urban quarters in such a way that most of them had a fair prospect of becoming real assets to the Hellenic Republic.

The broad outlines of the events which made the creation of the Commission necessary are well known. The main causes were the Great War and the Smyrna disaster of 1922 which followed it. As a result Greece had to deal with an influx of refugees whose total numbers ultimately reached some 1,300,000. This appalling influx into a country with a previous population of about five and a half millions created a problem which was probably unique in history.

The Convention of Lausanne (1923) provided

for the compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. Exceptions were made in the case of Greeks established in Constantinople and Turks established in Western Thrace. The Commission, created by the League of Nations, consisted of four members, two being appointed by the Greek Government and two by the League (the Chairman to be a citizen of the U.S.A.). Its task was the settlement of the refugees, not on a charitable, but on a sound and productive business basis. Its assets were lands to the value of some seven million pounds transferred to it by the Greek Government and the proceeds of loans amounting ultimately to over thirteen million pounds. The Commission was an autonomous body, accountable to the League of Nations only.

It is, of course, impossible here to describe in any detail the methods by which the Commission set to work and the difficulties it was called upon to overcome. Certain factors were in its favour. A common tradition of language and religion (outlined in the excellent introductory chapters of the book) facilitated the fusion of refugees and natives: there were lands and houses vacated by the exchanged Turks, which furnished a foundation on which to build. The main work of the Commission was in Macedonia and Western Thrace. Here the problem was to apportion small holdings, and to provide houses, agricultural implements, stock, etc., for some half-million persons. Road-making, drainage and social services had to keep pace as far as possible with this enormous accession of population. Such measure of success has attended the Commission's work that the increase of potential wealth in these districts has been very great. To a lesser degree the same may be said of other agricultural settlements of refugees in Old Greece and in the islands.

The settlement of urban refugees involved different problems, and the Commission's activity in settling refugees in the large towns—Athens and Peiraeus, Salonika, etc., though considerable, was less intense than in the agricultural districts. Mr. Eddy is more reserved in forecasting the ultimate prosperity of the urban refugees than that of the agricultural, though for the present there is no marked unemployment in the large towns. The housing problem, however, has not yet been satisfactorily solved there.

The work of the Commission as a whole ran smoothly, except under the Pangalos régime. That the Greek Government, now that the responsibilities of the Commission have been

handed over to it, is faced with serious difficulties, both social and financial, is undeniable. One of the provisions of the Lausanne Convention—the liquidation of the properties abandoned by the exchanged in Greece and Turkey respectively for the benefit of their owners—presented in practice insuperable obstacles. The result is that the Greek Government has had to spend vast sums on indemnifying the refugees—and it is easy to see how difficult it was to control claims—and this is likely to lay a serious financial burden on Greece for many years to come. It may also not be easy to secure the repayment of the amounts loaned to the refugees by the Commission. Yet it is not unreasonable to suppose that a country which has shown such marvellous courage in the face of seemingly hopeless difficulties will in the future show itself equal to solving the problems which remain. Mr. Eddy's book will long remain indispensable to those who wish to know the details of a heroic effort and to obtain an insight into the problems confronting Modern Greece.

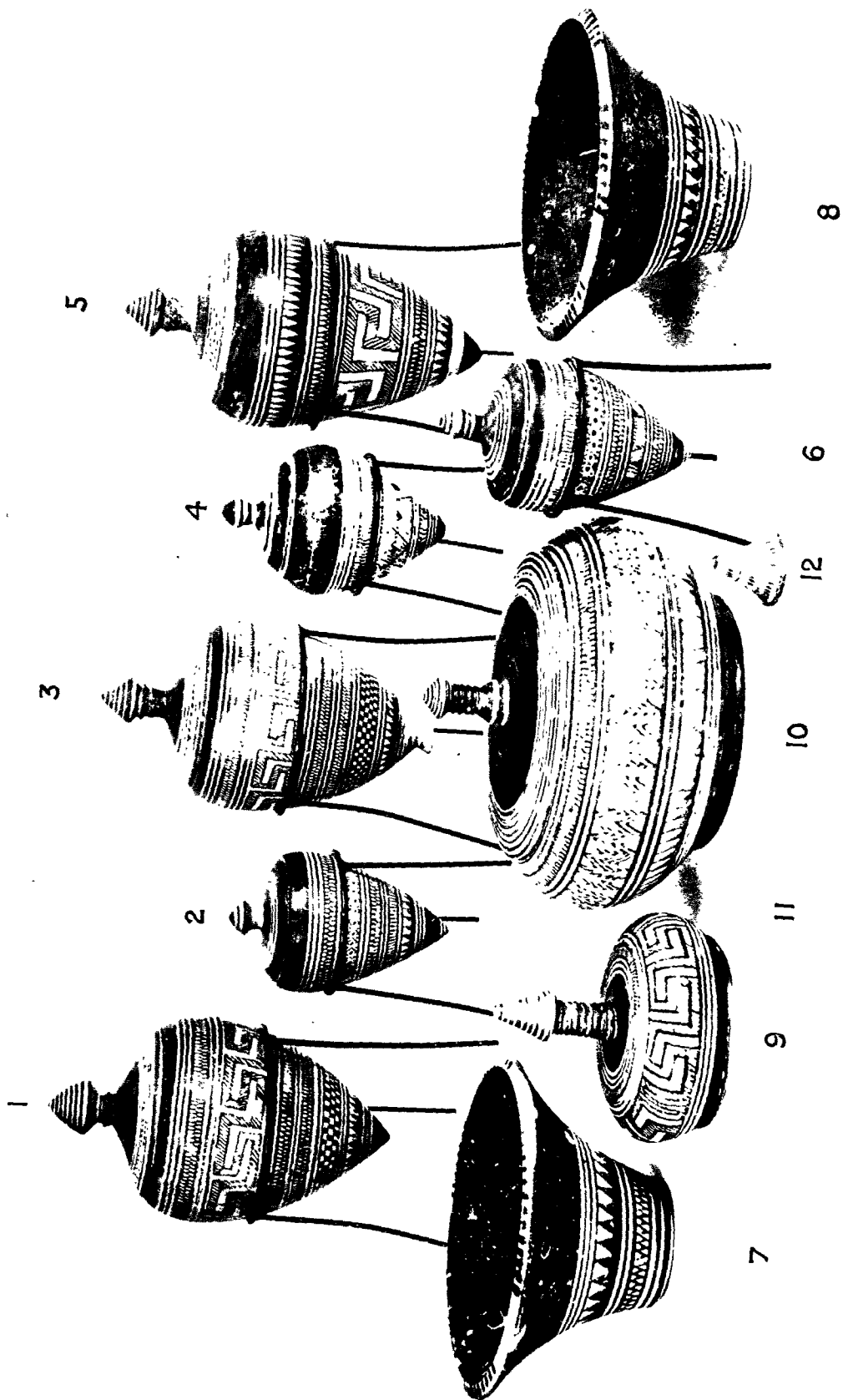
F. H. M.

Guide de L'Albanie. By LEON REY. Pp. 158: one map and three town plans. Paris: Tourisme en Albanie, 1930.

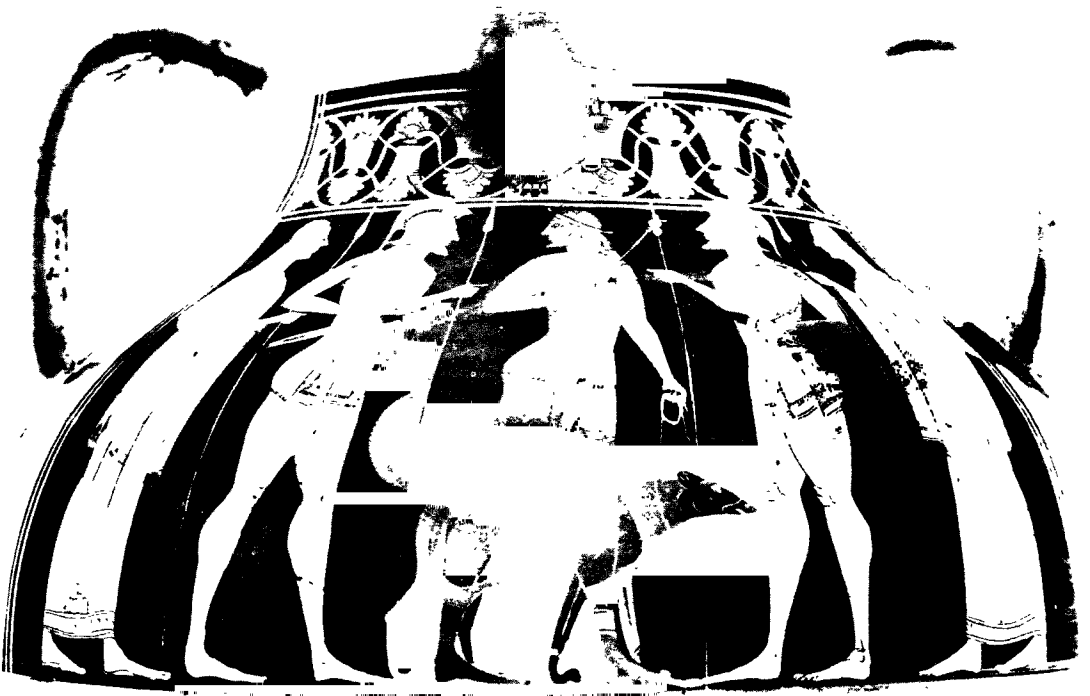
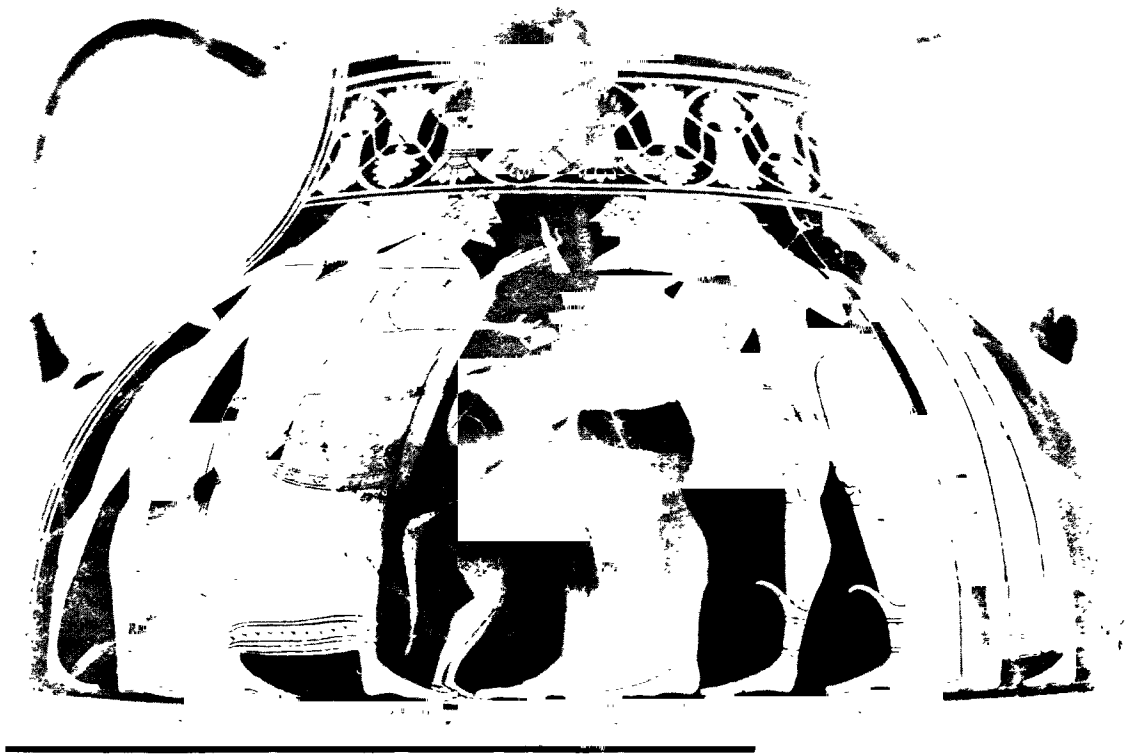
This little guide will undoubtedly prove useful to the increasing number of tourists in this isolated land. The arrangement of the book follows conventional lines and gives the usual information in the matter of accommodation, food, travel facilities, roads and historical matter. The latter is perhaps rather too brief and the few antiquities that the country contains get but little mention. Places of interest across the borders are also described and it is useful to know how to reach Ochrida and Sveti Naum from Albania. But we are told almost nothing about the riches of this famous monastery. One remarkable antiquity near Valona is not mentioned—the English Crusading rhymed epitaph at Balsi, found in 1918. Probably it has long ago been destroyed.

The general impression left by reading this guide-book is that the country is as traversable as any other Balkan land, and nervous travellers will no doubt be reassured by its homely account. One is, perhaps, a little surprised at the number of advertisements for Dunlop tyres that decorates its pages, more especially as the number of roads capable of taking motors is not large. Enthusiastic motorists should in any case be warned to leave their best cars at home and to be prepared to sell whatever car they take for scrap iron when their trip is concluded. Balkan metallurgy is still in its infancy.

S. C.



GEOMETRIC VASES IN TORONTO



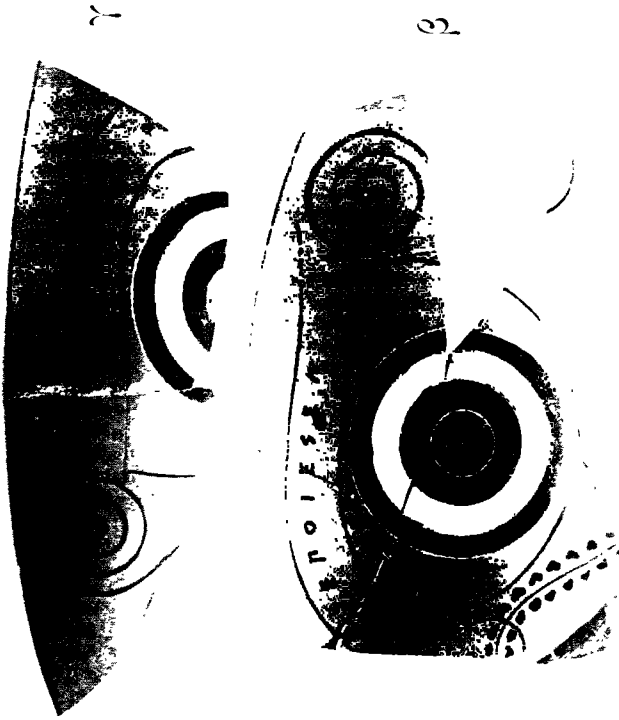
AMPHORA IN THE GUGLIELMI COLLECTION AT ROME



OENOCHOAI ABOVE, IN BRISTOL, BELOW, IN THE SPENCER-CHURCHILL COLLECTION



OENOCHOE IN THE VATICAN



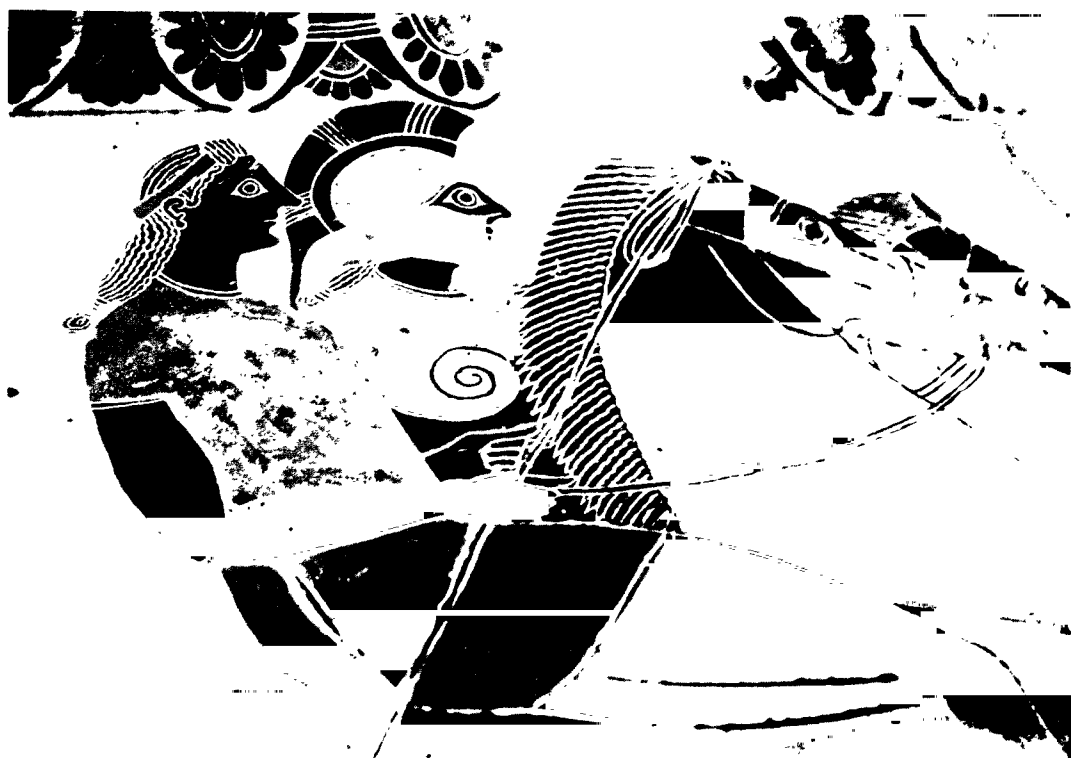
CUP MM fragments α , δ , ϵ , η in the Vatican, β and γ in Boston, ζ in Dorchester



CUP NN. The three fragments marked D in Dorchester the rest in the Vatican



CUP IN THE LOUVRE, F 75



AMPHORA IN NAPLES 2770

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